من القدس وعكا إلى الأيوبيين

نصار

AYYUBID JERUSALEM

THE HOLY CITY
IN CONTEXT
1187-1250

edited by
Robert Hillenbrand
and
Sylvia Auld

ALTAJIR TRUST
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Ayyubid Jerusalem:
The Holy City in Context
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CONTENTS

Jerusalem is a city with a unique status in the consciousness of the great monotheistic faiths. Its significance is enshrined in the beliefs of the three Abrahamic religions of the Book: Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which together are sacred to almost half of humanity. Jerusalem remains today a focus for the hopes and prayers of millions of people around the world.

With its overwhelming historic and spiritual importance, Jerusalem is, and has always been, among the most sensitive issues of human controversy. As with other holy places, the question of Jerusalem has never been a purely religious one, yet the convergence of values between the adherents of the different monotheistic faiths proposes the way forward. Jerusalem may be a turbulent city, but it is also one of sublime beauty, whose holy sites highlight our shared consciousness and speak of man's common quest for contact with the infinite and the desire to find both God and self. This deep awareness of our common heritage points to the need for a recognition of the moral and philosophical authority of holy sites and cities. Religious authority should be raised above the mundane. The civilisational ties which we all have with these unique structures make it imperative that they do not become pawns in either political, or ideological, struggles.

Today the Old City of Jerusalem remains a precious heritage for the world, a unique collection of buildings and monuments, from the humblest shops and houses to the great mosques and mausolea. This fabric has evolved over more than two millennia, providing a setting for the lives of Jew, Christian and Muslim as they go about their daily business.

What we see today in the Old City, what can be studied, photographed and measured, is largely a creation of successive Muslim periods. As such it deserves preservation in its own right as a rare and valuable example of a process of urban evolution over the centuries. The spiritual element lifts the Old City to a higher plane and makes its conservation an urgent priority for us all. Its history as a living entity deserves to be better understood.

This study is the third in a distinguished series which seeks to make a contribution to that understanding. It concentrates on Ayyubid Jerusalem, the short, but significant, period of Saladin and his successors which saw the reassertion of the Muslim presence while Christians and Jews remained and continued to settle in the Old City. It was an era of cultural, socio-economic, and architectural change, in which Ayyubid Jerusalem can be perceived as a cultural entity enriched by the wide variety of groups shaping public life.

With its two companion volumes (*Mamluk Jerusalem*,1987, and *Ottoman Jerusalem,* 2000) this book draws on nearly 30 years of dedicated scholarship. It is hoped that the completed trilogy will add substantively to current knowledge about Jerusalem's unique urban environment and so increase the rationale for its preservation for future generations.

HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal

A NOTE FROM THE TRUSTEES

When the Trustees agreed that they wished to follow up the success of *Mamluk Jerusalem* and *Ottoman Jerusalem* with a proposal to publish a volume on *Ayyubid Jerusalem*, it was clear that funding by multiple donors would no longer be possible. However, when they raised the matter with their patron His Excellency Mohamed Mahdi Altajir, his reply was quick and typically generous—he would personally finance the whole project. Without his munificent support this volume would not have appeared, and all who read and learn from it owe him their thanks.

The volume is also a memorial. Whilst work was under way, two key figures died: first Sir John Moberly, the then Chairman of the Trustees, in September 2004, and later Alistair Duncan in April 2007. For Alistair Duncan as Director of the Trust from its inception until his retirement at the end of 2004 this was a particularly cherished project, and he worked on until his late seventies to see it well on its way.

The Trustees were fortunate to be able to turn to Professor Robert Hillenbrand and to Dr Sylvia Auld to act as editors. We are deeply grateful to them for all that they have achieved. They were backed up, as before, by Leonard Harrow and Alan Ball, without whose many practical skills the volume would not have been printed.

Finally, our thanks go to our present Director, Richard Muir, who has coped admirably and diplomatically with the final stages of the project, and to our Administrator, Mrs Ursula Guy, who held things together in 2005 when Alistair Duncan's immediate successor, Dr Duncan Haldane, was stricken by cancer and unable to oversee the project.

Professor Alan Jones
Chairman of the Trustees
Altajir Trust

NOTES

Given the multi-authored nature of this book, and the fact that these authors represent a wide range of disciplines, the editors decided from the outset not to aim for a single system of transliteration for the Arabic, Persian and Turkish terms used in the main body of the text.

Dates are cited with the year of the Islamic calendar cited first, followed by an oblique stroke and then the equivalent in the Christian calendar.

Ibn and b. are used interchangeably.

Unless otherwise credited, the photographs used here may be assumed to be the material of the respective authors.

PREFACE

Ayyubid rule marks a new beginning for Islamic Jerusalem, not only after almost a century of Crusader domination but also after a lean four centuries and more after the departure of the Umayyads. At the same time it served as a curtain-raiser for the thorough transformation which the city experienced under the Mamluks, who systematically beautified it with dozens of new public buildings, many of them on the Haram al-Sharif. Obviously this renewed interest in Jerusalem was triggered by the Crusader presence and by the supreme effort that it took to dislodge them from the city. Nevertheless, it proved problematic to sustain the momentum generated by Saladin's victory at Hattin in July 1187 and his capture of Jerusalem a few months later. Jerusalem was plagued throughout the later medieval period by the small size of its population, and this factor in itself was enough to interdict the possibility that the city could challenge Damascus, let alone Aleppo or Cairo, for political dominance. The volatile political and military situation that obtained throughout the Ayyubid period made Jerusalem a risky proposition as a place to settle, and while there was a certain amount of repopulation in the generation after Saladin's death, including the high-profile immigration of members of the Syrian intellectual élite, it was never enough to make the city fully viable in this period. This, then, was a time of transition, when—after the shock administered by the Crusaders—Jerusalem reclaimed its Islamic identity once more.

The project that has been realized by the publication of *Ayyubid Jerusalem* was one very close to the heart of Alistair Duncan, the Director and driving force behind first the World of Islam Festival Trust and then of its successor, the Altajir Trust. This book is the last major work associated with him. Over some four decades Alistair had developed a deep love for Jerusalem, coupled with an open-hearted acceptance of the key role it played for each of the three Abrahamic faiths. He revisited the city constantly, and formed some of the most enduring friendships of his life there and

under its metaphorical shadow. He loved to tell the tale of how, on an early visit, 'Arif al-'Arif himself had taken him by the hand and led him into the Haram enclosure. Alistair's affection for Jerusalem, and his intuitive understanding of its many-layered history, inform two books he wrote celebrating respectively its Christian and its Muslim heritage—books which he illustrated with his own high-quality photographs. These document much that has since disappeared. He it was who photographed the *minbar* of the Aqsa mosque in colour just before it was destroyed by arson in 1969—an image reproduced in this book. Alistair saw the publication of books about Islamic civilization as one of the key activities of the Trusts which he headed, a policy which yielded rich fruit from 1976 onwards. Its highlights included the constellation of books published under the imprint of the World of Islam Festival Trust in that same year, and the Trust's first essay in the genre of books devoted to a single city —namely *San'a', An Arabian Islamic City*, published in 1983.

Books on Jerusalem formed a major part of his long-term programme, and he was determined that the important monographs among them should become monuments themselves. The first major book in this series was Michael Burgoyne's *Mamluk Jerusalem*, a magisterial record—carried out to the highest possible standards of accuracy—of the physical fabric of Jerusalem in the two and a half centuries of Mamluk rule, supplemented by a detailed account of its historical context which owed much to the work of Donald Richards. This magnificent achievement was followed some 13 years later by *Ottoman Jerusalem*, which had grown into two volumes and 1168 pages, with the balance fairly equally divided between architectural material and historical, religious and art-historical chapters by 33 authors. Alistair envisaged *Ayyubid Jerusalem* as a shorter but still substantial volume with the same dual focus as *Ottoman Jerusalem*, and entrusted the project to the same editorial team of Dr Sylvia Auld and myself. We have sought to realize his vision and have interpreted our brief as presenting

the historical and art-historical context of Ayyubid Jerusalem in rather more detail than the buildings themselves, since they cannot compete with those of the Ottomans, let alone the Mamluks. The much more limited time frame—63 years of Ayyubid rule in Jerusalem as against 267 for the Mamluks and 400 for the Ottomans—has also dictated a somewhat different emphasis from that followed in either of the previous books. The key difference is that, alongside the continuing emphasis on Jerusalem, we have attempted to provide a conspectus of certain aspects of the entire Ayyubid period.

It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the help that the project has received over the years. I thank the individual contributors whose chapters have illuminated so many facets of Ayyubid life. In Jerusalem the support of ʿAdnan Hussaini, Yusuf Natsheh, ʿIssam ʿAwad and Khadr Salameh has been indispensable, and the warmest thanks are due to the Administration of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs and to the Department of Islamic Archaeology. The Council for British Research in the Levant has helped to fund some of the survey work carried out by Dr Mahmud Hawari and his team. Our team was comfortably accommodated at The Kenyon Institute (previously the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem) for the periods of research in the city. The Altajir Trust has funded the entire project with the utmost generosity, thanks to the munificent patronage of H.E. Mohamed Mahdi Altajir and his family. They have been the means of presenting the Holy City, and all who love it, with a detailed record of its physical fabric in Ayyubid times, so far as it has survived, and of a historical and art-historical conspectus of the achievements of the Ayyubid dynasty. Thus the story of Islamic Jerusalem, as told by its buildings, can now, after forty years of work, be traced in detail in a trilogy of volumes from Saladin's re-conquest of the city in 1187 to Allenby's entry into it in 1917. As with its companion volumes, the hope is that the mass of data thus assembled will not only document in exhaustive detail the unwavering Islamic commitment to Jerusalem, and

its embellishment in these years of Muslim rule, but will also act as a stimulus to further research.

The Board of Trustees of the Altajir Trust has provided solid support throughout the long gestation of this book and throughout the many academic and administrative challenges that it has posed. To them, and particularly to Alistair Duncan and his successors, the late Dr Duncan Haldane and Richard Muir, as well as to Professor Alan Jones, the most grateful thanks are due. I would like to pay a special tribute to Richard Muir for his vision, his energy and his patient support. Euan Cockburn produced a corpus of drawings of consistently high quality, while Professor Yasir Suleiman, a Qudsi himself, put in place arrangements to administer the budget through the University of Edinburgh.

As with *Ottoman Jerusalem*, and indeed other projects in which I have collaborated with him, Leonard Harrow proved to be the kind of general editor of whom most authors can only dream. Himself an accomplished scholar of the Islamic world, he has constantly kept all the threads of this complex book in his hands and has dealt unobtrusively and efficiently with the many problems that it has generated. He has made everything easier by his good nature, his unfailing courtesy and his imperturbability.

Finally, I should like to record my deep appreciation of the sustained efforts of four people who have worked very hard to bring this book to completion. Dr Joe Rock took a great many of the photographs, sometimes in difficult circumstances, and contributed many insights into the discussion of the buildings themselves. Dr Michael Burgoyne enriched this book at every turn by generously putting at the team's disposal his encyclopaedic knowledge of Jerusalem and its buildings. My wife Carole cheerfully dealt with all manner of linguistic and historical problems, especially as the book neared completion. And my co-editor Dr Sylvia Auld imposed order on the entire project from the outset and then sustained it through thick and thin. I have indeed been fortunate to work with such a team.

Robert Hillenbrand
Edinburgh
March 2009

Chapter 1
AYYUBID JERUSALEM—
A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Carole Hillenbrand

Introduction

The Ayyubids were the family dynasty of Saladin, the famous Kurdish Muslim hero of the Crusades.[1] The dynasty is normally dated from Saladin's career onwards (564/1169)[2] but is named after Saladin's father Ayyub. In their heyday, the Ayyubids ruled Egypt, Syria, Palestine, the Jazira and Yemen.[3] Whilst Cairo was the real hub of Ayyubid sovereignty, previous detailed studies of the Kurdish Ayyubid dynasty have for the most part examined the other important centres of political power, Damascus[4] and Aleppo.[5] This book, which focuses on the Holy City of Jerusalem in Ayyubid times, therefore offers a new way of looking at the dynasty. The individual chapters of this book provide new insights into this vital period of medieval Islamic and Crusader history and into the fate of the Holy City in troubled times.

This introductory part of the book has three aims. Firstly, it will give a general historical overview of the Ayyubid period to give a background to the detailed analyses of individual themes provided by other scholars in this book. Secondly, this chapter will focus in some detail on the three major episodes of Ayyubid rule in Jerusalem—Saladin in Jerusalem, the treaty signed by the Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil and Frederick II of Sicily in 626/1229, and the sack of the city by the Khwarazmians in 642/1244. Thirdly, there will be a wider analysis of some major issues arising from a study of Ayyubid Jerusalem.

[1] References in the footnotes to this chapter will use abbreviated forms of bibliographical titles, since there is a full bibliography at the end of this book.

[2] The most appropriate moment from which to date the career of Saladin as an independent ruler would seem to be his seizure of power in Fatimid Egypt in 564/1169, although he was at that point still nominally acting in the name of his overlord Nur al-Din.

[3] General historical surveys of the Ayyubid dynasty include Holt 1986 and Gibb 1969.

[4] Humphreys 1977.

[5] Eddé 1999.

A historical overview of the Ayyubid period (564–648/1169–1250)

Born in 532/1138 in Tikrit in northern Iraq, Saladin[6] came from a family of prominent Kurdish soldiers who rose to power in the service of the Turkish Muslim rulers of Iraq and Syria. Saladin's father Ayyub and his uncle Shirkuh hailed from Dvin in Armenia and served the Turkish warlords Zangi and his son Nur al-Din, Saladin's two great predecessors in the Muslim 'Counter-Crusade'. Saladin worked for Nur al-Din, who fought the Crusaders[7] and laid the foundations for the later successes of Saladin. Under Nur al-Din, a dynamic re-awakening of *jihad* spirit, focused on the recapture of Jerusalem, accompanied Muslim military victories against the Crusaders. These victories saw the tide finally beginning to turn in favour of the Muslims.

Saladin accompanied Shirkuh on three expeditions to Egypt in the 1160s. After Shirkuh's death in 564 /1169, Saladin took control in Egypt in the name of Nur al-Din. In 566/1171 he put an end to the Fatimid Isma'ili Shi'ite caliphate which had ruled there for over two hundred years, and he re-introduced Sunni Islam, re-establishing allegiance to the ʿAbbasid caliph in Baghdad. A growing rift between Saladin and his master Nur al-Din was prevented from developing into open warfare by the death of Nur al-Din in 569/1174. That same year Saladin sent his brother Turanshah to conquer Yemen.

After his master's death Saladin's major concern was to gain credibility as the successor to Nur al-Din, in the face of the latter's family who aspired to rule his territories. As Nur al-Din had done, Saladin spent his first decade as an independent ruler fighting fellow-Muslims, in order to establish a unified

[6] The scholarly literature on Saladin is very extensive. The best biography in English remains the work of Lyons and Jackson 1982.

[7] In this chapter the terms 'Crusaders' and 'Franks' will both be used.

power base for himself and his family, and he engaged in combat with the Crusaders only intermittently. By 578/1183 he had united Syria and Egypt under his rule and he finally turned his attention to the Crusaders. In 582/1187 he launched a major campaign against them. He met the combined forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem at the Horns of Hattin near Tiberias on Saturday 25 Rabi' II 583/4 July 1187 and gained his most famous military victory.[8] Acre capitulated five days later and by early September the whole coast from Gaza to Jubail (with the exception of Tyre) was in Saladin's hands. He then advanced on Jerusalem, which surrendered on 27 Rajab/2 October that same year.

This much-desired re-conquest of Jerusalem was certainly the psychological climax of Saladin's career but the stark reality was that the Crusaders were still in possession of 350 miles of coastline and a number of key ports. There was still work for Saladin to do. He followed up the re-conquest of Jerusalem by taking more strongholds in northern Syria in 584/1188 but he failed to take the port of Tyre. The advent of the Third Crusade, launched in response to the loss of Jerusalem, saw the investing and eventual surrender of Acre to the Franks in Jumada II 587/July 1191; Acre became the new capital of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. However, Richard the Lionheart failed to retake Jerusalem and he concluded a truce with Saladin in 588/1192, before departing definitively from the Holy Land. Saladin died on 26 Safar 589/3 March 1193. Jerusalem was now back in Muslim hands but the Crusaders still retained a foothold on the Syrian coast, they ruled three states on traditionally Muslim soil—Antioch, Tripoli and Acre—and they were to remain in the Middle East for almost another century. So Saladin had failed to oust them from the area.

Saladin did not envisage a centralized state after his death. He divided his empire among his relations, bequeathing to three of his sons the main centres: Damascus, Aleppo and Cairo. In the ensuing power struggle it was Saladin's brother, al-'Adil, a seasoned politician, rather than Saladin's sons,[9] who had emerged triumphant by 598/1202 and assumed the title of sultan. This kind of inter-clan struggle was deep-rooted. Yet, despite the fragmented nature of Ayyubid rule, three rulers, al-'Adil (596-615/1200-18), al-Kamil (615-635/1218-38) and Najm al-Din Ayyub (637-47/1240-49), generally managed to exercize overarching control of the Ayyubid empire, albeit with extreme difficulty at times. The line in Aleppo remained

amongst Saladin's direct descendants. Other small principalities were set up in Hims, Hama, Transjordan and Mesopotamia. Two of these—Hama and Mesopotamia—survived after 648/1250.

Al-'Adil had acted as Saladin's principal, indeed indispensable, helper in governing his empire—administratively and militarily—and after Saladin's death, al-'Adil's role as senior family member became paramount.[10] During his reign he established his own sons in important Ayyubid centres of power. Al-'Adil secured his north-eastern frontier and in 600/1204 he concluded a peace treaty for six years with the Crusader ruler Amalric. When this truce came to an end, he had it renewed for a further five years in Safar 609/July 1212.[11] In 615/1218, the Fifth Crusade arrived in Egypt and al-'Adil sent his son al-Mu'azzam to protect Jerusalem. After al-'Adil's ill-timed death in Jumada I 615/August 1218,[12] three of his sons—al-Kamil, al-Ashraf and al-Mu'azzam—initially stayed united in the face of the Fifth Crusade.

Soon after the death of al-'Adil in 615/1218, al-Mu'azzam took control in Damascus; his territories included Jerusalem. His brother al-Kamil became ruler in Egypt. After the termination of the Fifth Crusade, the united front of between the three Ayyubid brothers, al-Kamil, al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf (in the Jazira), fragmented. At the same time, a new and menacing polity in the east, the Khwarazmians, displaced from their lands on the lower Oxus by Mongol movements westwards, were occupying new territory south of the Caucasus.[13] In 623/1226 al-Mu'azzam asked Jalal al-Din Khwarazmshah for military help against his brother al-Kamil. In response to this, al-Kamil also called on another foreign force for military support, the German emperor Frederick II in Sicily. Despite the fact that it was al-Mu'azzam who governed the Holy City, al-Kamil proposed the handing over of Jerusalem to Frederick. Not surprisingly, al-Mu'azzam was not willing to do this. However, most opportunely for al-Kamil, al-Mu'azzam died in 624/1227. His lands were inherited by his son, the inexperienced al-Nasir Da'ud, from whom al-Kamil then captured Jerusalem and Nablus. At a meeting in Tall 'Ajul he agreed with his brother al-Ashraf to divide up their nephew's territories. Al-Nasir Da'ud fled to Damascus to which his uncles laid siege around the end of the year 625/1228. At this point al-Kamil was in a good position to secure the Holy Land

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[8] The *Itinerarium* writes of the importance of Hattin as follows: 'In a single moment it carried away and extinguished all the glory of the kingdom;' cf. Nicholson 1997, 35.

[9] The author of the *Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre* writes as follows about Saladin and the Ayyubids: 'Saladin disinherited many people and conquered more lands than all the unbelieving Muslims who ever lived before him. All his life he succeeded in every thing he undertook, but as soon as he died his children lost nearly all of it.' The same source goes on to describe how al-'Adil (Saphadin) took all Saladin's lands; cf. Shirley 1999, 33.

[10] Al-Maqrizi gives the following assessment of al-'Adil: 'He did not see it wise to engage the enemy openly, preferring rather in his designs to use guile and deception. The Franks made peace with him on account of the strength of his resolution, his alert prudence, his capacious intellect, his resource in stratagems.' Cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 217.

[11] Runciman 1955, 133.

[12] For comments on al-'Adil, cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 170-1; Oliver of Paderborn 1948, 30-1. Al-Maqrizi writes that al-'Adil fell ill on hearing that the Franks had captured the tower with chains at Damietta: 'he sighed deeply and beat his chest in grief and sorrow, and was instantly seized with sickness'; cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 167.

[13] The 'Khwarazmian' troops were originally Kipchak Turks from Central Asia; cf. Holt 1986, 65.

for himself but he had promised to make an agreement with Frederick. He may even have regretted his earlier action in making the offer of Jerusalem to the German emperor now that the obstacle of al-Muʿazzam had been removed.

The peace treaty of Jaffa, signed on 22 Rabiʿ I 626/18 February 1229 by representatives of al-Kamil and Frederick, gave Jerusalem and Bethlehem back to the Latin Kingdom but kept the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock as a Muslim enclave. Within Jerusalem itself, Muslims were allowed the right of entry to their holy places and freedom of worship. The peace treaty would last for ten Christian years. Frederick made his ceremonial entry into Jerusalem on 19 Rabiʿ II 626/17 March 1229. On 5 Jumada II/1 May 1229 he left the Holy Land. The death of al-Kamil on 20 Rajab 635/8 March 1238[14] ushered in a turbulent period during which the treaty between al-Kamil and Frederick came to an end.

The son of al-Kamil, al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, took power there in 637/1240 and a further period of internecine strife ensued. From his base in Cairo, Najm al-Din Ayyub made an alliance with the Khwarazmians, but he deflected them from his own territories, unleashing these terrifying foes on Ayyubid Palestine. On 3 Safar 642/11 July 1244 the Khwarazmians entered and sacked Jerusalem to widespread condemnation. The battle of Harbiyya[15] that same year saw Najm al-Din Ayyub with his Khwarazmian allies defeat a coalition of Syrian Ayyubids (al-Nasir, al-Mansur and Ismaʿil) and Crusaders.

Najm al-Din Ayyub died on 14 Shaʿban 647/22 November 1249 and the Ayyubid dynasty was soon overthrown in a coup instigated by his own slave troops (*mamluks*), who raised one of their number to the rank of sultan. At the time of his last illness a crusade was launched against Egypt under the French king Louix IX. Egypt was saved by the new ruling dynasty, the Mamluks, who by 690/1291 had removed the Crusaders definitively from the Levant.

The policies of the Ayyubids

The Ayyubids have been somewhat neglected by scholars. Much of what has been written about them has focused on their relations with the Crusaders. But it is important also to view them within a wider medieval Islamic context. During their rule the Ayyubids had to contend with other neighbouring states—the Saljuqs of Anatolia, now in full efflorescence, the Turkish dynasties of the Jazira, such as the Artuqids and the Zangids, the Christian kingdoms of the Caucasus and the Khwarazmians Turks further east.

Saladin's reign was both a culmination and a beginning.[16] His period in power continued the strategy employed by Nur al-Din in his programme of revitalising Sunni Islam and focussing *jihad* on Jerusalem. Both leaders relied on the all-important tight bond between themselves and the religious classes of Syria. The post-Saladin period, however, saw the emergence of different trends, including a shift towards Cairo as the major centre of power, a tendency which would reach complete fruition under the succeeding dynasty, the Mamluks of Cairo. This process began with the reign of his brother al-ʿAdil who ruled from Cairo. It is also important to note that Saladin's successors in power depended on an increasingly militarized government[17] and that by the time of the seizure of power by the Mamluks, the successor to the throne would come from the ranks of the army commanders themselves. The Ayyubid period had paved the way for this, allowing the military to enjoy increasing power at the very heart of the sultanate.[18]

A key aim of Ayyubid government—the need to rule a united Syro-Egyptian polity—was already visible in Saladin's time. After his death, however, the Ayyubid empire was dominated by the precarious relationship between the rulers of the two key Ayyubid principalities, Cairo and Damascus, and by the shifting alliances of minor Ayyubid princes between these two major centres. Some rulers of the dynasty were clearly exceptional—not only Saladin but also al-ʿAdil and al-Kamil stand out in their different ways. When Cairo and Damascus were united under one ruler, equilibrium and stability prevailed. Each time a leader with overarching authority appeared, this was the hard-won result of personal charisma and diplomacy, but such dominance would dissipate at that ruler's death and periods of great internal instability would then follow. The Ayyubid confederation, by its very nature loose, pragmatic and supportive of local interests, enabled the Crusaders to stay in the Levant and, indeed, briefly to retake Jerusalem on at least two occasions. The Ayyubids prioritized the protection of Egypt, and the Crusaders, recognizing that Egypt held the key to recovering the Holy Land, attacked it on a number of occasions during the Ayyubid period—in 593/1197, 613/1217, 626 /1229 and 646/1249.[19]

Saladin inherited governmental traditions brought from the east to Syria by Saljuq rulers and commanders. His family had worked with and for such Turkish leaders and they had assimilated their military and governmental traditions. In Egypt continuity also existed between Fatimid and Ayyubid practice, especially in taxation. This process is mirrored in the career of the Qadi al-Fadil, a Sunni Muslim, who had served the Fatimid government in Cairo but later

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[14] For assessments of al-Kamil, cf. Ibn Khallikan, tr. e Slane 1843-71, iii, 240-44; al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 206.

[15] The Crusaders called this the battle of La Fourbie.

[16] Humphreys 1977, 1.

[17] Humphreys 1977, 5.

[18] Humphreys 1977, 9-10.

[19] Cf. Lapidus 1988, 354.

became Saladin's head of chancery. The Ayyubids expanded the existing system of *iqta'* (allotments of land, given to high-ranking army officers in exchange for certain military and administrative duties) to the benefit of their kinsmen and commanders. Armed with the revenues of Egypt, Saladin developed a strong army which included his own contingents ('*askars*) as well as *iqta'* holders, vassals and auxiliary forces. The Ayyubid armies were composed of Kurds and Turks, with the latter predominating. The recruitment of slave soldiers, always a feature of Ayyubid military policy, intensified under Najm al-Din Ayyub.

The Ayyubids built on the strong Sunni environment which had developed in Syria, and especially in Damascus, during the rule of Nur al-Din. He cultivated a close working relationship with Sunni circles in Syria and sponsored a vast programme of endowing religious monuments to underpin and consolidate Sunni Islam after the collapse of the Fatimids and in face of the need to encourage the *jihad* spirit against the Franks. Like the Saljuq and Zangid dynasties before them, the Ayyubids presented themselves as staunch supporters of Sunni Islam and in this respect they had begun spectacularly well with Saladin's abolition of the 200 year-old Isma'ili Shi'ite caliphate of Cairo. Indeed, in the eyes of many modern Sunni Muslims, it is this action—the bringing back of Egypt into the Sunni fold—rather than his re-conquest of Jerusalem which is regarded as his greatest achievement.[20]

Saladin's successors were also keen to prove their impeccable Sunni credentials, building religious monuments in Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo and elsewhere. They founded many religious colleges in Damascus alone (almost all the Ayyubids were Shafi'is[21] or Hanafis). They welcomed Sufis, for whom they founded cloisters (*khanqahs*). By the early thirteenth century the Ayyubids in Egypt, despite their general preference for the Shafi'i *madhhab*, had tried to introduce a pan-Sunni approach to Islam which sponsored all four *madhhabs* with equal recognition for all four.[22] This broad-minded attitude was mirrored in their activities in Jerusalem.

As was customary, Muslim chroniclers wrote glowing accounts of acts of piety performed by individual Ayyubid sultans.[23] Less common were laudatory comments about them from Crusader chroniclers, except in the case of Saladin and his brother, al-'Adil, both of whom gained respect and admiration in Outremer and back in Europe. The favourable remarks by Matthew Paris about al-Kamil are therefore unusual; under

the year 1238 he praises the 'most powerful sultan' who, about to die, 'left large sums of money to the sick Christians who remained in the house of the Hospitallers, and had liberated a great many confined prisoners, and performed many other deeds of charity.' The same source continues by saying that the emperor Frederick lamented his death, having hoped that the sultan would receive baptism.[24]

The Ayyubids' relationship with the Baghdad caliphate was complex. On the one hand, like earlier military dynasties that had usurped power, the Ayyubids sought legitimization from the caliph in Baghdad. Caliphal ambassadors mediated in inter-Ayyubid disputes. The 'Abbasid caliph al-Nasir (d.622/1225) created around himself a network of spiritual alliances with Muslim rulers, including the Ayyubids. On the other hand, such symbolic links did not remove mutual suspicion. Both sides feared each other's expansionist aims. Saladin complained of the caliph's lacklustre attitude to *jihad* against the Crusaders. Nor did Saladin's descendants help the caliph against the Mongols in the 1220s.

Traditionally, the Ayyubids have been cast in modern scholarship as opportunistic, wily and self-serving politicians. But their decisions concerning Jerusalem were taken when no other alternatives were available and in order to ensure military support against real or perceived dangers. Even Saladin, despite his focus on *jihad* aimed at the re-conquest of Jerusalem, practised policies of shifting alliances and truces.[25] For his successors Jerusalem was dispensable. They were concerned with their survival as individual princes in an atmosphere of frequent mutual rivalry. This Ayyubid survival depended on local Levantine solidarity. In times of internal crisis and external aggression the Ayyubids would ally with their local neighbours, even if they were Crusaders, to defend their territory.

The Ayyubids and *jihad*

In the 12th century, Jerusalem, now lost to the Muslims, became the focus of intense longing to them. As the century progressed, the loss of the Holy City and the shame of its being occupied by the Franks must have become more and more difficult to endure. Like the Children of Israel by the waters of Babylon, the Muslims of Syria and Palestine grieved for the

[20] However, because of Crusader perspectives, Hattin and Jerusalem are seen by the West as being the causes of his enduring prestige.

[21] Saladin's Shafi'ite persuasion was very firm. In a little-known anecdote, the anonymous author of the *Bustan al-jami'* mentions that a Hanafi *faqih* called Ibn Abi'l-'Aysh wrote a book in which he criticized the Shafi'is. Saladin was very displeased; cf. Cahen 1937-8, 144; cf. Cook 2000, 147, and Madelung 1970, 157-61.

[22] Lapidus 1988, 353.

[23] Cf. Richards' chapter in this book.

[24] Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, 129-30.

[25] Saladin was not averse to making alliances with Christian states. The Byzantines under first Andronicus and then Isaac Angelus and Saladin joined in opposition to the Latins in the Holy Land on the eve of the Third Crusade. An alliance was proposed to Saladin by Andronicus in 1185. Saladin sent religious scholars and a *minbar* to Constantinople and a sermon was preached before a crowd of Muslim merchants and travellers. The alliance with the Muslims from 1185 to 1192 was ultimately a failure and was to have serious repercussions, culminating in the Fourth Crusade of 1204; cf. Brand 1962, 167-81.

sites of the Holy City. This yearning to repossess Jerusalem was made concrete by two charismatic Muslim leaders, Nur al-Din and Saladin. Both placed the re-conquest of Jerusalem at the heart of their ambition. The Holy City simply had to be taken and it was the hitherto dormant spirit of *jihad* which triggered the unification and encirclement of Crusader lands, the necessary basis for its eventual conquest. An increasingly intense campaign of *jihad*, promoted through an alliance between the warlords and the religious classes, was focused not on the borders of Islam, but right within the Islamic world itself, on the city of Jerusalem.

During much of his military career—from his achieving independent power on the death of Nur al-Din until his recapture of Jerusalem—Saladin is presented in the Muslim sources as making the Holy City the supreme goal of his anti-Crusader propaganda. Feelings of increasing emotional intensity and yearning for Jerusalem are exploited to the full by Saladin's scribes and preachers in the build-up to the recapture of the city. The year before the re-conquest, his secretary and biographer, ʿImad al-Din, declared in a letter, with the confidence of imminent victory:

> 'The sabres of *jihad* rattle with joy… … The Dome of the Rock rejoices in the good news that the Qu'ran of which it was deprived will return to it.'[26]

Choosing the best possible day to enter Jerusalem in triumph, Saladin waited to take possession of it until Friday 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187, the anniversary of the Prophet's Night Journey into Heaven. This event was the climax of Saladin's career, the fulfilment of his *jihad* campaign. The great gilded cross at the top of the cupola of the Dome of the Rock was pulled down as soon as possible by Saladin's men.

According to al-Maqrizi, an envoy from the caliph, al-Shahrazuri, was sent back to Baghdad with gifts and Frankish prisoners. On this occasion two crosses were taken to the caliph, one of which was the cross on the top of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[27]

The foundation inscription on the Salahiyya *madrasa*, named after Saladin and dated 588/1192, encapsulates his achievements and his importance within the *jihad* milieu of his time.[28] Part of the inscription, consisting of five lines, runs as follows:

> 'In the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful. And whatever blessing *(ni'ma)* you have

received, is certainly from God.[29] This blessed *madrasa* was founded as a *waqf* by our master al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Dunya wa'l-Din, the sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Abu'l-Muzaffar Yusuf b. Ayyub b. Shadhi, the revitaliser of the state of the Commander of the Faithful—may God glorify his victories and assemble for him the good of this world and of the next.'[30]

The timing of the founding of this monument, soon after the two events which formed the climax of Saladin's career—the victory at Hattin and the re-conquest of the Holy City—would seem to suggest that the Qur'anic quotation in the inscription is a reminder of these great victories. Indeed, Baha' al-Din b. Shaddad, Saladin's other biographer, speaks of Hattin as a 'blessing for the Muslims' and states that the sultan saw the favour *(ni'ma)* of God towards him.[31] Such a short Qur'anic quotation thus serves its purpose well. The word *ni'ma* must have been on everyone's lips. Ibn Zaki's famous sermon preached on Saladin's entry into Jerusalem includes the following lines:

> 'How great a favour *(ni'ma)* was that which rendered you the army by whose hands the Sacred City was recaptured.'[32]

What of the prosecution of *jihad* after Saladin's paramount aim had been achieved? Not long after the re-conquest of Jerusalem, even the celebrated scholar Ibn al-Jauzi in distant Baghdad was moved to write a laudatory work[33] in the genre of the Merits of Jerusalem *(Fada'il al-Quds)* literature,[34] normally written out of local pride by scholars who lived nearer to the Holy City. This work includes chapters describing the 'wonders which are in Jerusalem', the merit of the Holy City 'at which God Himself looks twice each day', and the merits of visiting Jerusalem and of praying near the Dome of the Rock.[35]

The Ayyubids are certainly praised as enthusiastic warriors of *jihad* in their monumental inscriptions and chancellery correspondence.[36] Moreover, the tradition of *jihad* poetry, which had flourished in the build-up and the re-conquest of Jerusalem, continued unabated under the

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[26] Cited by Sivan 1968, 116.

[27] One of these two crosses, which was 'made of copper and coated with gold was buried beneath the threshold of the Bab al-nabi (in Baghdad) and thus trodden upon;' cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 90.

[28] Van Berchem 1922, 91-5.

[29] This Qur'anic quotation, rarely used in monumental inscriptions—part of Sura 16:53—may be seen as a reference to God's special beneficence towards Saladin.

[30] Van Berchem 1922, 91-2.

[31] Cf. Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, tr. Richards 2002, 72.

[32] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-71, ii, 638.

[33] Ibn al-Jauzi, 1979.

[34] For a detailed discussion of the format and content of this genre, cf. C Hillenbrand 1999, 162-5.

[35] Ibn al-Jauzi, 1979, 71-3, 84-7, 139.

[36] For a discussion of the Ayyubids and *jihad*, cf. Sivan 1968, 131-64; C Hillenbrand 1999, 204-24.

Ayyubids, although some of its claims rang rather hollow in this age of relative *détente* with the Franks. The Ayyubid poet, Ibn al-Nabih, praises Saladin's brother, al-ʿAdil, declaring:

> 'You have purified Jerusalem of their (the Franks') filth
> After it had been a refuge for pigs.'[37]

In 616/1219 after the fall of Damietta, the Syrian chronicler and preacher Sibt b. al-Jauzi read out in the Great Mosque in Damascus a letter which the Ayyubid prince al-Muʿazzam had written to him; in it al-Muʿazzam mentioned explicitly that he wished to stimulate the people to *jihad*.[38] The poet Ibn ʿUnayn praises the valour of the sons of al-ʿAdil in the *jihad*:

> "Tis a family pure in origin, excellent in race,
> copious in liberality, pleasing to behold.
> Their steeds scorn to drink from a stream unless
> its waters be encrimsoned with the blood of
> battles.'[39]

The same poet celebrates the victory of the sultan al-Kamil over the Franks at Damietta in 617/1221 in the following stirring lines:[40]

> 'He marched towards Damietta with every
> highborn champion,
> Viewing the descent into battle as the most
> salubrious of descents,
> And he removed from there the miscreants of
> Byzantium, and the
> Hearts of certain men were gladdened that
> afterwards made compact with sorrow;
> And he cleansed her of their filth with his
> sword—a hero
> Regarding the acquisition of praise as the noblest
> of prizes.'

The word used for 'filth' *(rijs)* in this poem denotes ritual impurity. Indeed, images of pollution and purification abound in the Muslim *jihad* literature of the Crusading period.

However, despite such panegyrics, it is well known that the reputation of Saladin's successors in prosecuting the *jihad* was often lacklustre,[41] and Ibn Shaddad explicitly expressed his worries that Saladin's family would not carry out the *jihad* properly.[42] His fears were justified since intra-familial strife and, in particular, the rivalry between the rulers of the key cities of Cairo and Damascus often led to the forging of alliances across the religious divide. Just as Muslim leaders had done in the first decades of the twelfth century,[43] Ayyubid princes sometimes aligned themselves on the battlefield alongside Frankish rulers. In such a context it was hardly plausible to speak of raising *jihad* banners against the infidel.

Why did the actual Ayyubid *jihad* effort prove so lukewarm in reality? Various explanations can be given; an anti-climax after the conquest of Jerusalem in 582/1187 and the loss of the special focus for *jihad* which had been provided by the Holy City being in Crusader hands; a lack of resources to finance further military engagements; the fear of attracting more crusades; and the desire on the Ayyubids' part to promote trade with the Franks. Indeed, it is true that through their holding back from engaging militarily with the Frankish states and their emphasis on entente and commercial considerations, the Ayyubids built up a prosperous Mediterranean trade between the Levant and Western Europe.[44] So, although it remains true that the Ayyubids were called *mujahids* in the religio-political discourse of government and religious circles, their actions spoke louder than their words.

So much then for the broad outlines and general themes of Ayyubid history. It is now time to dwell in greater detail on issues directly related to the Ayyubids' custodianship of the Holy City and their attitudes to it.

Jerusalem under Muslim rule until the coming of the Crusaders

Rather than religious significance, it was strategic position, proximity to trade routes and accessible supplies, and other factors that dominated the choice of practical capital cities in medieval Islamic history. Indeed, Medina, the city of the Prophet, had enjoyed the status of the political capital of the Muslim community for barely twenty years before the Rightly-guided Caliph ʿAli moved the seat of the caliphate to Kufa in Iraq. Even more significantly, the first Umayyad caliph Muʿawiya, although he made the deliberate decision to be proclaimed caliph in Jerusalem as an important symbolic gesture of legitimization, decided to stay in Damascus where he had long served as provincial governor since the days of the second caliph ʿUmar. And Damascus remained the capital city of the Umayyads for most of the duration of the dynasty. Their successors, the ʿAbbasids, based as they were in Iraq, built a new capital at Baghdad and they paid only passing or sporadic

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[37] Ibn al-Nabih, 1881, 121.

[38] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, 1951, 604.

[39] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-71, iii, 237.

[40] Arberry, 1965, 122-5.

[41] Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, tr. Richards 2002, 4-5; C Hillenbrand 1999, 204-11.

[42] Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, tr. Richards 2002, 4-5.

[43] C Hillenbrand 1999, 76-84; Sivan 1968, 24-8.

[44] For Ayyubid trade, cf. Ashtor 1976; Heyd 1885.

attention to distant Jerusalem. Likewise, the Fatimid caliphs opted to construct a city of their own, Cairo, as the capital of their vibrant new Shi'ite Isma'ili state. In fact, it needed the arrival of Christian European invaders, the Franks, to provide a political and governmental role for Jerusalem when they made it the capital of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Not surprisingly, Jerusalem in its medieval Muslim guise had fared best when strong local dynasties, such as the Umayyads in Damascus or the Fatimids in Cairo, had shown an interest in the religious character of the Holy City,[45] had adorned it with monuments and made religious visitations to it. Even under new Turkish Saljuq rule from the east, Jerusalem was by all accounts a thriving centre for the Islamic religious sciences, and famous scholars such as al-Ghazali had resided there for a while in the 1090s.[46] Jerusalem was a popular staging-post in the pilgrimage route to and from Mecca. Pilgrims often stayed for a considerable while, enriching the city's religious life with their knowledge and bringing economic prosperity to the local shopkeepers and merchants. But this Muslim scholarly traffic to Jerusalem came to a halt under Crusader occupation.

Jerusalem occupied by the Franks

During Crusader rule Jerusalem became a Christian city, 'where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take up residence permanently.'[47] Mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings.[48] Despite the official position, however, there was a divide between rhetoric and reality, between regulations and economic interests, and there is evidence that on occasion both Muslims and Jews were allowed to enter the city to pray or for commercial reasons. It is well known that the famous autobiographer Usama b. Munqidh was allowed to pray in a small area of the Aqsa mosque.[49] The Muslim scholar al-Harawi mentions that he had entered the Dome of the Rock on a visit to Jerusalem in 569/1173.[50] The Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who went to the Holy Land in the 1160s, found some families of Jewish dyers living opposite the Tower of David.[51]

However, it is obvious that the third most holy city of Islam was deprived of its usual architectural and cultural

patronage on the part of Muslim rulers and governors during the period of Crusader occupation. The climate was not right for endowing new monuments, or repairing or restoring existing ones, or indeed for Jerusalem to play a significant role as a centre of Muslim piety and learning. This situation would, of course, be transformed the moment Saladin re-conquered the Holy City.

Jerusalem in the time of Saladin

'Saladin was the central pearl of that necklace.'
(Ibn Khallikan) [52]

Saladin came to the walls of Jerusalem having already acquired considerable credentials in the eyes of the Muslim Sunni world. Whilst in Cairo he had sponsored the building of a number of religious monuments, although they were not directly attributed to him; as Ibn Khallikan writes, 'such secret conduct was unostentatious virtue.'[53] Ibn Jubayr also praises him openly for embracing the cause of Sunni Islam by sponsoring *madrasas*, Qur'an schools, a hospital and Sufi centres in Egypt, a country where Shi'ite monuments had predominated for two centuries.[54]

Saladin grew up in an environment in which Jerusalem, with its two sacred Muslim monuments—the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock—had been lost to the Muslims. But the memory of these two monuments never died. While working for Nur al-Din, Saladin imbibed the gradually increasing Sunni fervour concentrated on recapturing the Holy City for Islam. Not surprisingly, once this aim had been achieved, Saladin focussed on the immediate re-consecration of the two Muslim sacred buildings in Jerusalem and on the removal of all traces of Crusader interference in these sites.[55]

Muslim teaching institutions were now necessary in Jerusalem and so Saladin gave orders that a *madrasa* for the Shafi'is and a residence for the Sufis should be built.[56] For the *madrasa* he designated the Church of St Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, and for the Sufi convent the House of the Patriarch near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, known to the Muslims as the Church of the Resurrection (Kanisat al-Qiyama). He placed libraries in the tower of the Aqsa Mosque. He sent for the beautiful *minbar* of wood, encrusted with ivory and ebony,[57] which had been commissioned by his

[45] For a recent discussion of this topic, cf. Mourad 2008.

[46] Sivan almost certainly undervalued the sanctity of Jerusalem in the Muslim consciousness in the pre-Crusader period. He may have not done justice to the military efforts of the Fatimids and the Saljuqs of Syria who had to deal with an unfamiliar threat from a position of great weakness; cf. Humphreys 1998, 1.

[47] Goitein and Grabar 1986; Prawer 1972 (ii), 54, 71.

[48] Goitein and Grabar 1986.

[49] Hitti 1987, 134-5.

[50] Al-Harawi , tr. Sourdel-Thomine 1957, 63; C Hillenbrand 1999, 317.

[51] Prawer 1972 (ii), 239.

[52] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-71, iv, 479.

[53] Ibn Khallikan, quoted in Winter 1991, 315-6.

[54] Ibn Jubayr, tr. Broadhurst 1952, 33-5.

[55] For a more detailed description of how Saladin re-consecrated Jerusalem as the third most holy city in Islam, cf. Jarrar 1998, 72; C Hillenbrand 1999, 188-92.

[56] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-1871, iv, 547; al-Suyuti, tr. Reynolds 1836, 250-1.

[57] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 85; Mujir al-Din, tr. Sauvaire 1876, 99.

illustrious predecessor Nur al-Din in 564/1168. Nur al-Din had planned for it to be placed in the Aqsa Mosque but he had been robbed by death of that opportunity. So the *minbar* had stayed in Aleppo until Saladin sent for it in 583/1187 and placed it in the Aqsa Mosque.[58]

It is clear therefore that Saladin did not leave Jerusalem immediately after re-conquering it. He stayed a while[59] and began the process of turning the city back into the third most holy city of Islam. As for the all-important function of *qadi* of Jerusalem, Saladin appointed a person from outside, his devoted adviser and biographer, Baha' al-Din b. Shaddad (d. 632/1234), a Shafi'ite scholar from Mosul. In this case, Saladin's choice for this key position was probably prompted by the urgent need to have a person of tried and tested loyalty and known intellectual gifts. So Saladin appointed him in a number of roles—*qadi al-ʿaskar*, *qadi* of Jerusalem,[60] inspector of *waqfs* (pious endowments) and later the first instructor *(mudarris)* of the Salahiyya *madrasa*.[61] But the task of revitalizing Jerusalem as a centre of Muslim learning and piety would not be accomplished quickly.

When Saladin made one of his periodic visits to Jerusalem in the autumn of 588/1192, he provided more financial help for the Salahiyya *madrasa*, founded for the teaching of ʿAsharite theology and Shafiʿite law,[62] and for the Sufi *ribat* in the house of the former patriarch.[63] He then gave orders that the church next to the residence of the Hospitallers in the street of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre should be made into a hospital.[64] Ibn Shaddad was ordered to stay in the Holy City to direct the building of the hospital and the completion of the Salahiyya.[65]

Saladin used *waqfs* as a major tool in reshaping the Islamic character of Jerusalem, converting Crusader lands and property into *waqfs*. Monuments, agricultural lands and other properties were taken from the Latin church to be used by the Muslim community.[66] The *waqf* of the Salahiyya *madrasa* in Jerusalem, established as a Shafiʿi *madrasa*, consisted of lands, gardens, baths, an oven, houses, a mill, springs, a church and shops.[67] For the Dome of the Rock he appointed an *imam* to whom he bequeathed a house, field and garden.[68] He also established a *waqf* in the area of the Mount of Olives to help two Kurdish holy men, both called al-Hakkari.[69]

It is clear therefore that in the immediate aftermath of the Muslim re-entry into Jerusalem, Saladin paid great attention to the city and its welfare. It must be borne in mind that Jerusalem had been in Crusader hands for 88 years. It had been made into a Crusader city. Several generations of Crusaders had lived there. Many more had come to visit the city on pilgrimage and to fight the infidel in the Holy Land. The intensely christianized nature of the topography of Jerusalem under the Franks is clear from the descriptions of the city given by contemporary Crusader observers.[70] A letter from the Qadi al-Fadil, Saladin's famous scribe, confirms the degree to which the Franks had changed the face of the Holy City:

> 'They had rebuilt it with columns and slabs of marble. It was there that they had established their churches and the dwellings of the Templars and Hospitallers.'[71]

It must be emphasized that Jerusalem could not be re-sanctified and refashioned as a Muslim city overnight. But Saladin did at least set in motion the process of transforming the visible signs of Crusader presence —their religious monuments—into Muslim ones. Such action not only testified to the world that Islam reigned again supreme in Jerusalem but it was also a hoped-for invitation to Muslim religious figures—lawyers, scholars, Sufis—to return there and to make the city once more into a thriving centre of Islamic religious scholarship.[72] This process would, however, take time.

In 583/1187, new generations of the Muslim Jerusalem diaspora, the descendants of those who had survived the Crusader massacre of 492/1099 and moved to the security of Greater Syria, or even further afield, would need courage and determination, as well as the promise of economic security, to leave their present places of residence and return to face an uncertain future in the Jerusalem left so many years earlier by their grandfathers and great-grandfathers.

Jerusalem in the time of al-ʿAdil (596-615/1200-18)

While al-ʿAdil ruled the Ayyubid territories, the process of rebuilding Islamic Jerusalem, both literally and metaphorically, continued steadily and impressively. Initially Jerusalem came under the jurisdiction of Saladin's eldest son, al-Afdal ʿAli, who was given Damascus as his capital city, with its dependencies,

[58] For further discussion on the *minbar*, cf. Auld's Chapter 4 in this book; cf. also C Hillenbrand 1999, 151-61.

[59] Saladin left in 25 Shaʿban 583/30 October 1187—i.e. four weeks after his triumphant entry into the city; cf. Ibn Khallikan, tr. De Slane 1843-1871, iv, 529.

[60] Ibn Khallikan, tr. De Slane 1843-1871, iv, 421.

[61] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 142.

[62] Jarrar 1998, 73

[63] Jarrar 1998, 73

[64] ʿImad al-Din, 1888, 443; Ibn Khallikan, tr. De Slane 1843-71, iv, 547.

[65] Ibn Khallikan, tr De Slane 1843-71, iv, 541.

[66] Frenkel 1999, 5.

[67] Frenkel 1999, 8, 10-11.

[68] Frenkel 1999, 8, 10-11

[69] Mujir al-Din, tr. Sauvaire 1867, 141

[70] Shirley 1999, 13-17.

[71] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-1871, iv, 526-7.

[72] Jarrar writes most appositely in this connection that one of the most effective ways of asserting Islamic hegemony over Jerusalem after the departure of the Crusaders was 'to flood the city with Sunni monuments.' Cf. Jarrar 1998, 71.

including Palestine. But he ruled for a mere three years (589-92/1193-6)[73] and the governors of Ayyubid Jerusalem changed thereafter with alarming frequency.[74] Despite his short rule in Jerusalem, however, al-Afdal established a *madrasa* for the Maliki *madhhab*—the Afdaliyya, also known as the Dome in the Quarter of the Maghariba; it was situated to the south-west of the *haram*.[75] Al-Afdal was a Maliki himself and he had studied Malikite *fiqh* in Egypt. He also had practical reasons for founding this monument since the part of the city in which it was built was selected as the place where the Maghribi troops in Saladin's army were to live. This new Malikite community in Jerusalem would gradually attract scholars to come from distant al-Andalus and the Maghrib to settle there.

After al-ʿAdil had gained overall control of the Ayyubid domains by 599/1202, his son al-Muʿazzam was given Syria. Al-Muʿazzam seems to have felt strongly committed to Jerusalem and at some point no later than 601/1204 it became his chief residence.[76] Thereafter the city enjoyed a greater measure of stability and growth until the coming of the Fifth Crusade.

A lengthy biography of al-Muʿazzam is given by his friend, the preacher and chronicler, Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, who gives a list of his numerous building projects.[77] The author of a dynastic history of the Ayyubids, Ibn Wasil, is also at pains to emphasize the religious credentials of al-Muʿazzam. He reports that al-Muʿazzam frequented Muslim scholars and asked them about the finer points of the religious sciences. The prince, realizing that the father of Ibn Wasil wanted to reside in Jerusalem, appointed him to teach in the Nasiriyya *madrasa*.[78]

Al-Muʿazzam established two *madrasas*. One of them, situated in the south-western corner of the *haram*, was appropriately called the Nahawiyya, since its role was to teach Arabic grammar. The second, established in 606/1209-10 and appropriately named the Muʿazzamiyya, was situated opposite the northern gate known as the Bab al-Duwaidariyya. It was Hanafite, in accordance with the devotion of al-Muʿazzam to that *madhhab*. As Ibn Khallikan records of him:

> 'He was the first of the Ayyubid family who professed the principles of the Hanafi sect; to this doctrine he displayed a devoted attachment.'[79]

So, despite a general Ayyubid preference for the Shafiʿite *madhhab*, al-Muʿazzam was independent-minded enough to follow another path and to bequeath his Hanafite allegiance to his sons.[80]

Al-Muʿazzam is reported to have performed other good works, strengthening the defences of the pilgrimage route and supplying it with water. Other building projects of his included work in the Dome of the Rock, the Aqsa and the citadel.[81]

The dismantling of the walls of Jerusalem by al-Muʿazzam in 616/1219-20 was a momentous episode of Ayyubid history. It is a peculiar irony that al-Muʿazzam, the very Ayyubid ruler, who, with the exception of Saladin, seems to have cared most for Jerusalem and who actually lived there, should have performed this controversial action. The account of al-Maqrizi is as follows:

> 'This year (616/1219-20) al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ordered the dismantling of Jerusalem, fearing that the Franks would gain possession of it. The walls of the city and all the towers were razed, save the Tower of David, which lay to the west of the city. Al-Muʿazzam caused all the inhabitants to leave, only a very few remaining; and he removed all the weapons and engines of war in the city. The Muslims were thrown into great distress by the dismantling of Jerusalem and the loss of Damietta.'[82]

When the decision to dismantle the fortifications in Jerusalem was taken, the brother of al-Muʿazzam, al-ʿAziz ʿUthman, was in charge of the city with the *ustadh al-dar*, ʿIzz al-Din Aibek. They were not in favour of this decision and tried to stop it, but in vain. Al-Muʿazzam insisted on going ahead with the destruction, arguing that it was dictated by sorrowful necessity. The dismantling of the walls began on 1 Muharram 616/19 March 1219.

The Crusader chronicler, Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227), also gives a graphic account of this incident:

> 'In the year of grace 1219, Jerusalem, the queen of cities, which seemed impregnably fortified, was destroyed within and without by Coradin (i.e. al-Muʿazzam), son of Saphadin (i.e. al-ʿAdil). Its walls and towers were reduced to heaps of stone except for the temple of the Lord and the tower of David.'[83]

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[73] Humphreys 1977, 75.

[74] Humphreys 1977, 108.

[75] Mujir al-Din, tr. Sauvaire 1876, 162-3.

[76] Humphreys 1977, 153, 145. The evidence—in the form of many inscriptions from the period 601/1204 to 614/1217, bearing his name—is very telling; Humphreys 1977, 150; Sharon 1977, 185.

[77] Al-Muʿazzam was born in Cairo in 576/1180-1 but was raised in Damascus where he received good grounding in the Islamic sciences; Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, 1951, 644-50; cf. also al-Makin Ibn al-ʿAmid, tr. Eddé and Micheau 1994, 39.

[78] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 141; cf. also Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-71, ii, 429.

[79] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-71, ii, 428.

[80] Jarrar 1998, 73. For a discussion of the way in which al-Muʿazzam treated the Hanbalites, cf. Cook 2000, n. 9; Madelung 1970, 160, n. 132.

[81] The epigraphical evidence for these activities is listed by Sharon 1977, 185-6. For an extremely thorough survey of the monuments sponsored by al-Muʿazzam, cf. Jarrar 1998, 73-4.

[82] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 181; cf. also al-Nuwayri 1992, xxix, 93.

[83] Oliver of Paderborn 1948, 36-7.

The shock reaction in Muslim circles was very intense; some understood why this was done, others—such as Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi—were horrified:[84]

> 'Women and girls, young and old, young men, and children, all went to the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, (and) tore their hair and clothes until the Rock and the *mihrab* of the Aqsa were filled with hair.'[85]

Jerusalem in the time of al-Kamil (615-635/1218-38)

> 'How heavily it weighs on us to see Jerusalem in ruins
> And the sun of its buildings going down and setting.'[86]

a) The events leading up to the Treaty of Jaffa (626/1229)

It is important from the outset to underline certain key features of the rule of al-Kamil, the 'most skilful practitioner' of politics among the Ayyubid rulers.[87] Firstly, Egypt was always his main priority. His conduct, moreover, exhibited on many occasions a striking contrast between, on the one hand, his aggressive stance towards his own relatives whom he wished to bend to his will and against whom he was ready to fight, and, on the other hand, his peaceful, pragmatic attitude towards the Franks.

When al-Kamil took over power in Egypt, it was a troubled moment for the Ayyubid state. The Fifth Crusade had begun to disembark at Acre in 614/1217 and was aiming for Egypt. His father al-'Adil had set out for Cairo and died during the journey on 16 Rabi' II 616 /31 August 1218.[88] During this serious crisis, Ayyubid brotherly solidarity prevailed and finally saw off the Frankish threat with the securing of Damietta in 618/1221. Soon afterwards, however, a serious rift developed between al-Kamil and his brother al-Mu'azzam.

On a number of occasions at the time of the Fifth Crusade, al-Kamil proposed a treaty with the Franks in which he would regain Damietta in exchange for handing over substantial parts of the Holy Land to them. So desperate was he to protect his territories in Egypt that he was willing to hand over the key areas that Saladin had taken, and above

all Jerusalem.[89] According to the eastern Christian historian, Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286), the Franks refused one such offer in 618/1221 and made further demands including one for 300,000 *dinars* 'in payment of the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem which al-Kamil had laid waste.'[90]

Muslim narratives of al-Kamil's various early overtures to the Franks are confirmed in the eye-witness account of the Fifth Crusade written by the western chronicler, Oliver of Paderborn (d. 1227), the secretary of Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate. Oliver mentions one such offer made by al-Kamil to the Franks whereby he proposed to 'give back the Holy Cross, with the Holy City' and he also promised 'funds to repair the walls of Jerusalem'.[91] Pelagius was to a large extent responsible for the rejection of the 'excellent terms offered by al-Kamil.'[92]

The 1220s saw important moves on the political chessboard. To the east the dynasty of the Khwarazmshahs, who were located in the fertile oasis area of the lower Oxus, had emerged as a strong power in the last decade of the 12th century, ruling a state stretching from India to Anatolia, but after 617/1220 they had been displaced by the Mongols and moved ever further westwards.[93] The Khwarazmians were soon drawn into inter-Ayyubid conflicts. Indeed, already in 622/1225 al-Mu'azzam, out of fear that he would be attacked by two of his brothers, al-Kamil and al-Ashraf, contacted the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din and made an alliance with him, recognizing his suzerainty.[94]

From the West came the news in 624/1227 that a new crusade was in the offing, involving as its leader Frederick II of Sicily.[95] Towards the end of that year, after relations with al-Mu'azzam had deteriorated further, al-Kamil, encamped at Tall 'Ajul, sent an embassy under the able negotiator, Fakhr al-Din b. Shaykh al-Shuyukh, to Frederick asking him to come to Syria and promising to give him Jerusalem and all Saladin's coastal possessions. These were the same terms he had offered Pelagius.[96] With Frederick's support, al-Kamil aimed to deal firmly with al-Mu'azzam, whilst the attractive terms he was offering Frederick would, he hoped, avert another crusade. Frederick made preparations for the journey on his 'bloodless crusade'[97] and arrived in Acre on 4 Shawwal 625/7 September 1228.[98]

After the death of al-Mu'azzam that same year—a most opportune event for al-Kamil—the latter captured

[84] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, 1951, viii/2, 601.

[85] Tearing out hair is an expression of extreme grief which goes far back in the cultures of the Near East; cf. Isaiah, 15:2; Goldziher 1968, 151-4.

[86] Verses by an anonymous poet quoted by al-'Ayni in his account of the handing over of Jerusalem to Frederick by al-Kamil; cf. al-'Ayni 1887, 190.

[87] Holt 1986 64.

[88] Humphreys 1977, 156.

[89] Humphreys 1977, 169.

[90] Bar Hebraeus 1932, 379

[91] Oliver of Paderborn 1948, 45.

[92] Holt 1986, 63; Van Cleve 1969, 409-10; Little 1989,183.

[93] Cf. Bosworth 1968, 201-2

[94] Al-'Ayni 1887, 183; Humphreys 1977, 176.

[95] For a clear picture of Frederick's crusade, cf. Richard 1999, 307-18.

[96] Holt 1986, 64.

[97] A phrase used by Gabrieli 1969, 267

[98] For accounts of these events, cf. Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 206-7, 234; al-'Ayni 1887,183; al-Nuwayri 1992, xxix, 149-52.

Jerusalem. He now no longer needed the military support of Frederick but he found it difficult to extricate himself from the promises he had made to him. This point is underlined by al-Maqrizi who criticises al-Kamil, speaking of his 'involvement with the ruler of the Franks, his fear of him and inability to combat him.' For these reasons al-Kamil felt obliged to act in a conciliatory way towards Frederick.[99]

b) The terms of the Treaty of Jaffa

The Treaty of Jaffa is probably the most controversial episode in Ayyubid history. It will therefore be discussed in some detail below. There is no complete version of the treaty in the Islamic or Crusader sources[100] but some at least of its alleged terms can be reconstructed from extracts in the Old French, Latin and Arabic texts.[101] There is general agreement in them on certain points, and differences of content and emphasis in other areas. On the Muslim side, the chronicle of Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, who was a contemporary, is an important source, especially for recording the wider response to the surrender of Jerusalem to the Franks, but his work is heavily biased in favour of the Ayyubids of Damascus. Ibn Wasil, also a contemporary, has a more balanced approach to events. He does not hide his deep commitment to Jerusalem—his devotion is not only religious but also familial—but at the same time he does not rush to condemn al-Kamil for handing over the Holy City. A third approach is that of the little-known chronicler, Ibn Abi'l-Damm (d. 641/1244), who is fiercely in favour of al-Kamil.[102]

The most appropriate text with which to begin, the source for most later Muslim and eastern Christian Arabic accounts of the treaty,[103] is the work of Ibn Wasil.[104] Under his narrative of the year 626/1229,[105] Ibn Wasil states that Frederick refused to go home without being given Jerusalem and some of

Saladin's conquests. According to his account, al-Kamil initially refused to agree to this condition. Eventually, however, it was established between the two of them that al-Kamil would hand over Jerusalem to Frederick on the condition that it would remain in a ruined state *(kharaban)*, that he would not rebuild its walls and that the Franks should have nothing at all outside the city. Indeed, Jerusalem's dependent villages would belong to the Muslims. They would have a Muslim governor *(wali)* to rule over them; he would live in al-Bira, one of the dependencies of Jerusalem to the north. The Haram al-Sharif, with the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, would remain in the hands of the Muslims, and their rites *(shi'ar)* would be visible there. The Franks should not enter the two Holy Places except for the purpose of visitation. The Franks would have certain prescribed villages on their route from Acre to Jerusalem.[106] Ibn Wasil does not specify how long the duration of the treaty was to be, saying simply that 'it was agreed for a specified term.'[107]

Ibn Wasil then moves away from what he has presented as clauses in the agreement to reflecting on al-Kamil's strategy here. He writes that al-Kamil realized that he needed to satisfy the emperor in full; otherwise, the door of fighting the Franks would open up for him and he would lose everything he had been trying to achieve. He thought it advisable therefore to satisfy the Franks with Jerusalem in a ruined state *(kharaban)*[108] and to make a truce for a while; later on he would be able to snatch it back from them whenever he wished.[109]

The evidence of a hitherto neglected Muslim source, the *Kitab al-shamarikh fi'l-tawarikh* of Ibn Abi'l-Damm (d. 641/1244), provides an interesting and counterbalancing perspective on the Treaty of Jaffa. Unlike the pro-Damascus chronicles discussed above, whose testimony is strongly hostile to the treaty, Ibn Abi'l-Damm has different loyalties. His work, apparently written in the lifetime of al-Kamil, is dedicated to the Ayyubid ruler of Hama, al-Muzaffar II, a supporter of al-Kamil, and in it this chronicler justifies and praises the treaty, minimizing the extent of the concessions ceded to Frederick by al-Kamil. Ibn Abi'l-Damm declares that the interests of the Muslims are served by the treaty which has been drawn up by al-Kamil, who is 'the shepherd of the Muhammadan

[99] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 206.

[100] For general discussions on the treaty, cf. Van Cleve 1969, 448-62; Richard 1999, 315-18.

[101] Van Cleve says that there are 'occasional references, with differing emphases, in both Arabic and Christian sources'; Van Cleve 1969, 455. This is certainly not the case for the works of Ibn Wasil and Ibn Abi'l-Damm, both of whom write at length about the treaty, as discussed below.

[102] For an invaluable analysis of this chronicle, together with an edition and translation of relevant sections of the text, cf. Richards 1993, 183-200. Gibb mentions this source briefly: cf. Gibb 1969,702, n.12.

[103] The account of the treaty given by al-Maqrizi, for example, follows Ibn Wasil very closely; al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 206-7.

[104] For an analysis of the manuscripts of the text of Ibn Wasil, cf. the editors' comments in Ibn Wasil, 1972, iv, 8-13 and Jackson 2007, 5, n. 22. Jackson discusses the relationship between the two Paris manuscripts, BN mss arabes 1702 and 1703. He points out that it is BN ms arabe 1703 that is 'apparently a copy of Ibn Wasil's original text' whilst BN ms arabe 1702 is 'a reworking of Ibn Wasil's history by his continuator, Ibn 'Abd al-Rahim. A full French translation of the text of Ibn Wasil, as edited by Rabi' and 'Ashur, about the treaty is given in Guichard and Menjot 2000, 238-9.

[105] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 214-53.

[106] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 241-2.

[107] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 243.

[108] Costello's English translation of Gabrieli's Italian translation of the Arabic word *kharab* as 'disarmed' is not satisfactory; cf. Gabrieli 1969, 270.

[109] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 242. Extra details about the treaty, such as the length of its duration, are also given in a range of other Arabic sources. According to al-Maqrizi, the agreement was to last for ten years, five months and forty days, starting from Sunday 28 Rabi' I 626/24 February 1229; cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207.

community.'[110] This chronicler writes that 'al-Kamil made a full peace *(sulhan tamman)*' with the Franks and that the treaty was in the interest of the Muslims.

The approach of Ibn Abi'l-Damm is 'ecumenical':

'Jerusalem is a place of worship for Muslims, and the infidels too have a mighty belief concerning it ... What people seek from Jerusalem is (the ability) to come and go on visits, to perform their worship according to the beliefs of either religion *(milla)*.'[111]

Ibn Abi'l-Damm stresses that al-Kamil agreed to hand over to the Franks only Jerusalem *(al-bayt al-muqaddas wahdahu)* but not any of its dependencies,[112] and his account does not mention the corridor granted to the Franks from Jerusalem to the coast. According to him, the Franks would not be allowed to build new houses or walls. In any case, the Franks are few in number, with no force, no arms and no equipment.[113] In his view, there would be significant benefits to the Muslims from the treaty, despite Jerusalem being in Frederick's hands. The Friday prayer, he says, will be performed 'for the Muslims living there', and Muslims (from outside the city) will be able to visit whenever they wish. He stresses the parlous condition of Jerusalem 'with its dilapidated state and its lack of fortification' and he points out the value of the treaty with its legally prescribed duration as guaranteeing security and preventing far greater ill befalling the Muslims.[114]

Ibn Abi'l-Damm ends on a note of bravado, declaring that when al-Kamil is ready, 'he will recover Jerusalem from the hand of the Franks who are there, in a single day, nay indeed a single hour.'

But despite this pious hope on the part of Ibn Abi'l-Damm, al-Kamil did not recapture Jerusalem in the remaining nine years of his life.

There is disagreement in both Crusader and Muslim sources as to whether the treaty allowed Frederick to re-fortify Jerusalem and to rebuild the walls. An important Crusader figure, Hermann of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, writes in a letter to Pope Gregory IX: 'We are allowed through the treaty to rebuild Jerusalem in walls and towers according to the wish of the Christians.'[115] It would appear that Frederick even discussed the re-building of Jerusalem with local Crusader leaders and that some work was done to the walls but this task was never completed.[116] On the other hand, one of the continuators of William of Tyre—a source, it must be admitted, that is very hostile to Frederick—argues that 'Frederick did not rebuild the churches of the holy places, nor did he strengthen the holy city.'[117]

Did Frederick rule an entirely Christian Jerusalem? On the Muslim side, the evidence is ambiguous. According to Ibn Wasil, al-Kamil sent orders to Jerusalem that the Muslims should 'leave the city' and 'surrender it to the Franks'[118] but this same source does not say at this point in the narrative that the Muslims actually did leave the Holy City.[119] It would, however, seem unlikely that the Muslims did leave the city. Ibn Abi'l-Damm seems to suggest that despite Frederick gaining possession of the city, Muslims would continue to live there. The much later writer, the prolific al-Suyuti (d. 910/1505), gives interesting evidence on this point:

'When al-Kamil had given the Franks the Temple, they returned there and stayed there, the Muslims remaining too. For in every quarter where those were, these were also.'[120]

Al-Suyuti reports elsewhere in his work that al-Kamil gave the Holy City with its destroyed walls to Frederick:

'This affair caused great grief to the Muslims, for the inhabitants of the Holy City were kept in the same town with the Franks.'[121]

Perhaps al-Suyuti wishes to emphasize by this statement that there was continuous Muslim occupation of the Holy City from Saladin's re-conquest until his own time. Quite apart from any pious motives al-Suyuti may have had—he was, after all, writing a work on the Merits of Jerusalem[122]—it makes good practical sense that what Muslims there were in Jerusalem stayed there. On the other hand, a letter from the Cairo Geniza dated 634/1236 notes that Muslims and Jews were not permitted to enter the city.[123] Another late source, al-'Ayni, on the other hand, states firmly: 'Al-Kamil emptied Jerusalem of the Muslims and handed it to the Franks.'[124]

In his recent book the French scholar Richard poses the question whether Jerusalem became exclusively Christian after the signing of the treaty. He does not give an explicit

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[110] Richards 1993, 188, 195 This image is a long-lived one in the Islamic epistolary tradition.

[111] Richards 1993, 188, 196

[112] Richards 1993, 188, 196

[113] Richards 1993, 188, 196

[114] Richards 1993, 188, 196

[115] *Licet etiam nobis per pactum redificare Jerusalem in muris et turribus juxta voluntatem christianorum;* cf. Huillard-Bréholles 1852-1860, iii, 92.

[116] Richard 1999, 318.

[117] Shirley 1999, 37.

[118] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 242; cf. also al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207.

[119] This discussion is following the printed edition of Ibn Wasil by Rabi' and 'Ashur; this is based on readings from three manuscripts. However, Gabrieli's translation of the passage about the treaty includes the sentence: 'The Muslims left amid groans and lamentations;' cf. Gabrieli 1969, 270.

[120] Al-Suyuti, tr. Reynolds 1836, 505-6.

[121] Al-Suyuti, tr. Reynolds 1836, 270-1.

[122] Al-Suyuti mentions other *fada'il* works on which he has drawn, including those of Ibn al-Jauzi and Ibn 'Asakir; al-Suyuti, tr. Reynolds 1836, xv-xvi.

[123] Goitein 1986, 331, cited by Hawari in Chapter 12, n. 28.

[124] Al-'Ayni 1887, 186.

answer to his own question but his discussion seems to suggest that the Muslims stayed on. This does indeed appear to be likely.[125]

After all, the appointment of a Muslim *qadi* in Jerusalem, mentioned in the sources—his responsibilities would have been to deal with legal cases involving Muslims—would not have been necessary if there were no Muslims resident in the city. It is also very probable, given all the opprobrium heaped on al-Kamil after the treaty, that if the Muslims had really been driven out of Jerusalem, he would have been roundly blamed for that too. And there is no hint of that criticism being levelled at him in the Muslim sources.

What, therefore, should be inferred, from several references in the Arabic sources to the Muslims leaving the city after the treaty? It should be noted that, unlike on other occasions, when precise details are given as to where the Muslims fleeing Jerusalem went, such comments are not given in connection with the events following the Treaty of Jaffa. So it is probable that despite the proclamation mentioned by Ibn Wasil—'When the truce had taken place, the sultan sent someone to announce in Jerusalem the departure of the Muslims and its being handed over to the Franks'[126]—this decree was never carried out.

c) Muslim and Crusader reactions to the Treaty of Jaffa

The Treaty of Jaffa was generally greeted with widespread hostility, indignation and grief on the Muslim side.[127] In its immediate aftermath, al-Kamil was subjected to much reviling and criticism. Religious leaders protested outside his tent, making the call to prayer when it was not time for the prayer. Al-Kamil sent them away very forcefully.[128] But it was understandable that many Muslims, remembering Saladin's great triumphal entry into Jerusalem, should have experienced feelings of deep sorrow. The testimony of perhaps the greatest of all the medieval Muslim chroniclers, Ibn al-Athir (d. 630/1233), is particularly revealing in this respect. Overwhelmed as he is by the turbulent times in which he has recently lived and the horror of the first wave of Mongol conquests through Central Asia and Iran, he devotes many pages to this subject in the final volume of his *Universal History*, expatiating at length on the activities of the Khwarazmshahs and the Mongols. However, his account of the surrender of Jerusalem is short and unadorned.[129] It is worth stressing that his version of the event comes right

near the end of his massive twelve-volume work, which stops abruptly just two years later, at the beginning of 629/1231-2. He died soon afterwards.

The content of his account is very much the same as those of the other Muslim chroniclers of the time but his text is at times quietly emotional and his distress breaks through his normally laconic style. Indeed, he includes two pious formulae, which express his ardent wish that the Holy City should be returned to the Muslims—'May God return it (Jerusalem) to Islam soon'[130] and 'May God protect it and make it the House of Islam for ever.'[131] Unlike the two other Muslim chroniclers who wrote as contemporaries about the handing over of Jerusalem but who lived on to see its return to Muslim hands—Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi (d. 654/1257) and Ibn Wasil (d. 697/1298)—Ibn al-Athir died grieving for the Holy City, without the knowledge that it did in fact revert to Muslim rule definitively by 647/1250. His narrative ends with a prayer:

> 'May God give the Muslims the joy of conquering
> it and returning to it by His grace and beneficence.
> Amen.'[132]

It was natural enough for religious circles in Damascus in the entourage of the new Ayyubid ruler there, al-Nasir Da'ud (whose father al-Mu'azzam had governed Jerusalem), to exploit the loss of the Holy City and rail against al-Kamil for his conduct. Ibn Wasil was present in Damascus on the day when his fellow-chronicler Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, a scholar renowned for his eloquent preaching, was asked by al-Nasir Da'ud to give a sermon in the Friday mosque. In particular, al-Nasir Da'ud requested that Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi should mention the merits *(fada'il)* of Jerusalem.[133] The preacher duly performed the sermon:

> 'It was a memorable day. On that day, the cries,
> weeping and groaning of the people rose up.'[134]

Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi himself records his own tear-jerking words:

> 'O shame on the Muslim rulers!
> At such an event tears fall,
> Hearts break with sighs'.[135]

Yet, despite this full-scale invective, followed by outbursts of public emotion, which he has personally witnessed, Ibn Wasil does not shrink from his duty as a historian. He points out the political aspects of these carefully orchestrated

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[125] Richard 1999, 318.

[126] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 243.

[127] Sivan 1968, 147-9; Humphreys 1977, 202, 448, n. 18.

[128] He confiscated 'the screens and silver candlesticks and other instruments that they had brought with them.' cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207.

[129] Ibn al-Athir 1857-76, xii, 313-5.

[130] Ibn al-Athir 1857-76, xii, 314.

[131] Ibn al-Athir 1857-76, xii, 313.

[132] Ibn al-Athir 1857-76, xii, 315.

[133] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 245.

[134] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 246.

[135] Gabrieli 1969, 274.

demonstrations of grief, remarking that al-Nasir Da'ud aimed thereby 'to estrange the people from his uncle so that they would support him in fighting him (al-Kamil)'.[136] Ibn Wasil also takes the trouble to mention the widespread grief felt by the Muslims at what al-Kamil had done, expressing strong disapproval for what was seen as the undoing of what Saladin, the uncle of al-Kamil, had done in rescuing 'that noble city' from the infidels.[137] Despite these strong words, Ibn Wasil makes excuses for al-Kamil, emphasizing that the sultan knew that the Franks would not be able to defend themselves in Jerusalem 'given the ruined state of its walls'. Later on, when the situation had stabilised, he would be able 'to purify it from the Franks and drive them from it.' Ibn Wasil puts into the mouth of al-Kamil the following words:

> 'Verily we are allowing them only churches and ruined houses, whilst the *haram* and what is on it— the Sacred Rock and other places of visitation—are in the hands of the Muslims.'[138]

What of the Crusader reactions to the treaty? Despite the fact that Frederick had gained suzerainty over Jerusalem for ten years through the agreement he had made with al-Kamil, the news of this was greeted with strong disapproval by Crusader leaders. Gerold of Lausanne, in particular, no doubt enraged that he had been excluded from Frederick's negotiations with al-Kamil, wrote to Pope Gregory IX,[139] complaining that the Templum Domini (the Dome of the Rock) had not been included in the agreement.[140] Hermann of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, also wrote to the Pope but in a somewhat more positive tone, saying that Muslims had been allowed onto the Temple esplanade to pray, just as Christians could do.[141] He also states that Frederick's men controlled the gates to the Temple esplanade[142] where Christians could still make offerings at the sacred rock. He downplays the Muslim presence, stating that only a few old, unarmed Muslim 'doctors' were permitted there.[143]

d) Frederick in Jerusalem

The treaty between al-Kamil and Frederick has been praised for a 'spirit of tolerance almost inconceivable of the thirteenth century.'[144] Other views rightly imply that this arrangement can be more appropriately described as a compromise device designed for the two rulers to extricate themselves from a difficult situation.[145] Once the truce was signed, it was human enough that both Muslim and Crusader sources would wish to present this treaty in the most glowing light for themselves and that they would try to downplay less favourable aspects of what had been agreed. Not surprisingly, the Muslim sources try to minimise the impact of surrendering the Holy City to Frederick and they suggest that he was motivated only by personal prestige in these negotiations. Indeed, Ibn Wasil says that he heard personally that Frederick had apologised to Fakhr al-Din for taking Jerusalem from al-Kamil, explaining that he had been compelled to make this move for reasons of maintaining his own prestige amongst his fellow-Franks.[146] This stance on Frederick's part would presumably imply that he was not acting as part of a dangerous, wider Crusader initiative.

The Muslim sources also make it clear that Frederick had no intention of lingering in Jerusalem; Ibn Taghribirdi finds space in his very short account of this event to mention that the emperor only stayed in Jerusalem for two nights.[147] The Muslim sources emphasize—again perhaps in a spirit of apology for the surrender of Jerusalem to the Franks and attempting to save face—that Frederick is no ordinary Frank and that Jerusalem is in safe hands. Much prominence is given to Frederick's entry into Jerusalem. Even after the truce has been signed, it is interesting to note that, according to al-Maqrizi, Frederick 'sought leave to enter Jerusalem' from al-Kamil, who sent the *qadi* of Nablus to accompany the emperor around the Muslim holy sites.[148] Such a move would, of course, reassure the Muslim world that the Crusader ruler would behave appropriately in Muslim sacred space. In any case, as is well known, Frederick's long familiarity with Muslims in Sicily would have prepared him for such a visit. Indeed, he is shown in the Muslim sources as being highly deferential to Islam[149] and while in Jerusalem, he behaves well towards the inhabitants and 'he did not change the ceremonies of Islam in any way.'[150] He admires the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque, and when a Christian cleric, with the *Injil* (Gospel) in his hand, tries to enter the Aqsa mosque, Frederick sends him packing and says that if any Frank entered there without permission his eyes would be torn out. At that point al-Maqrizi puts the following statement into the mouth of the emperor:

> 'We are the *mamluks* and servants of the sultan al-Malik al-Kamil. He has opened these churches

[136] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 245.

[137] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 243.

[138] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 243.

[139] For a copy of his letter to the Pope, cf. Huillard-Bréholles 1852-1860, iii, 102-6.

[140] Another Crusader source indicates that Frederick had asked for the *Templum Domini* to be surrendered but al-Kamil had refused to agree to this; cf. *L'estoire de Eracles empereur*, RHC, Occ., 370-1, 374.

[141] Huillard-Bréholles 1852-1860, iii, 91-2.

[142] Huillard-Bréholles 1852-1860, iii, 101.

[143] *pauci sacerdotes eorum senes et sine armis*; cf. Huillard-Bréholles 1852-1860, iii, 101.

[144] Van Cleve 1969, 455.

[145] Richard 1999, 316-7.

[146] Ibn Wasil 1972, iv, 242

[147] Ibn Taghribirdi 1936-8, vi, 272.

[148] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207.

[149] Richard 1999, 316

[150] Ibn Taghribirdi, 1936-8, vi, 272

to us out of favour; let no one of you overstep the limits set.'[151]

Later on during the visit, the *qadi* of Nablus forbids the call to prayer while Frederick passes the night in Jerusalem. In the morning the emperor bemoans the fact the *mu'adhdhin* has not made the call to prayer. The *qadi* explains that he has taken this decision out of deference to the emperor. Frederick then responds:

> 'By God, my main desire in passing the night in Jerusalem was to hear the Muslims called to prayer.'[152]

This convincing performance by Frederick, in which he plays the part of an admirer of Islamic culture, should, of course, be placed side by side with his activities back home where he dismantled Sicilian Islam and deported the Muslims in Apulia. It is also worth noting that, despite the extremely rosy picture of the emperor's visit presented in the Muslim sources, Ibn Wasil takes the trouble to mention that, whilst in the Aqsa mosque, Frederick climbed the steps of the *minbar*; indeed, the phrasing of Ibn Wasil mentions precisely that Frederick 'climbed step by step to its top.' This is a detail the chronicler could have omitted if he wanted, especially as he seems to have wished to give a positive view of Frederick's conduct to his Muslim readers.

So what is behind this allusion? The *minbar* in general had long associations with the power of the ruler or governor who, standing on the second highest step, would preach the sermon and harangue the faithful. It had become customary not to use the top step, out of respect for the memory of the Prophet Muhammad who had stood on it, whilst the first caliph Abu Bakr had not done so. The *minbar* had also long been associated with divine authority and the power of the caliph, and it was the place where the ceremony of allegiance to the ruler was made.[153]

In the particular case of the Aqsa *minbar*, the memory of its close links with the days of Muslim glory under Nur al-Din and Saladin would resonate in the minds of those Muslims accompanying Frederick on his famous visit there. So his climbing the steps of this lofty *minbar*—of all *minbars*—can certainly be understood as a triumphal gesture on his part, reminding those around him as well as Western Christendom that it was now he who ruled the Holy City.

How else can this action of Frederick be interpreted? Was it a simple mistake committed in the heat of the moment when he stood in this sacred place and realized that he now ruled Jerusalem? Was it a deliberate attempt on his part to show

disrespect to the Prophet Muhammad and to Islam? Or was it simply a spontaneous *coup de théâtre*? Given his deep familiarity with Islamic belief, acquired in Sicily, it would be surprising if he had not acted knowingly. And it would have been so easy for Ibn Wasil to gloss over this detail. In short, the means that Frederick chose to assert his new status as ruler of Jerusalem was not, as one might have expected, Christian, but deeply rooted in Muslim tradition.

Frederick achieved a bloodless conquest of Jerusalem but it was an event which redounded little to his credit with the rest of Christendom. He was, after all, 'on the margins' of the Crusade and had been excommunicated in 624/1227.[154] As for the other side, as already mentioned, al-Kamil attracted great opprobrium from Muslim religious circles for the treaty he had concluded. Yet with the benefit of hindsight a more positive gloss can be put on this action of al-Kamil. As long ago as 1836, the translator of al-Suyuti, Reynolds, wrote as follows:

> 'Al-Kamil demolished the walls of Jerusalem—a wise and politic measure, for Jerusalem could not offer any important resistance to an invader; nor was it of much value from a political viewpoint. To maintain any effective garrison there would be a useless expense. By then ceding possession of the defenceless city to Frederick, al-Kamil deprived western Christians of all pretext, on religious grounds, of invading his territory.'[155]

Thus Saladin's inheritance was sacrificed to extreme political expediency. More positively, it can be argued that al-Kamil had kept hold of Muslim rights in Jerusalem and yet had yielded just enough concessions to put an end to Frederick's crusade. Militarily, the handing over of Jerusalem was meaningless,[156] and Jerusalem, once again in Crusader hands, remained just as vulnerable as ever to attacks from all-comers. And the next major invaders came out of the blue.

Jerusalem under the rule of Najm al-Din Ayyub (637-47/1240-49)

The chronicler Ibn al-Furat (d. 807/1405) includes a long passage on Ayyubid Jerusalem in his *Universal History*.[157] This narrative lists in rather laconic fashion the many changes of government which Jerusalem had to endure in the 63 years of Ayyubid rule;

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[151] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207.

[152] Al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 207-8; cf. also al-'Ayni 1887, 193.

[153] Becker 1924, 450-71.

[154] Richard 1999, 308.

[155] Al-Suyuti, tr. Reynolds 1836, 505-6.

[156] Humphreys 1977, 203.

[157] Ibn al-Furat states that he has borrowed from an earlier work by the Aleppan geographer 'Izz al-Din Ibn Shaddad (d. 684/1285); cf. Ibn al-Furat, tr. Lyons 1971, 61-3.

the length of the list tells its own story. The years following the signing of the Treaty of Jaffa were turbulent in the extreme, especially for Jerusalem itself. The exact sequence of events surrounding the fate of Jerusalem is very confused, but it does seem clear that the city was the victim of frequent changes of overlord, both Ayyubid and Frank.[158]

It was during these years that the ominous presence of the Khwarazmians, with whom some of the Ayyubids had already made alliances, made itself felt.

From the time of the sudden appearance of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din in Anatolia in 626/1229, his troops had become a 'dominant fact of life' for the Ayyubids and some twelve thousand of them stayed on in that region after the death of Jalal al-Din in 628/1231.[159] Before the death of his father al-Kamil in Rajab 635/March 1238, Najm al-Din Ayyub, his son and successor in Egypt, had been granted permission to enlist Khwarazmian troops.[160]

After the signing of the Treaty of Jaffa, Frankish occupation of Jerusalem remained very restricted but those who did settle there began rebuilding its defences, especially in the area where the Teutonic knights resided.[161] However, when the Ayyubid prince, al-Nasir Da'ud, attacked the city in 637/1239,[162] all Jerusalem had was a small garrison of troops in the Tower of David—the only defensive structure that al-Mu'azzam had left intact in 616/1219.[163] It was an easy task for al-Nasir Da'ud to capture the Tower of David and raze it to the ground,[164] 'despite the strength and size of its masonry'.[165]

The Crusaders re-acquired the still city briefly in the winter of 641/1243-4. On this occasion, the Syrian Ayyubids surrendered to the Franks a city only recently returned to Muslim ownership; the terms of the alliance are described by Matthew Paris who mentions under the year 1244 that the sultan of Damascus promised to return to the Crusaders 'the whole of the Kingdom of Jerusalem' in return for their support against the sultan of Cairo. So, he continues, the Christians started to reside in the Holy City again, whilst their army stayed in Gaza with the troops of the sultan of Damascus.[166] This agreement even

allowed Crusaders the right to celebrate Christian rituals once more in the two holy monuments, the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa. Matthew Paris reports that 'the holy city of Jerusalem is now inhabited by Christian people, all the Saracens being driven out.'[167]

Not quite all of them, however: as usual, the chronicler exaggerates. For Ibn Wasil confirms these Crusader reports, describing the situation he himself witnessed at that time in Jerusalem:

> 'I saw monks and priests in charge of the Rock
> and I saw bottles of wine for the ceremony of the
> Mass. I entered the Aqsa mosque and in it a bell
> was suspended.'

He is deeply disturbed by these Christian practices, which he says have rendered Muslim prayer in the Holy sanctuary invalid.[168] However, the Franks were destined to hold the city for only a few months.[169]

As if the previous deals struck over Jerusalem were not enough, the Holy City was finally returned to Islamic rule in a way which was thoroughly discreditable to those Muslims who in Saladin's time had made such sacrifices to regain it. After a summons from Najm al-Din Ayyub, the Khwarazmians duly crossed the Euphrates, under the leadership of Husam al-Din Berke Khan and other commanders, and these troops created havoc wherever they went.[170] At the beginning of 642/early summer 1244, they moved south into Palestine and arrived outside Jerusalem on 3 Safar 642/11 July 1244.

When the Franks heard about the advance of the Khwarazmians, they fled from Jerusalem.[171] Of the six thousand Christians who left the city in fear only three hundred escaped the Khwarazmians who then entered the city 'which stood quite empty.'[172] The Khwarazmians attacked the garrison in the Tower of David which held out until 17 Rabi'l 642/23 August 1244 when it surrendered on the promise of safe-conduct. The invading forces killed those Christians still in the city, not sparing any of them and taking their women and children into captivity.[173]

The devastation caused in the Holy City was terrible. Both Muslim and Christian chroniclers are ashamed at what has been perpetrated by the Khwarazmians, who were at least nominally Muslims. The Khwarazmians entered the church, termed by some Muslims, especially in Crusader times, as the Church of Refuse *(kanisat al-qumama)*—i.e. the Church of the Holy Sepulchre—and destroyed the tomb which Christians

[158] Jackson discusses in detail the background to this volatile period; cf. Jackson 1987.

[159] Humphreys 1977, 216.

[160] Humphreys 1977, 233, 238. The Crusader chronicler Matthew Paris castigates the Khwarazmians (Choermians) who were diverted from Egypt by the sultan and who advised them to attack Jerusalem, whetting their appetite for spoil and lands; thereafter he would give them his patronage. Their attack on Jerusalem is described in graphic detail by the same source; cf. Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, I, 498-500.

[161] Richard 1999, 319.

[162] According to Ibn al-Furat, the attack began on 17 Jumada I 637/15 December 1239 and the city surrendered on 8 Jumada II 637/5 January 1240; cf. Ibn al-Furat, tr. Lyons, 1971, 62; cf. also al-'Ayni 1887, 196.

[163] Jerusalem 'had no defences except the keep, known as the Tower of David.' Cf. Shirley 1997, 40.

[164] Shirley 1997, 40; cf. also Richard 1999, 323; Humphreys 1977, 261; Jackson 1987, 39; Runciman 1955, 219.

[165] Shirley 1997, 40; al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 251.

[166] Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, I, 497

[167] Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, I, 483.

[168] Ibn Wasil 1972, v, 333; Ibn al-Furat, tr Lyons 1971, 1-2

[169] Humphreys 1977, 274-5

[170] Ibn Wasil 1972, v, 336

[171] Ibn Wasil 1972, v, 337; al-'Ayni 1887, 197

[172] Shirley 1997, 64

[173] Ibn Wasil 1972, v, 337; al-'Ayni 1887, 198.

believed to be that of the Messiah, removing the marble framework which enclosed the tomb and its carved columns.[174] They also massacred monks and nuns in the Armenian convent of St James, desecrated Christian tombs, including those of the Frankish kings that were in the church, and they burned the bones of the dead.

One of the continuators of the history of William of Tyre goes even further in describing the horror perpetrated by these implacable warriors:

> 'In the Church of the Sepulchre they found Christians who had refused to leave with the others. These they disembowelled before the Sepulchre of Our Lord, and they beheaded the priests who were vested and singing mass at the altars ... They committed all kinds of acts of shame, filth and destruction against Jesus Christ and the holy places and Christendom.'[175]

Like the Mongols, who allegedly deployed similar tactics, the Khwarazmians used deceit on some of the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem who had fled to Joppa. They raised the Christian flag on the ramparts of the city, lured some of the Christians back and killed them at sword point.[176]

For Matthew Paris[177] rhetoric knows no bounds:

> 'Young men and virgins they hurried off with them into captivity, and retired into the holy city, where they cut the throats, as of sheep doomed to the slaughter, of the nuns, and of aged and infirm men.'

The sultan of Egypt himself, Najm al-Din Ayyub, condemned the excesses of the Khwarazmians in the Holy Sepulchre in a letter dated to the end of Rabi' I 644/15 August 1246 and addressed to Pope Innocent IV. He said that what had happened there in the way of destruction and desecration had occurred without his knowledge or presence. It was 'private armies that committed these bloody deeds.'[178]

Muslims at the time deeply deplored the terrible behaviour of the Khwarazmians and their leader, Berke Khan, in the Holy City. His own family erected a mausoleum with a cenotaph in 643/1246 in Jerusalem (the building now known as the Khalidi Library) to commemorate his death. In an act of public contrition, this monument bears a most moving inscription in Arabic and Persian. It includes a profound cry for God's forgiveness for Berke's sins and it reminds humanity at large of the inevitability of God's judgment and justice. He who desecrates Jerusalem must come before God's judgment, in that very place where the Resurrection will take place.[179] At first sight it might seem surprising that this ferocious warrior, whose cruelty appalled his co-religionists, should have a mausoleum and a cenotaph bearing an elaborate inscription in his name in the very city which he had so savagely ravaged. However, it would appear that it was erected by the Ayyubids themselves who were related to him by marriage. When speaking of the occupant of this mausoleum, the wording of this inscription is spare and austere. There are no grandiose titles. The name Barakat (Berke) Khan speaks volumes. There is a melancholy pun here. Perhaps it was hoped that the proximity of the Muslim holy sites and the sanctity of Jerusalem would help this doomed soul to hope for the *baraka* which in his life he denied to Jerusalem, and for God's mercy, when the Day of Retribution comes.

By the time of Ibn al-Furat (d. 807/1405), however, the Khwarazmian sack of Jerusalem has been given a positive gloss:

> 'Thus they brought healing relief to the hearts of a believing people, may God Almighty give them the best of rewards on behalf of Islam and of its people.'[180]

After the sack of Jerusalem, the Khwarazmians then made camp in Gaza and sent envoys to Najm al-Din Ayyub, offering to help him fight against the coalition of Isma'il and al-Malik al-Mansur, the lord of Hims. Najm al-Din accepted this offer.[181] The Khwarazmians were joined in Gaza by a large number of troops from Egypt under the command of the future Mamluk sultan Baibars.[182] That same year the infamous battle of Harbiyya (La Fourbie), as serious militarily as Hattin,[183] gave the victory to Najm al-Din Ayyub with his Khwarazmian allies over the troops of the Syrian Ayyubids and Crusaders.[184] This ill-fated collaboration of Syrian Ayyubids and Crusaders was strongly criticized by Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi who bemoaned the fact that the Muslims had fought with crosses over their heads, and with Christian priests offering them the sacrament.[185]

After the battle of Harbiyya, a terrible disaster that accelerated the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty, Jerusalem was governed from Egypt. Ibn Taghribirdi says that Najm al-Din Ayyub planned to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and that he initiated this plan in a visit to the city in 644/1247. But it does not appear that this

[174] Shirley 1997, 64.

[175] Shirley 1997, 64.

[176] Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, 496-7.

[177] Matthew Paris, tr. Giles 1852, 498-500. This section provides a much more detailed account of what has been mentioned in summary earlier in his book.

[178] Cf. Lupprian 1981, 173-5, quoted in Guichard and Menjot 2000, 254-5.

[179] Cf. C Hillenbrand 2004, 287.

[180] Ibn al-Furat, tr. Lyons 1971, 3.

[181] Ibn Wasil 1972, v, 337.

[182] Mujir al-Din, tr. Sauvaire 1876, 90.

[183] The battle ended the 'patient reconstruction of the Latin kingdom'; cf. Richard 1999, 330; cf. also Jackson 1987, 32.

[184] For a detailed account of the battle, cf. Shirley 1997, 132-4.

[185] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, 1951, viii/2, 746; C Hillenbrand 1999, 222.

work was ever done.[186] Ayyubid pragmatism toward the Holy City lasted to the very end of their rule; in his testament, written in the Mirror for Princes tradition, Najm al-Din Ayyub, counsels his son, the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, as follows:

'If they (the Franks) demand the coast and Jerusalem from you, give them these places without delay on condition that they have no foothold in Egypt'.[187]

The religious importance of Jerusalem in the Ayyubid period

Perhaps inevitably—with Islamic Jerusalem humiliated, conquered and inaccessible during Crusader rule—the Muslims of the Levant had turned in the 6th/12th century to an alternative focus of piety and visitation: Damascus. Muslim visitors to the Holy Land had long included a visit to Damascus (mentioned in the *hadith* as 'one of the best cities in Syria'). In particular, they would go to the Umayyad Mosque, built around the same time as the two Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem. By the time of the Second Crusade, which directed itself towards Damascus, the city was filling the gap left in Muslim hearts by the occupation of Jerusalem. The emotional atmosphere engendered by the Muslims' sturdy defence of Damascus in 542/1148 and the subsequent retreat of the Franks enhanced the glory of the city even further. Nur al-Din, Saladin's great successor, embellished the religious status of the city by sponsoring the building of many religious monuments. The predilection of Nur al-Din for Damascus was shared by Saladin whose favourite city it was.

So the inaccessibility of Jerusalem as a centre of piety for 88 years meant that it would take some time for it to become reinstated as a place of Muslim visitation, and especially of residence. A splendid beginning was made at the time of Saladin's triumphant entry into Jerusalem with the sermon of Ibn Zaki in which all the major bases for the importance of Jerusalem for Muslims were described most eloquently.

However, the subsequent turbulence experienced by the city in Ayyubid times did not help matters at all. Jarrar argues that Jerusalem had always lingered in the hearts of the Muslims and that this memory was intensified by the *Fada'il al-Quds* literature.[188] Whilst this may well have been so, there seems little doubt that Muslims were slow to return to an unwalled and vulnerable Jerusalem in the Ayyubid period. The threat of further influxes of Crusaders hovered over the Holy City throughout the Ayyubid period and, although there are no records and accounts that prove this in precise detail, it is probable that the population of Jerusalem remained small and that Muslim re-settlement there must have been slow.

The urge for scholars to move across the Islamic world in search of knowledge and to perform the pilgrimage was, however, not completely halted by the political instability caused by the Crusaders and the Mongols.[189] And indeed there is evidence that some scholars and pilgrims passed through Jerusalem under Ayyubid rule. One example of such acts of piety was an Iraqi scholar, Makki al-Darir (d. 603/1207), who, according to Ibn Khallikan, went to Syria towards the end of his life to visit 'the holy temple of Jerusalem'.[190]

Following long Muslim tradition, going back to the Umayyad period, the two Ayyubid princes Najm al-Din Ayyub and al-Nasir Da'ud went to Jerusalem in 637/1240 to swear solemn oaths to each other in the Dome of the Rock. On that occasion al-Nasir Da'ud recognised Najm al-Din as supreme sultan of the Ayyubid empire.[191]

It has to be admitted that the Ayyubid rulers themselves tended to prefer to be buried in Damascus or Cairo.[192] However, the belief that Jerusalem was a very suitable place to die and in which to be buried continued to be widespread. This belief was reinforced by *The Merits of Jerusalem* books which often mention the special merit of dying and being buried in Jerusalem. In his work of this genre, Ibn al-Jauzi has a special section listing the great men who lived there and were buried there.[193]

The Ayyubid prince, al-Malik al-Auhad, was buried in a mausoleum in Jerusalem.[194] Another notable example of this custom was the ascetic Abu 'Abdallah al-Hashimi, a Spanish Muslim from Algeciras. In his biographical notice on this man Ibn Khallikan relates that Abu 'Abdallah went to Jerusalem on a pilgrimage and stayed there until his death in 599/1203. The funeral prayer was said over him in the Aqsa Mosque. His tomb attracted pious visitors who sought favour from God through the merits of the holy man buried in Jerusalem.[195]

Ayyubid patronage of monuments has been studied in depth by Humphreys in connection with Damascus, which enjoyed a brilliant period of architectural patronage in the 7th/13th century.[196] His research proves through detailed evidence that such patronage in Ayyubid Damascus was carried out by a tripartite élite—the ruling family, the military commanders and the religious establishment—with no single component dominating the others.[197] Even when control from

[186] Ibn Taghribirdi, 1936-8, vi, 359.

[187] Cahen and Chabbouh 1977, 100; C Hillenbrand 1999, 222.

[188] Jarrar 1998, 71.

[189] Tibawi has a rather too optimistic view of the resilience of the Muslim tradition of scholarly travel; cf. Tibawi 1978, 9.

[190] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-1871, iii, 436.

[191] Humphreys 1977, 263.

[192] Saladin was buried in Damascus. So too was al-'Adil, who had a tomb built for himself there; Bar Hebraeus 1932, 378.

[193] Ibn al-Jauzi 1979, 129.

[194] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-1871, iii, 79.

[195] Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane 1843-1871, iii, 23.

[196] Humphreys 1989, 151-74.

[197] Humphreys 1989, 155.

the centre was weaker, for example immediately after the death of Saladin, many of the military commanders who had been given *iqta*'s acted freely and were *de facto* independent. Such figures often sponsored religious buildings and public works, such as irrigation systems, caravansarais, fortifications and mosques. The tripartite élite mentioned by Humphreys were also active in the first vibrant days of rebuilding the urban and religious fabric of Ayyubid Jerusalem.[198]

The physical condition of Jerusalem in Ayyubid times

Throughout this chapter there have been frequent references to the walls of the Holy City. It is appropriate now to reflect more generally on this very important motif in the history of Ayyubid Jerusalem. It is a sorry tale. Ayyubid possession of the city even began, of course, with destroying some, at least, of its fortifications.

Saladin besieged the city along the northern wall, always the weakest part of the fortifications.[199] The siege began on 15 Rajab 583/20 September 1187. A few weeks later part of the walls was pierced and substantially damaged and this led to the surrender of the city.[200] Saladin began rebuilding the city walls between 1 Dhu'l-Hijja 587/December 1191 and Ramadan 588/October 1192.[201] He divided up the work amongst his sons, his brother al-ʿAdil, and his military commanders. Some, at least, of the work initiated by Saladin must have been done.[202] Otherwise there would not have been such an outcry about al-Muʿazzam dismantling the walls in 616/1219.

As already mentioned, one Crusader source states that in 637/1239, i.e. after the Treaty of Jaffa had lapsed, many newly-arrived Christians headed for Jerusalem, 'which had no defences except the keep, known as the Tower of David.'[203] They began to fortify the city near St Stephen Gate and repaired some of the ramparts and turrets. But that same year, the Ayyubid prince, al-Nasir, destroyed what work the Franks had done and razed the Tower of David to the ground.[204] Jerusalem's defences seem to have remained in a ruined state thereafter. Indeed, when the Khwarazmians came, 'the ramparts

were few and lacked any crenellation.'[205] Towards the end of 644/1247 Najm al-Din Ayyub ordered the walls of the city to be measured, intending to rebuild them, but this work was never finished, or perhaps never even started.[206]

All through the Ayyubid period, therefore, the Muslim sources make frequent reference to the walls of Jerusalem, to their being demolished or rebuilt. And it is possible to see the condition of the walls, both physically and psychologically, as a measure, indeed a symbol, of the state of health of the Holy City itself. Or to use another image, Jerusalem in the Ayyubid period was more often than not a house whose weak foundations showed in its walls.[207]

What of the state of the interior of the city? Muslim sources stress the peaceful nature of Saladin's entry into the city on 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187 and this picture is reinforced to some extent by some of the Crusader sources. The thoroughly christianized city must have looked very alien to the exultant Muslim troops, when they saw for themselves a plethora of churches, publicly-displayed crosses, bell-towers, and other visible emblems of Christianity in such a small space. The sacred area of Jerusalem was extremely cramped.[208] Commenting on the layout of the interior of Jerusalem, Mujir al-Din (d. 927/1521) writes:

> 'The houses are so piled on top of each other that, if they were spaced out, as is the practice in most of the cities in the empire of Islam, the city would occupy twice as much space as it does at present.'[209]

The major building initiative to islamicize Jerusalem took place, broadly speaking, between 583/1187 and 615/1218. Within the newly conquered city, Saladin and some of his immediate descendants, concentrated, wherever they could, on converting existing Christian stone structures into Muslim ones. But not all the Crusader buildings would have been suitable for conversion and so many of them would have been dismantled. Parts of them would be re-used as *spolia* and the remaining parts left lying where they were.[210] So it may be inferred from this that the cramped cityscape of Jerusalem would have been in a rather pitiful state, with dilapidated, half-ruined and destroyed Christian structures meeting the eye at every turn. Ibn Wasil often uses the word *kharab* (in ruins) to describe the state of Jerusalem in general, and not just its walls. How much of the ruined state of Jerusalem had been re-built before the dreadful onslaught in the city by the Khwarazmians in 642/1244 can never be known, but the upheaval caused by the rampaging Khwarazmians can

[198] Cf. Korn 2004, 71-90. This topic is dealt with at length by other scholars whose contributions appear in this book—Hawari, Blair, R Hillenbrand, Jarrar and Korn. It will therefore not be discussed in any further detail here.
[199] Prawer 1969, 672.
[200] When Saladin took Jerusalem, he 'flattened no small part of the wall'; cf. Nicholson 1997, 199, 38.
[201] ʿImad al-Din 1888, 400-1, 416-19.
[202] Bar Hebraeus mentions that in 1192 Saladin heard that the Franks were planning to attack Jerusalem, so he sent for troops and 'strengthened the walls of Jerusalem'; Bar Hebraeus 1932, 339. Cf. also Hawari herein, Chapter 12, notes 193 and 197.
[203] Shirley 1997, 40.
[204] Shirley 1997, 40; al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 251.

[205] Shirley 1997, 63.
[206] Ibn Taghribirdi 1936-8, vi, 359.
[207] For a wider discussion of the significance of walls, cf. O'Meara 2007, 49.
[208] The city would have had far more churches and other Christian buildings per square mile than anywhere else back home in Western Europe.
[209] Mujir al-Din, tr. Sauvaire 1876, 170-1.
[210] Cf. the chapter in this book by Flood.

only have exacerbated the tragically derelict appearance of the city. At times during the 1240s Jerusalem must have had the appearance of a 'ghost city'.

Christians and Jews
in Ayyubid Jerusalem
a) The Christians

The complexity of 'Oriental Christendom' bewildered the Crusaders, described by Prawer as 'half a dozen communities divided by a common religion'.[211] In the various treaties made before the coming of the First Crusade for the Christians of Jerusalem—Melkites, Jacobites, Nestorians, Franks, Armenians and others—it was the Melkites who had control, however vague, over the community, its shrines, clergy and institutions.[212]

Saladin's conduct inside Jerusalem after his conquest of it is praised by both Muslims and Crusader chroniclers. He did not destroy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre nor did he convert it into a Muslim religious building.[213] During or just after the conquest Saladin, having, as usual, consulted with his advisers, decided that Christians would be allowed to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and some other churches. According to one of the continuators of William of Tyre, this was for commercial reasons, as the Muslims did not want to lose the financial benefits brought to the city by Christians performing pilgrimage there.[214] Christians had to pay to enter the city once it was back under Muslim control. The entry fees totalled around 30,000 bezants or more a year. They were allowed to enter unobtrusively through the St Lazarus postern when visiting the Holy Sepulchre.[215]

In accordance with Islamic law, Saladin imposed the *jizya* on all Christians, numbering several thousands.[216] They were allowed to stay in the Holy City and they bought the property of the departing Franks.[217] During the Ayyubid period, the three Monophysite communities in Jerusalem enjoyed a dominant position. This was partly due to Melkite loss of status in the city, but also to the absence of the Frankish hierarchy, although there were Frankish Christians there during Ayyubid rule from after Saladin's death onwards.[218] After the Treaty of Jaffa, the Latin patriarchs of

Jerusalem did not move their seat from Acre back to Jerusalem; this was not only because of the vulnerable state of Jerusalem but also because of the presence of Greek patriarchs there.[219]

After Saladin's re-conquest, the Byzantine emperor Isaac Angelus, hoping to reinstate the situation as it had formerly been under Muslim rule, had entered into negotiations with Saladin which lasted several years after the battle of Hattin.[220] In particular, the emperor was keen to restore the Greek clergy to their pre-eminent position in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and at other shrines and to retain the right to nominate the patriarch in Jerusalem.[221] In the event, the Melkites were allowed to put some clergy in the Christian shrines in the Holy Land and to have some authority within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but the same rights were granted to Frankish clergy within the next few decades.[222] Moreover, the Fourth Crusade had serious effects on the rights of the Melkites in the Holy Land.[223] After the Muslim re-conquest there is evidence that Greek clerics and pilgrims came to the Holy Land and that certain indigenous Melkites, such as doctors, were in favour with the Ayyubid ruling family.[224] However, Rose concludes that the hopes cherished vis-à-vis Jerusalem after the Muslim re-conquest by the Byzantine emperors and patriarchs were not to be realized.

The Georgian Christians (who were Melkites) gained greater influence in the Ayyubid period. As a result of the energetic rule of Queen Tamara of Georgia (ruled 1184–1211) and also the presence of Georgian troops in the Ayyubid armies, Georgian pilgrims and money came into Jerusalem. The main Georgian building in the city was the Holy Cross Monastery outside the wall,[225] but in addition the Georgians constructed new hospices, churches and monasteries.[226] It is indicative of the favour in which the Georgian Christians were held that Saladin permitted them to officiate in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 588/1192 before the Greek and Frankish clergy were allowed to do so.

The Armenian Christians in Jerusalem were quite numerous and after Saladin's repossession of the city they consolidated and extended their presence at the most important Christian monuments.[227]

New developments were initiated by Saladin. He showed favour to his Egyptian Christian subjects, the Copts,

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[211] Prawer 1972, 215.

[212] Rose 1992, 239.

[213] Al-Maqrizi mentions that 'a fee was determined for those of the Franks who should visit it'; cf. al-Maqrizi, tr. Broadhurst 1980, 85. One eastern Christian source attributes the sparing of the church by the Muslims 'not out of respect for its sanctity, but because of their greedy desire to lay hands on the gifts the people brought upon visiting it.' Cf. *The Chronicle of the Anonymous Edessan*, cited in Moosa 2003, 271.

[214] Shirley 1997, 37.

[215] Shirley 1997, 18-19. However, this source mentions that the Pope issued a general sentence of excommunication on anyone who gave Muslims payment for performing pilgrimage.

[216] Ashtor-Strauss 1956, 325.

[217] Ashtor-Strauss 1956, 325.

[218] For relations between the Ayyubids and the Frankish Christians, cf.

Humphreys 1977, 108, 134, 136, 266, 269, 274; Jackson 1987, 32-8, 49-55.

[219] Rose remarks somewhat vaguely that after 1229 Jerusalem 'was fairly secure for a decade'; Rose 1992, 247. However, this is not very likely to have been the case.

[220] Rose 1992, 239.

[221] For example Gethsemane, Mary's tomb and St Lazarus; cf. Rose 1992, 240.

[222] Rose 1992, 240.

[223] Rose 1992, 180-5.

[224] For sources, cf. Rose 1992, 240-1.

[225] Prawer 1972 (ii), 230

[226] Rose 1992, 243.

[227] Their major sanctuary was St James in the Street of the Armenians, between the Tower of David and the Zion Gate; cf. Prawer 1972 (ii), 230.

giving them privileges within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that they had not enjoyed before as a group, and which distinguished them from their Syrian Monophysite co-religionists. Indeed, this newly found favour went further as both the Coptic and Ethiopian communities began to establish their own institutions in Jerusalem.[228]

So it may be concluded that in Ayyubid Jerusalem the Melkites did not succeed in taking over the dominant position formerly enjoyed by the Latin Church. The Georgians became the *de facto* leaders of the Melkite community for more than two centuries after Saladin's re-conquest. But all Christian groups were able to ask for privileges from their Ayyubid overlords on an equal footing.

b) The Jews

After Saladin's re-conquest of the city, the situation of the Jews improved and he allowed them to settle once more in Jerusalem.[229] Saladin is remembered by the Jews as a 'second Cyrus',[230] as a ruler who appealed to the Jews to settle in Jerusalem after his conquest of it. The famous Spanish-Jewish poet, Y'hudah al-Harizi, who visited Jerusalem in 613/1216 mentions a proclamation made by Saladin in 1189-90:

> 'And Saladin ordered to proclaim in every city, to let it be known to old and young: "Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, let anybody who wants from the seed of Ephraim come to her." '

According to his testimony, there were three Jewish groups there—the Ascalonites, the Maghribi Jews and the French Jews.[231] These groups were never numerous.[232]

Concluding remarks

History is rarely tidy. When writing about Jerusalem under Muslim rule, it would be easier to pass quickly, or even in silence, over the 63 years of Ayyubid custodianship of the city. After all, this was a turbulent period which saw the Holy City

have at least ten rulers. To finish on a climax of the fruition of the *jihad* of Saladin and his triumphal entry into Jerusalem is far more stirring than to tell the story of Ayyubid rule and the terrible vicissitudes that the city suffered at that time.[233]

Despite Saladin's increasingly single-minded determination, indeed obsession, vis-à-vis Jerusalem, there was never any question of his settling there. Indeed, the only period from the 7th century until the modern era when Jerusalem served as a political capital city was under the rule of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Like Mecca and Medina, Jerusalem had sacred rather than political importance for Muslims. Any military, diplomatic or commercial success which the Ayyubids may have had elsewhere in their realms brought little direct impact on Jerusalem.

The task facing the Ayyubids with Jerusalem was not that of a new Muslim dynasty taking over an important city from a defeated Muslim predecessor. It was much more daunting than that. Western Christian domination of the Holy City for 88 years could not be eradicated quickly. Muslim religious traditions and a vibrant scholarly milieu could not be revivified in the twinkling of an eye. They would need considerable time to become embedded properly again. Of course, it is clear that Muslims had visited the Holy City under Crusader rule but it is not clear in what numbers they came. The efforts of Saladin and his nephew al-Muʿazzam to re-develop Jerusalem as a religious centre set the process in motion, but such efforts were thwarted by political events after 616/1219. Stability in Jerusalem after that was a forlorn hope.

It should be borne in mind that the story of Ayyubid Jerusalem is not just one of disruption and bargaining over the ownership of the city. It is a saga of desperate survival tactics in a period of great external dangers, when the threat of more crusades from Europe did not recede and when the even more terrible spectre of the Mongol invasions loomed ominously on the horizon. Against this background individual Ayyubid princes occasionally could unite against a common foe. More often, what motivated them was sheer pragmatism, as they sought grimly to keep hold of their own territories in whatever way they could. Maintaining control of the Holy City was a secondary consideration in such a situation and its generally unhappy fate in much of the Ayyubid period may rather be seen as a symbol of the widespread fragility of power, both Muslim and Crusader, in these troubled years.[234]

[228] Rose 1992, 245; Prawer 1972 (ii), 228.

[229] Ashtor-Strauss 1956, 324. Ashtor-Strauss poses the question 'How tolerant was Saladin?' He points out that Saladin disliked freethinkers and heretics and that he was a pious Muslim. He goes on to discuss the differences between Fatimid and Ayyubid attitudes towards their non-Muslim subjects, underlining that the Fatimids displayed greater tolerance than their successors in Egypt.

[230] Prawer 1972, 245.

[231] Prawer 244-5; Ashtor-Strauss 1976, 326. The Geniza documents prove that Ayyubid rule must have had a reputation for orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. These documents speak of the influx of learned Jews from France.

[232] Benjamin of Tudela, for example, found four Jewish families in Jerusalem; Ashtor-Strauss 1956, 324.

[233] Understandably this approach has often been preferred in the rhetoric of anti-Crusading modern Arab and Iranian political discourse about Jerusalem.

[234] Under the Mamluks, as Little observes: 'For the first time since the reign of Salah al-Din, it (Jerusalem) was to remain firmly in the hands of Muslims, no longer to be offered as a prize in the hands of Muslims, no longer to be offered in political, military and diplomatic contests'; cf. Little 1989, 186.

Chapter 2
THE ART OF THE AYYUBIDS: AN OVERVIEW

Robert Hillenbrand

Ayyubid art in Western scholarship

It is worth enquiring at the outset why there are virtually no general surveys of Ayyubid art. Indeed, to limit the discussion to works published after 1960, in some of the traditional handbooks on Islamic art arranged on the chronological pattern, such as those by Ernst Diez, Ernst Kühnel, Katharina Otto-Dorn and Volkmar Enderlein,[1] Ayyubid art is simply not mentioned. Yet the art of the dynasties that bracket the Ayyubids in Egypt and Syria, namely the Fatimids and the Mamluks, is never ignored. Is it simply an unpalatable fact that Ayyubid art is not important enough to merit serious consideration, or that there is too little of it, or that it does not have a distinct personality of its own? This neglect may of course also have something to do with the sheer longevity of the dynasties which ruled Egypt and at least some of Syria before and after the Ayyubids—over two centuries in the case of the Fatimids, and nearer three in the case of the Mamluks. That lengthy period allowed for the gradual build-up of material in most categories of the arts, whereas the eighty years granted to the Ayyubids did not permit this to the same extent.

This uneven coverage is reflected in the approaches adopted in Western scholarship. Sometimes, as in the survey of Islamic art by Marçais,[2] a portmanteau approach is adopted, whereby the art of both Ayyubid and Mamluk times is simply treated as a single entity, not just as an unbroken continuum but with no acknowledgement that the two differ in any significant way. Or perhaps, as in the regrettably unpublished extended handbook of Islamic art by Otto-Dorn, attention is confined to a single medium, in this case architecture.[3] These generalisations hold to this day despite three recent exhibition catalogues[4] that focus directly on the Ayyubid period and whose individual chapters, though very brief, together constitute the most up-to-date survey of the component elements of Ayyubid art even though there is little in the way of an overview.[5]

Almost equally neglected in such handbooks of an earlier generation is the art of such contemporary polities as the Atabegs or the renascent ʿAbbasid caliphate, to say nothing of those further afield, such as the Delhi sultans, the Khwarizmshahs, the Almohads, the Marinids or the Muluk al-Tawaʾif; the latter three are typically bundled together within a discussion of ʿMoorishʾ art. All these latter dynasties are geographically remote from the central Islamic lands, so sheer distance from what has traditionally been regarded in Western scholarship as the centre of things might be urged as a reason for their comparative neglect. To some extent, it is also a function of the history of that scholarship. The melancholy truth is that some fields are neglected not because of any intrinsic lack of interest but because too few people have written about them, and sometimes those who have indeed done such writing have lacked the insight to make the most of the material or the skill to make their findings of sufficient interest to a wider public. Yet another factor in such neglect may be that some of these dynasties have produced relatively little of note apart from architecture—or so at least the surviving material suggests. That tends to close off too many potential avenues of exploration, and to render the study of their art too specialised.

What of the art produced by the contemporaries of the Ayyubids in the Near East—the numerous principalities,

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[1] See, respectively, Diez 1950; Kühnel 1966; Otto-Dorn 1968, and the much expanded, but alas unpublished, English version of this latter text: Otto-Dorn 1989 (where chapter 11—a mere one and a half pages of galley proofs [401a-b]—is entitled, most significantly, ʿZangid and Ayyubid Architecture in Syriaʾ and makes no mention of any other art form); and Enderlein 1986.

[2] Marçais 1962, 111-2, 118-9. There is nothing of substance here.

[3] See n.1 above.

[4] *L'Orient de Saladin* catalogue (hereafter ODS) 2001; Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller (eds.), 2005; Ermete and Gleba (eds.), 2006.

[5] There are only two attempts in this direction, both in ODS: Carboni 2001, 25-30 and Grabar 2001, 218-9.

princedoms and other ephemeral centres of power that disputed among themselves control over some of the central Islamic lands during the life of the Ayyubid dynasty, i.e. between 1169 and 1250? Here at least there is no problem of distance, no question of 'out of sight, out of mind'. Yet they too, as noted above, are usually neglected in traditional handbooks, and studies that attempt to analyse their art as a whole are very few. This is not surprising, for their record in the visual arts betrays a lack of either breadth or depth, and too often a time-scale so short that it excludes the possibility of tracing the sustained evolution of a given art form. The floruit of Arab book painting, which covered less than a century, is perhaps the outstanding example of this, but one might also cite in this context Artuqid figural coinage, Raqqa pottery or Mosul metalwork. All these cases demonstrate the phenomenon of a very limited geographical area achieving mastery of a single art form within a very short space of time. The earlier stages of this high-quality art are not easy to identify, so that it seems almost as if this achievement comes out of the blue. But whatever the excellence of the given art form associated primarily with one of these places, what is missing is a full complement of the visual arts in the same place and at the same time. At most there are tantalising indications that there was originally a fuller context than now survives for these isolated masterpieces. Even so, the abiding impression created by these pockets of superlative output is of a fortunate but fleeting conjunction of artist and patron—and it must be acknowledged that in general the authority of most of these dynasties did not last long. These factors have made it difficult to write a detailed overview of the art of these polities on an individual basis.[6]

For all these reasons, a tendency began to manifest itself in handbooks published from the mid-1960s onwards to treat the art of the Ayyubids alongside that of the Atabegs and of the renascent caliphate as a discrete topic worthy of being considered on its own terms. This marked a gradual shift in perception about the nature of Near Eastern art in the later 12th and early 13th centuries. The close temporal and spatial juxtaposition of these rather different polities forced a gradual re-assessment of their art, and encouraged the search for similarities and shared features that cut across political divides. The focus, in short, shifted from a given dynasty to the material culture of that place and time. This modification of earlier attitudes reflected a more sophisticated understanding of the nature of Ayyubid rule and its inter-connections with other regional centres of power. It disclosed perspectives very different, say, from simply seeing the art of this dynasty as a continuation of Fatimid art. Specifically, this new understanding liberated the study of Ayyubid art from the grip of Egypt and alerted scholarship to the importance of elements from Anatolia, Iraq and Iran—and of course Western

⁶ Blair and Bloom 2003, 160-1, 170-2.

Europe through the intermediary of the Crusader states—in the formation of that art. In other words, it opened up the possibility of seeing Ayyubid art as having international rather than purely local characteristics. Yet it should be emphasized that this is by no means the same as proposing the existence of an international Ayyubid style akin, say, to the phenomenon of the international Gothic style.

Ayyubid art: problems of definition

Once this broader perspective is adopted, and a largely local, and especially a purely Egyptian, one is discarded, it becomes abundantly clear that Islamic art and architecture flourished mightily, and took many a new direction, in the Near East during the period when the Ayyubids were one of the several dynasties in power, namely between 1169 and 1250. So perhaps one should cultivate the wider view and concede that the attempt to link these developments with a given dynasty alone is misconceived. As it happens, it is particularly unhelpful in the case of the Ayyubids, for they were everywhere—or so it seems. The reason for this, and thus for why they were at the centre of this explosion of energy and creativity in the visual arts, is that the family had developed what would today be called extraordinary networking skills. Its various scions held power in this period, if sometimes only intermittently, in most of the major cities of the Near East: Cairo, Damascus, Hims, Hama, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Raqqa, Mosul, Amid, Sanʿa' and Zabid, not to mention a host of lesser towns such as Aden, Baʿlabbak, Ramla, Karak, Mayyafariqin, Irbil, Sinjar, Hisn Kaifa and Akhlat. In terms of modern political entities, their power stretched at various times from Egypt and the Yemen to Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Turkey. Their rule over Egypt and the Yemen meant that, at least until 1229, they controlled the Red Sea—and with it, the major trade artery between India and Europe.

The sheer extent of these possessions is in itself remarkable. But it also has significant ramifications in the visual arts, for it explains why they could comprise so many different, and indeed sometimes contradictory, strands and underlines how misguided it would be to think of 'Ayyubid art' as a single entity on the analogy, say, of Umayyad art. The reality was the exact opposite. It would be difficult to identify a distinctive Ayyubid house style whose impact could be felt across all their territories. Local particularism was too entrenched and there was no central metropolis which set the pace and tone of artistic production and could thus stamp its taste on the provinces. Instead, the Ayyubid princes paid for work which was moulded by the local traditions in force in the area where it was produced. The figural coinage that they struck in their Jaziran possessions had nothing in common with their issues in, for example, Egypt—or for that matter

Jerusalem. The superlative ceramics produced under their aegis in Raqqa were worlds away from the run-of-the-mill Ayyubid wares excavated in Zabid or even Karak. The striped masonry of Ayyubid Hama finds virtually no echo even in relatively nearby Jerusalem, while the scale, ambition and sheer *éclat* of the Aleppo citadel or the mausoleum of al-Shafi'i in Cairo has no parallel elsewhere in their dominions.

So the blunt conclusion must be that there was no such thing as an international Ayyubid style. Instead, local styles in the visual arts flourished, but were enriched by ideas that came from further afield, and these imported elements varied in nature and strength from one part of the Ayyubid domains to another. Moreover, family networks could facilitate an interchange of craftsmen between urban centres, as seems to have occurred in the field of inlaid metalwork. Jerusalem was geographically well placed to benefit from such exchanges, and its special status, especially for Saladin, ensured that at least some of the visual arts received special attention there.

Over the last two decades, the earlier relative neglect in Islamic art handbooks of the output of the years 1169-1250 in the Near East has definitively ended. But the problem of how to present it has elicited very different approaches. One is to treat this period and area as an entity; the other is rather to emphasize regional distinctions, and thus to separate Egypt, Syria, Iraq and the northern Jazira. Both approaches have their justification, but the stories that they tell are not the same. The first underlines the similarities in the art of these various dynasties; the second highlights the differences. No doubt both approaches have their strengths and weaknesses. In this chapter, however, the focus of this volume on Jerusalem dictates a third approach in which the perspective of the Holy City is a constant factor. It is part of such a perspective that the Ayyubids made Syria the major centre of Western Islam in the interregnum between the end of the Fatimids and the beginning of Mamluk rule—probably because of the constant threat posed by the Crusaders, who were seen as the major political problem of the time. This perception shifted attention, at least to some extent, from Egypt. With the demise of the Fatimids, and the diminution of the Crusader threat after the recapture of Jerusalem, Egypt temporarily slid from the top spot, and this subtle change of political perspective is also reflected in the visual arts.

It follows from these remarks that the very notion of Ayyubid art is something of a chimera. Only intermittently does it imply the decisive intervention of Ayyubid rulers and their high officials and *amirs*. The points of contact and overlap with the arts of the Zangids, Artuqids and Rum Saljuqs, even with the revived 'Abbasid caliphate, are legion. It is an intellectual convenience, indeed a short cut, a simplification of complex historical realities, to think in terms of an Ayyubid state, or for that matter of Ayyubid art. But if one had to posit a heartland for that art, it would exist along the Aleppo-Damascus axis. By

that reckoning, the art of the western periphery of Ayyubid power, Egypt, would be rooted in Fatimid traditions; that of the southern periphery, Yemen, would reflect the influence of Sulaihid production; and the art of the north-eastern periphery, in eastern Anatolia, would naturally take on the colouring of the highly syncretistic world of the Artuqids, Saltuqids, Mengüjekids and the Shah-i Armanids, in which Turkish, Armenian, Georgian, and Iranian elements bulked large. One size does not fit all. So any attempt to cram these multiple traditions into one box with one label is misguided. Ayyubid princes ruled for longer or shorter periods over these territories, true; but that did not necessarily mean that the art produced in them under that rule could be defined in any useful sense as Ayyubid except intermittently or unless it was hedged about with qualifications.

The key issue, then, is to distinguish centre from periphery, and that means focusing on the Aleppo-Damascus axis. Jerusalem belongs squarely within that frame, with the proviso that its undimmed status in Christian eyes and the multiple disadvantages attendant on its very small population are properly factored into the picture.

This chapter will make no attempt to survey in methodical fashion the entire output of the visual arts in Ayyubid times. Instead, it will highlight certain media and themes in an attempt to seize the essence of the art of the period, while always keeping Jerusalem in mind. This will entail leaving certain media out of account—ceramics being the most notable example (pls XCII-XCIII). The recent major book by Marilyn Jenkins-Madina[7] is the first book-length attempt to treat the output of the major production centre of Ayyubid luxury ceramics as a whole, and it seems idle to recapitulate this material here. Similarly, textiles will be omitted from this survey, though more because of the dearth of material than the nature of the scholarship available on this topic, while in the fields of book painting and Qur'an illumination the virtual absence of hard evidence in the key areas of provenance, patronage and date makes it hard to distinguish Ayyubid work from that which comes from other sources. This is also a perennial problem in Ayyubid metalwork. Metalworkers travelled far and wide and that makes it somewhat unprofitable to structure discussion

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[7] Jenkins-Madina 2006. In this book, the exact provenance of the so-called 'Raqqa' wares, found in their hundreds throughout the world's public and private collections, is established beyond reasonable doubt, not only on the basis of wasters but also with abundant documentary proof, as Raqqa itself. As for its date, the scattered evidence, including the fragments walled into dated or datable medieval Italian buildings or sculpture (the famous *bacini*), points to the early 13th century, and specifically the reign of al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa (1201-29)—a time of notable prosperity and urban regeneration for Raqqa. Other wares of Greater Syria were spared the early 20th-century Orientalist frenzy for collecting 'Raqqa' wares, and the disinformation spread about them for motives of commercial gain, and can thus regain their rightful place in the complex mosaic of local ceramic manufacture in this period. Among these are the wares of Tell Minis (Porter and Watson, 1987) and Karak (Milwright 2008, 137-401).

around questions of provenance. They carried the *nisba* al-Mausili from the Yemen to Egypt. Happily such problems do not arise with architecture. The central role of Jerusalem in this book dictates that this chapter will privilege the Ayyubid architecture of that city, since buildings are the principal survival of Ayyubid Jerusalem in the visual arts. But first it will be convenient to pass in review some of the highlights of other arts of the Ayyubid period.

Ayyubid woodwork in Jerusalem

In retrospect, it is nothing short of astonishing that the wooden screen around the rock in the Qubbat al-Sakhra (pls. III-XIII) has so signally failed to make an art-historical impact of any kind. It is virtually ignored in studies of the Dome of the Rock itself (again, a remarkable omission); it is ignored in surveys of the art of the Near East in the Ayyubid period; and it does not figure in discussions of medieval Islamic woodwork. Yet the sober fact is that this is a very ambitious enterprise which implies the existence of very large and efficient workshops. It is not feasible that the three brothers mentioned in one of the inscription panels did this work all on their own. Indeed, it is likely enough that the resources of Jerusalem were by no means enough for this huge commission, involving as it did some 444 elements with carved decoration, of very varied size, to say nothing of the dividing and framing members, such as mouldings, fluted pilasters with multiple abaci and repeatedly stepped stylobates, turned spindle shapes, dwarf ringed columns, vase or baluster shapes, and so on. The assembling of several tonnes of seasoned wood implies lavish patronage and streamlined logistics. Indeed, no comparably ambitious scheme of woodwork in the entire medieval Islamic world comes to mind, though large wooden screens, such as that of the mosque of Altinbugha al-Maridani in Cairo, dated 739-40/1338-40, are known.[8] The enclosure screen in the Dome of the Rock maintained a height of some 1.55 metres for a length of over 200 metres, which adds up to about 310 square metres of intricately carved woodwork. One has to go back to the glory days of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbasids for a similar emphasis on sheer scale, and indeed it is surely no accident that this embellishment was devised for the first great Umayyad building, whose iconic status had been a focus for Muslim ambitions for the 88 years that it had remained in Christian hands.

As in Umayyad times, this penchant for the grand gesture in visual terms had both political and religious dimensions. It was a demonstration of piety and of attachment to the Holy City and its key monuments. It reasserted Muslim control of the building, and restored the interrupted sequence of decorative additions such as the Fatimid mosaics and carved panels. It also argued a renewed reverence for the rock itself, made more precious in the eyes of the Muslims, especially in the heady aftermath of the re-conquest of the city, because of the Frankish embellishment of it. So outdoing that work—which featured a marble covering of the rock's surface and a pierced metal grille around it[9]—was yet another factor, if a very time-related one.

And while there is no certainty about the length of time it took to complete this screen, it is worth remembering that the inscription which records—by the conventions of the time[10]—the completion of the work mentions as the patron a son of Saladin whose tenure as governor of Jerusalem lasted a bare two years. Had he done little more than begin the work, his name would not have figured as the patron.[11] This suggests that work proceeded at speed.

It is of course important not to confuse size with quality. And indeed, it has to be admitted that the imagination of these wood-carvers played over a somewhat restricted range of motifs, and that their execution was workmanlike rather than superlative. There is nothing here that can be compared to the finest Maghribi work of the 12th century, or to the extreme finesse of the Aqsa *minbar*, the work of Aleppan craftsmen of the previous generation. Here, no doubt, the need to produce vast quantities of work in a relatively short time militated against producing work of the very first quality. That said, it is undeniable that they managed to conjure up apparently endless variations on the few themes on which they concentrated. Nor should it be forgotten that a consistent house style was an absolute necessity. The differences in technical skill noted by Dr Sylvia Auld could make sense not only as later replacements but possibly also as the work of apprentices working from models.

A further signal of the uneven quality of the craftsmanship in the balustrade is the clumsy arrangement of the main inscribed panels. The desire to avoid writing any part of the text upside down from the viewer's standpoint means that while the right vertical border reads continuously, there is a painful disjunction thereafter which forces the reader back to the right-hand corner of the lowest border to continue the text. This is true of both major panels. Moreover, those panels

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[8] Behrens-Abouseif 2007, 184, fig. 133.

[9] The idea of giving the rock an expensive wooden enclosure may have been a response to that Crusader grille. For a colour plate of a fragment of that grille, preserved in the Haram Museum, see Schubert *et al.* 2007, 190.

[10] Blair 1992, 63.

[11] An unpublished note by Sauvaire (see the *Conclusion* to Dr Sylvia Auld's Chapter 5 on this screen, *infra*) indicates that al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, according to a now lost inscription, renewed the screen. It is hard to believe that a screen finished only some ten years earlier would have been in need of significant repair (there is, for example, no record of a fire in this short period), but equally there would be nothing strange in that prince putting the finishing touches to the work and claiming rather more credit than he was due.

themselves need to be read together but are placed too far apart for that to be possible. A continuous crowning inscription, or a single large panel of standard Ayyubid form set opposite one of the main entrances, might have been preferable. So the careful execution of details was not matched by due attention to the grand design. Incidentally, the text of the doxology runs continuously, which means that the base line *(Muhammad rasul Allah)* is upside down, but starts at one o'clock rather than at bottom right, with an extended format for *bism* to draw attention to it, and a correspondingly cramped rendering of *al-rahman al-rahim*.

The painted panels of Ayyubid date which have been salvaged from the Aqsa Mosque, and which fit tolerably well into the context of painted ceilings in the Near East in the 11th-13th centuries,[12] are the subject of detailed discussion in my chapter on the Ayyubid Aqsa Mosque elsewhere in this volume.

The famous *minbar* (pl. II) ordered by Nur al-Din for the Aqsa Mosque at a time when Jerusalem was still in Christian hands was intended from the first as a speaking symbol: a statement of faith that Jerusalem would return to Muslim control, a rallying point, an emblem of *jihad*, a reminder of unfinished business in the path of God, a celebration of victory to come, a memorial to Nur al-Din himself in the city he so ardently desired to conquer for Islam, a means of evoking from a distance a Jerusalem of the mind, the heart and the spirit. There is of course wishful thinking at work here, what might be termed sympathetic magic, and that element is greatly strengthened by the ultimate destination which was planned for this masterpiece: the Aqsa Mosque, the third holiest mosque in the Islamic world, in the city that was Islam's first *qibla*, and on the Haram al-Sharif, hallowed by its complex associations with the Last Judgment and the Ascension of the Prophet Muhammad. As such it must be seen as an integral part of the process of reclaiming the holy places initiated by Saladin on the very day of the re-conquest, and for which the finest craftsmanship and the most precious materials were reserved. These and other meanings have been the subject of intensive study by Dr Sylvia Auld, who has also demonstrated in detail how in its woodworking technique it stands head and shoulders above all contemporary *minbars* of the Near East.

What else makes this *minbar* different from the many wooden *minbars* produced in the 12th-13th centuries, the golden age for this form throughout the central Islamic lands? The fact that the signatures of four craftsmen are found on it[13] singles it out, as does the multiplicity of textures involved and the sheer quantity of its panels. This latter factor marks

a decisive break from the norm. Perhaps the most unusual feature is the reserving of the upper part of the hypotenuse for a parallelogram whose four-sided border contains an extremely lengthy historical inscription. The sequence of a dozen separate fields of disparate size along the vertical axis below the arch of the crowning canopy is also unmatched in medieval *minbar* design. The contrast between panels intended to be seen from a distance and exquisitely detailed plugs, stars, squares and roundels which reveal their subtleties only from a few centimetres away demonstrates complete mastery of the woodworking repertoire. Finally, above the entrance doors to the *minbar* there rises a depressed ogee arch of remarkable complexity whose multiple convexities and concavities, separated by abrupt steps and accentuated by a thin, plain extrados, create a dynamic, uniquely sinuous profile.[14] It is perhaps worth noting in parentheses that, while the later Ayyubid prince al-Salih Isma'il saw fit to place his name on the *minbar*,[15] Saladin himself did not. Placed right next to the refurbished *mihrab* whose mosaic inscription extolled Saladin, the *minbar* ensured that even after his death Nur al-Din shared with Saladin the victory of which he was the architect.

Ayyubid glass

It was in the production of glass, alongside ceramics and metalwork, that Ayyubid art attained some of its greatest originality and variety.[16] It seems that the sheer quantity of output in this brief period of little more than half a century itself drove the more ambitious craftsmen to attempt increasingly challenging innovations. The sudden, intense blossoming of this exotic and difficult craft, moreover, as interpreted in such an instantly distinctive way by Ayyubid artists, came effectively out of the blue. Islamic glassware had a history of at least half a millennium behind it by this time, and was no stranger to momentous technical advances, as shown by the survival of lustred glassware in Egypt datable to 771. But by and large, Islamic glassmakers from Egypt to Iran had contented themselves with experiments in shape, in texture (for example, facetted wares), in relief ornament and epigraphy, and in striking colour harmonies. They had not, it seems, developed in any serious way the potential of glass as a surface for elaborate figural painting, strikingly exotic foreign motifs, whether from Europe or the Far East, lofty

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[12] Such as the Masjid al-'Abbas in the Khaulan district of the Yemen, dated 519/1126 (Finster 1986a)

[13] Auld 2005, 42, 58-9, with further references. There are parallels in other media for the collaboration of a team of artists on a work of outstanding importance, for example the Pamplona ivory casket, which bears eleven signatures (Holod 1992, 198-201).

[14] For another contemporary example of this fashion for extravagant, non-structural arch profiles see a detail from the castle that Saladin built in the Sinai peninsula: Barret *et al.*, 2007, 23.

[15] Perhaps in a bid to associate himself with its aura of holiness *(baraka)* and with the glory days of *jihad*. The notion of underlining dynastic continuity may also be a factor, though he was of course no blood descendant of Nur al-Din.

[16] The section which follows is intentionally somewhat detailed since there is no separate chapter in this book on Ayyubid glass.

monumental inscriptions, or landscapes and architecture-scapes. Nor, it seems, had they developed anything to match the svelte and elegant forms, with dramatic effects of flaring and elongation or powerful contrasts of globular and tubular shapes, that characterize Ayyubid glassware. It was not rare for these pieces, which were so highly prized in Europe, to acquire new meanings and functions, for instance as reliquaries, their precious nature further emphasized by costly mounts.

Among the very varied types of glass made in this period, the most innovative were assuredly those with gilded and enamelled, and frequently figural, decoration. Their richly coloured scenes set against a transparent glass ground, and disposed in oblong strips, immediately evoke, if only at second hand, the characteristic manner of contemporary book painting, much as do the *mina'i* wares of Iran in the same period. The combination of gilding and polychrome enamel in blue, green, red (often used—as in book painting—as an outline), yellow and white gave these wares a unique cachet. It is this which explains why they have been found in numerous European locations, from Abingdon in southern England to Novgorod in northern Russia, as well as in the Far East. While glass was made in Tyre and Akkon, and of course Aleppo, medieval European inventories single out Damascus as the principal centre of production.

But glass came in many shapes and sizes, with many types of decoration, including added pellets, blue or turquoise in colour, as grace notes on the transparent glass. The bread and butter of this industry was a steady output of simple glass objects for everyday use. Marvered glass, with its strong emphasis on the colour contrast of white stripes, or light threads in relief incrusting the surface, against a strikingly dark ground (purple, violet or navy blue, for example), or even for ornaments such as suspended birds and other figurines (some of which have turned up in excavations in Jerusalem), and small-scale containers for kohl, salves and other cosmetics, was also popular, as it had been since antiquity. There were also globular, fat-bellied flasks, known as *qumqum* (perfume or rosewater sprinklers), inkwells, annular flagons, pear-shaped vases whose shape replicates a type of Chinese celadon, or long-necked wine carafes or decanters like the one bearing the name of the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Dunya wa'l-Din (Yusuf II, 1236-60; his titulature was exactly the same as that of his renowned ancestor Saladin, whose personal name he also shared).

Such a piece raises insistently the question of patronage. While other isolated pieces do mention specific rulers—'Imad al-Din Zangi (probably Zangi II, lord of Sinjar from 1171 to 1197),[17] Kaikhusrau II and Sanjar Shah, *atabeg* of Mosul—or at least their titles (as in the beakers in the Louvre, Dresden, Kassel and the Damascus Museum),[18] most pieces,

including inscribed fragments, bear the standard repertoire of good wishes directed at an anonymous owner. This suggests not only that they were made for the market, whether a local or export one, but also that there was a well-developed taste for such wares among the moneyed classes. As for the decoration of such wares, scenes of polo, the chase, enthronement and other familiar elements of the so-called princely cycle show that in this as in other arts, such as ceramics and metalwork, scenes evocative of courtly life enjoyed a vogue far beyond the court itself.

Paradoxically, the glassware of Ayyubid times which is compositionally most challenging is not Muslim at all in its content, but plainly Christian. Examples include the intact bottle in the Furusiyya Foundation, Vaduz with its well-realised Christian buildings and scenes of monastic life; the two beakers in Baltimore which have been dated at the cusp of Ayyubid and Mamluk times and depict the Dome of the Rock, the Holy Sepulchre and Christ entering Jerusalem; and a whole series of fragments such as those now in the Benaki Museum.[19] In a sense they raise the same issues as the much more celebrated Ayyubid metalwork with Christian subjects, or the equally familiar interplay between Christian and Muslim modes in 13th-century Arab painting, especially noticeable in figural types and in frontispieces. The under-glazed plate in the Benaki Museum depicting the Deposition also belongs in this context of Christian themes expressed in standard Muslim media—and style.[20] The cumulative evidence here points to a degree of integration in execution and content that militates against the precise identification of a given piece as the work of either a Christian or a Muslim. In this glassware with Christian scenes, some of which bears Arabic inscriptions, one may note a confident reductive manner in evoking architectural forms, a sketchiness which shades into caricature in the treatment of faces, and a practised ease in constructing a convincing narrative sequence. These details reveal a minimalist aesthetic employed by artists working at speed, sure of their effects and careless of fine detail; and they make it likely enough that such pieces were produced in quantity. It is typical that the overt Christian content of such pieces can co-exist quite comfortably with such standard Islamic themes as a border of pacing animals, the use of fleshy arabesques as space-fillers, or schematic trees festooned with oversized birds.

Ayyubid metalwork

The metalwork of the Ayyubid period is of special interest on so many counts that it can claim to be the premier art form of

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[17] Bosworth 1996, 190.

[18] ODS 2001, 191.

[19] Such pieces continued to be made in the Mamluk period, as shown for example by the fragments excavated at Hama.

[20] For example, the treatment of eyebrows or the use of cloud forms of Far Eastern type.
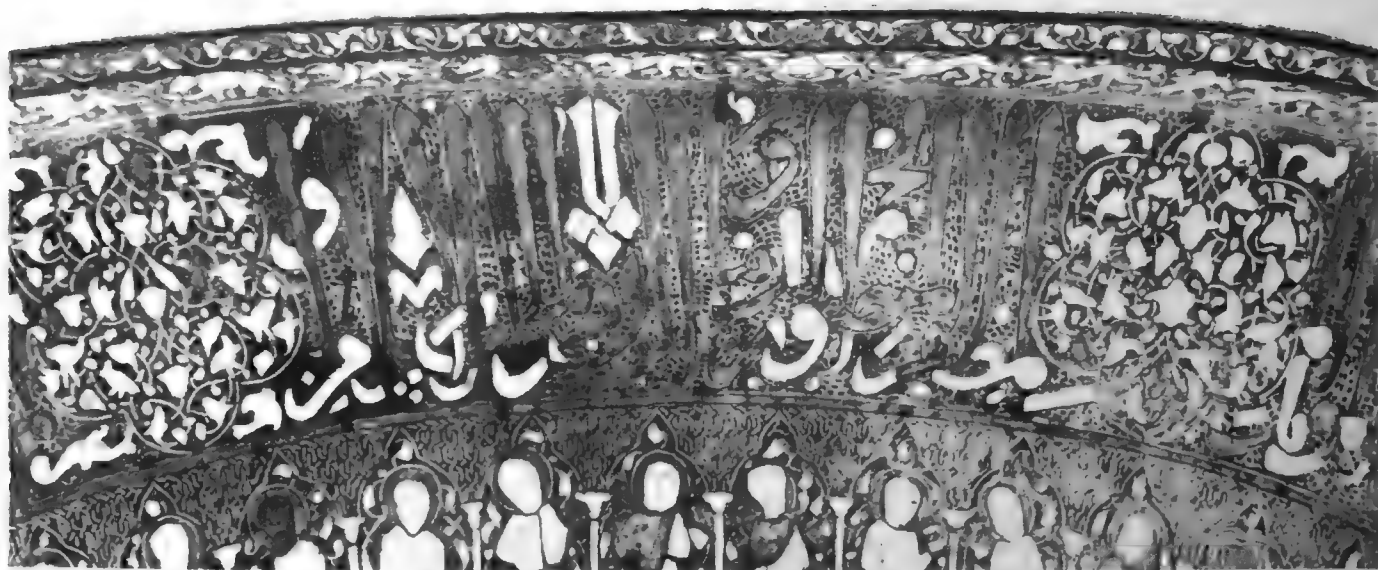
Pl. 2.1 Detail of inscription on interior of basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, known as the 'd'Arenberg basin': Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv no. 55.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

the period. Hence the extended treatment of it in this chapter. First, it has such a strongly marked and distinctive, yet also uniform, character that it seems more appropriate to think in terms of travelling craftsmen spreading a house style than of separate schools each developing in their own way. Next, it concentrates to a remarkable extent on figural scenes rather than the largely abstract geometrical, vegetal and epigraphic repertoire of earlier metalwork. That is the most important innovation of this period, especially when seen against the background of earlier Near Eastern metalwork. But one may note still other departures from the norm. The sheer quantity of fine pieces is quite without parallel and catapults this art into pole position. This new enthusiasm for the medium made metalwork a touchstone of fashion and status. That in turn drew ambitious and talented craftsmen to it, and competition no doubt honed those talents. And equally unprecedented in Near Eastern Islamic metalwork is its striking polychromy, the direct result of the inlay technique with its deliberate contrasts of copper, bronze, brass, silver, niello and even gold. None of this was new further east, in the Iranian world,[21] and Byzantium too had long experimented—though not so boldly—with inlay. As for its forms, these reflect a luxurious lifestyle symbolized and accessorized by ewers, perfume-sprinklers, incense-burners, canteens, pyxides for cosmetics, candlesticks, vases, goblets, platters, basins and scientific instruments (pl. XCIV).

That courtly connection is underlined by another novel feature, namely the fact that they quite often bear the names of Ayyubid sultans themselves—al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf, Nur al-Din, Saladin, al-Malik al-'Aziz, al-'Adil II Abu Bakr—and the princes of Ba'labakk and

Karak, or of various Ayyubid *amirs* and *atabegs*. They are also frequently signed, with al-Mausili as the commonest *nisba*, and sometimes extra information is added which reveals details of workshop organisation. Nor are dated pieces rare. This plethora of information (pl. 2.1) is in sharp contrast to what can be gleaned from the much larger body of 12th-13th-century metalwork that survives from the eastern Islamic world, where dated pieces are few and far between and those with inscriptions mentioning men of exalted rank are even rarer. Nor are there multiple pieces from individual workshops.

Finally, almost without exception these Ayyubid pieces display a phenomenally busy surface crammed with all-over small-scale decoration and devoid of plain surfaces. This is indeed a dramatic shift in style from the relative plainness of the sparsely preserved earlier metalwork in the region. Given that the metal of which these wares are made is intrinsically inexpensive, it is this decoration above all that gives them added value—for it was exceptionally time-consuming to execute and was technically very demanding. In sum, then, the evidence that metalwork attained an unprecedentedly high status in this period is compelling.

What, then, of the decoration itself? One composition after another reveals that the abstract ornament that for centuries had formed the basic repertoire of Muslim craftsmen was now relegated to a merely secondary role as a variegated backcloth to figural scenes of various types, set in medallions or cartouches to highlight their importance. This craze for the figural infected even the conservative medium of epigraphy. In a fashion that came and went within a century and a half, the shafts of vertically emphasized letters sprout mask-like heads, and by degrees transform themselves into entire bodies. In the early examples all these figures stand, so to speak, at attention;

but by degrees they come to life, waving their arms about, turning their heads, and eventually embracing, wrestling or fighting each other. Meanwhile, those letters with a mainly horizontal emphasis take on animal form, a veritable zoo of writhing bodies and snapping jaws. In time the entire inscription takes on vigorously organic form, and it becomes correspondingly difficult to read. But these animated letters are reserved almost exclusively[22] for inscriptions whose content is platitudinous—a succession of good wishes directed to the owner of the piece. When the content is historical, so that legibility is important, the letters shed this exotic human and animal character.

The notion of animated inscriptions is found in roughly contemporary Western, Hebrew, Armenian and Greek manuscripts, often for historiated initial letters, so that there was nothing new in the basic idea. But only in the Muslim world did it stray off the manuscript page into the medium of metalwork, to which it was confined, and only in that culture did entire lengthy sequences of words transform themselves into humans and animals in frantic interaction. This fashion was not confined to Ayyubid territory; but it could be argued that this was where some of its finest realizations were achieved.

And so to the subject matter of these figural scenes. Several well-developed cycles were in use during the Ayyubid period, and it was not uncommon for two or even more of them to be employed side by side on the same object. Some friezes depict entertainment: board games, scarf dancers, singers, jugglers, woodwind instrumentalists, drinkers, tambourine players and the like. They follow one another in endless succession, a visual equivalent for the 'perpetual well-being' to which the benedictory inscriptions of these pieces so often refer. Hunting and animal friezes are laid out in similar fashion. All these bands also serve to demarcate the principal volumes of a given piece, for they occur typically at the top, the base, round the neck or round the middle.[23]

More ambitious are the medallions that take up the lion's share of the space: circular, lobed, arcuated or concave. They tend to contain a developed composition as distinct from a short-hand reference to it: a cavalier in full fig, for example, complete with hawk, salukis and cheetah squatting on the rump of his horse, or an enthroned ruler with bodyguards and entertainers, or a banqueting scene. But they can also be smaller, with only a couple of figures: acrobats, affronted or addorsed animals, wrestlers, men or animals in combat, agricultural scenes, or a lady travelling in a kind of howdah perched on a camel. Sometimes they occur twice, even in mirror images of each other, at opposite axes of the piece.

Some of these scenes find their closest parallels in contemporary book painting, such as the images depicting the labours of the months, hovering angels, cavaliers in combat, a teacher in a classroom, a pharmacy, hunting birds by boat, or the ancient literary motif of Bahram Gur and Azada.[24] Indeed, this is painting by another name. The sparkling colour contrasts which were originally such a feature of the inlay technique but which have faded with the passage of time would have rendered this correspondence still more striking. Silver is used to highlight important bands or cartouches and to distinguish them from the golden-brown tint of the background ornament. But the conventions of book painting, while still recognisable in the re-use of set poses or compositions, or the preference for small-scale figures and greatly reduced props to set the scene, have been subtly altered. The technical difficulties of creating inlaid metalwork necessitated a certain degree of abstraction and simplification, a challenge that the best masters embraced eagerly. And so daily life invaded the iconography of metalwork as it did contemporary book painting in the *Maqamat*. The pulsating energy of the numerous figures brings these objects to life, but—with the important exception of some of those that bear Christian themes—they remain so to speak imprisoned in their cartouches. They do not develop a narrative. It is in this respect that the contrast with contemporary book painting—where narrative, however primitive its expression, is of the essence—becomes most marked.

The dependence on pattern books, or some version of that idea, is patent. It explains the repeated use of a few abstract motifs—interlocking H, Y, reversed Z, Greek key, meander, swastika—and of certain standard figural motifs, such as the mounted hunter (hunting is far and away the most popular theme of this metalwork,[25] and tends to take up a disproportionate share of the space) or the seated musician. The artist rings the changes on these types by altering minor details (like the hunter's prey or the musician's instrument), or by re-using elements from a scene in another context,[26] or

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[22] A partial exception is the Freer canteen, of interest in this context because two of its three large narrative panels refer to Jerusalem (the Presentation in the Temple and the Entry into Jerusalem), though of course that is not to say that Jerusalem was the place of manufacture. Its quite extraordinarily convoluted animated *naskhi* inscription (only those of the Wade cup and the Blacas ewer run it close) consists partly of standard good wishes and partly of laudatory adjectives referring to an actual, as yet unidentified, person (Atil, Chase, and Jett 1985, 124). But—with the exception of the word *al-murabit* ('he who dwells in a frontier fortress')—the non-standard sequence lacks clear points of contact with the usual titulature of the period. Yet two of the other inscriptions call down blessings on an owner with the abbreviation *li-sa[hibihi]*, so that this owner—despite the huge expense of the piece—is specifically anonymous. This is remarkable but not unprecedented, for the Schefer Hariri, easily the outstanding illustrated manuscript of the 13th century, also mentions no patron in its very full colophon. These internal contradictions defy easy resolution, though it is always possible that the animated *naskhi* inscription post-dated the other two, if only by a very short period, and that in that brief interval a patron was found.

[23] Thus, for example, zodiacal themes can be used both as border decoration and in medallions.

[24] On the Paris ewer see Baer 1989, 16–17. The elephant image on the same object may be an echo of another *Shahnama* scene depicting Sapinud.

[25] Hagedorn 1989, I, 29-31 documents 72 varieties of this theme.

[26] Hagedorn 1989, II, unpaginated 99 and 101, medallions 5 and 11 on the

Pl. 2.2 Detail of the exterior of the 'd'Arenberg basin', with a band of running animals, and *waq-waq* lobed roundels flanking the four horsemen suggesting astrological themes. Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 55.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

in reverse, which suggests that a stencil was used, or by slight adjustments in the few scratches that evoke drapery. These figures inhabit the intrinsically awkward spaces allotted to them with little sense of strain or clutter. Moreover, the balance between figural, vegetal, geometric and epigraphic ornament is constantly changing, as is the proportion of plain to decorated surfaces. All this speaks for an assured grasp both of the grand design and of the tiniest detail, and—given the number of artists who signed these pieces—the prevalence of a house style of notable flexibility, inventiveness and range. The continuously busy surfaces of most of these pieces[27] make them textbook examples of the celebrated Islamic *horror vacui*.

What does Ayyubid metalwork reveal about those who ordered it, many of them princes of the house of Saladin? It is interesting to note that the images themselves—unlike the formulaic inscriptions—make not the slightest reference to the Islamic faith. Indeed, they glorify activities always frowned on by Islamic orthodoxy: wine-drinking, music in many different forms, dancing and even naked female acrobats. The message is loud and clear: this metalwork celebrates the good life led by the privileged élite. It is no accident that the principal theme is the hunt, whether represented on a large, medium or small scale, whether on foot or on horseback, and whether the prey is real or fantastic. Since the hunt involved elaborate and costly organisation it connoted wealth as well as physical prowess, and it also developed skills with obvious military applications. So too did polo (pl. 2.2)—which takes pride of place on the celebrated d'Arenberg basin in the name of Sultan al-Malik al-Salih Ayyub, a keen practitioner of the sport.[28] Other entertainments, from banquets to backgammon,

feature prominently. The ruling class is on display, whether in official receptions, with the ruler enthroned among his courtiers, at its revels, or in the more private sphere of a lady attended by her maid.

In fact not all the themes are light-hearted. This was a society uneasily conscious of the baneful influence of the heavenly bodies,[29] and anxious to placate them. Hence the threatening serpents which infiltrate so much of this decoration, from cavaliers[30] to calligraphy,[31] and hence too the magic bowls with Qur'anic verses made at astrologically propitious times and ordered by Nur al-Din and especially Saladin, among others, as protection against snakebite, scorpion stings and rabid dogs, as well as the evil eye, malign destiny and demonic possession.[32] It is no accident that three of the finest Islamic astrolabes ever made are Ayyubid,[33] and celestial globes are also recorded in this period,[34] as is a device for determining the hour of prayer which was made for Nur al-Din[35] and another used for geomantic purposes.[36] *Waq-waq* themes (pl. 2.2)[37] and the obsessive knotting that characterizes so many inscriptions[38] should also be mentioned in this context, for complex knots had long been held to have apotropaic powers.[39]

But by far the commonest expression of awe in face of the world beyond was the use of the zodiacal cycle and the planets as a major element in the figural iconography of this time. Usually it is depicted in a sequence of medallions, but it is also found as continuous border decoration. The fact that so much of this metalwork is curvilinear or circular in form certainly favours such notions as sequence, the passage of time, pairing, parallelism and mirror opposition, all of which have astrological resonances. An intimate knowledge of the lore of the stars—the crucial modern distinction between astronomy and astrology does not reflect the medieval cast of

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27. There are only a few exceptions, like the basin from the Musée Jacquemart-André (ODS 2001, 143, cat. 117).

28. Rice 1952, 572

29. A single example of this belief in astrological portents in the multi-confessional culture of the time must suffice. Under the year 467/1074, Bar Hebraeus writes that on the night of the death of the caliph al-Muqtadi, 'the fear of death was upon him, according to the opinion of the astrologers. For ARIS (=Aries) the lord, his rising was in SCORPIO, in the night he went down to GEMINI, his house of death, by the diameter of KRONOS, which was in SAGITTARIUS, and both made a right angle (*tetragonus*) with the Zodiacal Sign PISCES, which is the Sign of the Zodiac of the completion of the year' (Bar Hebraeus 1932, 225). The tone of the passage illustrates clearly enough that the author takes it for granted that his readers will understand the intricacies of his account.

30. ODS 2001, cover illustration (candlestick in Cairo, see 148, cat. 124).

31. For various Ayyubid examples see Rice 1955/1988, 29 and 32, fig 28a (the Fano Cup); 31 and fig. 29a (the Blacas ewer) and 32 and fig. 30a (the basin made by Da'ud b. Salama al-Mausili)

32. ODS 2001, 212, cats. 223–4. See also von Gladiss 1999, especially 155–6 and Taf. 22a–b and 158–61, Taf. 25a–d.

33. See the chapter *infra* by Dr Martina Müller-Wiener.

34. *Ibid.*; cf. ODS 2001, 127 for al-Malik al-Kamil's globe in Naples.

35. ODS 2001, 208, cat. 220.

36. ODS 2001, 210 for colour plate (printed in reverse).

37. Atil 1975, 64–5 (the d'Arenberg basin); al-Harithy 2001, 363.

38. Atil 1975, 64–5; see also ODS 2001, 200.

39. This idea was already well developed in the eastern Mediterranean world before the advent of Islam; see Kitzinger 1993, 4–6.

mind—was expected of anyone with pretensions to culture. It is precisely the casual nature of the references to the signs of the zodiac and the planets in medieval Arabic literature, from poetry to history, that reveals just how widespread this frame of reference was. Perhaps the most consistent use of these themes outside the medium of metalwork can be found in 12th-13th century coinage, especially that of the northern and north-eastern territories under Ayyubid domination, which bears representations of the sun, the moon, Mars, Saturn, Venus, Leo, Taurus and so on. They also surface irregularly in book painting, for example in the 1237 *Maqamat* of al-Hariri[40] or in the frontispiece to the *Kitab al-Diryaq* of 1199.

But when they turn up *en masse* on expensive metalwork made for princely or high-ranking patrons, and in association with lengthy benedictory inscriptions and courtly figural scenes, they can be recognised as a device to exalt the status of the patron and to invoke on his behalf the supernatural protection of the heavenly bodies. Never before or afterwards was the ruling class so consistently associated in visual terms with what has been termed a 'cosmic setting'.[41] This emphasis does not sit particularly well with the unimpeachable Islamic orthodoxy proclaimed by means of the *madrasa* construction programme funded by the Ayyubid princes, their military élite and their *ʿulama'*,[42] but it is a necessary corrective to the pious public face presented by those monuments.

Rich and varied as this iconography is, it can be paralleled without difficulty—if not in every detail—elsewhere in the Islamic world. But the last major type of subject matter is unique to the Ayyubid period and may fairly claim to epitomise the international and inter-confessional nature of so much art of that time. True, in early 13th-century Arab painting Byzantine evangelists are subtly arabized to become Muslim authors or scholars; Crusader and classical *spolia* are sometimes expertly integrated into the fabric of Muslim buildings; and coins may bear the Arabic titles of Islamic rulers but also images of Christ[43] and the Virgin Mary.[44] But this is inadequate preparation for the 18 pieces of top-quality metalwork of the first half of the 13th century which employ Christian subject matter (pls I and 2.3),[45] usually in tandem with recognisably Muslim iconography but sometimes with no overtly Muslim element at all apart from the technique itself and the type of

Pl. 2.3 Detail of pyxis with pacing figures, one carrying a stemmed censer, perhaps depicting Christian sacraments. London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. no. 320-1866. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

abstract decoration employed.[46] In the more modest wares that fall into this general category the standard iconography features a succession of niches or undulating lobed and arcuated loops with a standing ecclesiastical figure, or two such figures, in each of these independent spaces. They may be priests, warriors (or, more likely, warrior saints), monks, saints or prophets; they are sometimes barefoot, are usually given a halo[47] and often carry a censer,[48] flabellum,[49] crozier,[50] chalice,[51] book,[52] cross[53] or staff.[54] Details of clothing and ecclesiastical practice, such as muffled hands,[55] are accurately observed. Their gestures include several distinct varieties of the *orans* position.[56] Occasionally they display agitated, roiling hemlines which betray a familiarity with drapery fashions in the Byzantine world and further west in the late 12th century.[57] Sequences of holy figures had long been a popular motif in Byzantine art, but the standard version of this theme features a continuous procession of saints processing to the altar. One might suggest that the idea of giving each such figure or pair of figures a separate, well-articulated space is a refinement borrowed from Islamic metalwork iconography, where discrete demarcated medallions or some other enclosing form was the norm for the more important motifs.

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[40] E.g. the scene of 'The Hour of Birth' in *maqama* 48 in the Schefer Hariri, where Abu Zaid writes an amulet (or horoscope?) and al-Harith holds up an astrolabe to fix the exact position of the key heavenly bodies at the moment of birth (Ettinghausen 1962, 121 and 123).

[41] Baer 1981, 13-19.

[42] Humphreys 1989, 169.

[43] As in a coin of Nur al-Din himself (*ODS* 2001, 34, cat. no. 4).

[44] Lowick 1985, 159.

[45] Baer 1989 is the fullest treatment of the topic so far. See also Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, 53-68; Schneider 1973, 137-56; Khoury 1998, 63-9; and Ward 2005, 309-24.

[46] *ODS* 2001, 113, cat. no. 96.

[47] The form of the niche or loop may explain why this halo, in defiance of East Christian fashion, sometimes sports an ogival apex (*ODS* 2001, 113, cat. no. 96).

[48] *ODS* 2001, 114-5, cat. nos. 97-8.

[49] *ODS* 2001, 115, cat. no. 98.

[50] *ODS* 2001, 115, cat. no. 98.

[51] *ODS* 2001, 113, cat. no. 96.

[52] *ODS* 2001, 115, cat. no. 98, bottom; the book has an Arabic inscription on its cover (printed in reverse).

[53] *ODS* 2001, 114, cat. no. 97.

[54] *ODS* 2001, 115, cat. no. 98.

[55] *ODS* 2001, 20.

[56] *ODS* 2001, 116, cat. no. 99.

[57] Beckwith 1970, pls 237-8 (Kurbinovo and an icon of the Annunciation now at St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai). A similarly expressive manner of rendering drapery is to be found in the mosaics of Monreale in Sicily.

The more ambitious pieces depict scenes from the New Testament (not the Old Testament—a significant detail, this) alongside cavalcades of Muslim horsemen and Arabic inscriptions that are not only benedictory but also historical, mentioning as they do reigning Ayyubid sultans. The Paris platter and the d'Arenberg basin are the key pieces in this select category where the juxtaposition of the two faiths is deliberately highlighted.[58] But are these in fact meant to be seen as warring cultures? Or is the intention quite the opposite? The emphasis on Jesus and Mary, both of them much revered in the Qur'an and Islamic tradition,[59] in the larger pieces could be interpreted as ecumenical. Thus the Freer canteen has the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem and enthroned Virgin and Child. Moreover, the models for these scenes—some rendered with such pronounced lack of clarity that it seems most unlikely that a Christian artist was involved, such as an image that could depict either the Last Supper or the Wedding at Cana[60]—are drawn from Byzantine and Syriac sources (mostly manuscripts), not Western ones. Hence, for example, the formula used for the Nativity in the Freer canteen,[61] complete with Salome, the unbelieving midwife, bathing the Child.

But there are also strange solecisms, as in the Freer canteen, which depicts bodiless angels and an Annunciation buried, so to speak, in a sequence of 25 holy figures, and which shows Christ mounted on a horse instead of the traditional donkey in the Entry into Jerusalem—and the trees are certainly not palms in this Palm Sunday scene.[62] The balance between Christian and Muslim content changes from one piece to the next; thus the d'Arenberg basin gives its Christian scenes (again centred on Christ and the Virgin Mary) far less space than the cavaliers and polo-players. While intriguing attempts have been made to connect some of these pieces with specific events in contemporary politics,[63] and some other scholars have proposed that many of these pieces were made for rich Oriental Christians, the facts that most of them are undated and do not name a patron make it difficult to reach any firm conclusions. But the sheer weight of evidence represented by these eighteen pieces, whether they are to be explained as diplomatic gifts or assertions of Muslim sovereignty,[64] as affirmations of a shared international culture or as souvenirs commissioned by Crusaders returning to Europe, speaks plainly

of the lack of religious prejudice on the part of the Muslims. After three crusades and less than two generations after the *jihad*-dominated times of Saladin, that is nothing short of remarkable. Religious ideology, in short, mattered less than superlative craftsmanship and beauty of form. The Alcazar of Pedro the Cruel in Seville, built somewhat more than a century later, shows that similar views were current in Spain.

In an era when Muslim-Christian alliances were commonplace, when at the battle of La Fourbie Muslim warriors went into battle carrying flags emblazoned with the cross and when, after more than a century of Crusader presence in the Near East, a *modus vivendi* between the two faiths had been established, such metalwork neatly encapsulated the spirit of the times. It breathes a pragmatism that is quintessentially Ayyubid, and which on the Christian side is best personified by the ambivalent, indeed enigmatic, figure of Frederick II, a man with a foot in both camps. But there was no room for such accommodations in the harsher, and once more ideologically charged climate of early Mamluk rule, and these Christian themes duly disappeared from Islamic metalwork, this time for good.

Metalwork thus has a strong claim to primacy among the portable arts in this period. It is visually opulent, thanks to its reflective surfaces and its multiple colour contrasts. Yet it also holds up a mirror to medieval society, not just in its detailed exploitation of the so-called princely cycle—leisure entertainments, music, banqueting, drinking, hunting, polo—but also in its confessional concerns and even in the daily life of the bazaar, including shops and the making of drugs, scenes of agriculture, and vignettes from the domain of learning.

Arabesques and epigraphy

There are of course other markers of Ayyubid art than those which have been emphasized in this chapter. There is room to investigate only two of these: arabesque decoration and epigraphic style. In Ayyubid times there developed a strikingly original type of arabesque, at once dense, sinuous and muscular. Though based clearly enough on a curvilinear geometric grid, its sense of burgeoning, abundant life, its multiple levels, its ability to create enough space for the ornament to breathe, its ever-changing contrasts of narrowing or thickening stems and fleshy leaves, make it thoroughly organic. Its inherent tension and sense of contained strength catch and indeed mesmerise the eye.

This arabesque mode is found everywhere in Ayyubid art: in painted form,[65] in glazed[66] and unglazed[67] ceramics, in

[58] Ward 2005, 309-24.

[59] For Jesus, see Khalidi 2001; for Mary, after whom an entire *sura* of the Qur'an is named, see Wensinck and Johnstone 1991. For depictions of Mary and Jesus (principally the latter) in Islamic art see Arnold 1965, 99-103 and pls XXIVb-XXIX. The iconography of Mary has links with that of Fatima (Fontana 1994, 26-9).

[60] ODS 2001, 20.

[61] ODS 2001, 126.

[62] On the other hand, on a late Ayyubid pyxis Christ is correctly shown on a donkey (Baer 1989, pl. 88).

[63] Ward 2005, 319-21.

[64] Collinet 2001, 130.

[65] ODS 2001, 205, cat. no. 216.

[66] ODS 2001, 132, bottom left and 173, cat. no. 169.

[67] ODS 2001, 153, cat. no. 134.

inlaid metal wares,[68] in textiles,[69] ivory,[70] carved stonework (pl. XXXVIII)[71] and—perhaps most effectively, because it is so quintessentially tactile—in cast openwork bronzes.[72] Some of the characteristics of this type of ornament—especially the delight in bold contrasts of very fleshy and very thin strokes, and in sweeping curvilinear forms—also found expression in epigraphy, notably on ceramics,[73] and even in the stylish exaggerations of bird and animal forms so typical of Raqqa ware.[74]

Another instantly recognisable marker of Ayyubid taste is a new manner in cursive epigraphy. This takes several forms: cluttered (though by design, as a signal of virtuosity);[75] a well-spaced, sober and highly legible ductus of such austerity that it often eschews all added ornament;[76] and a buoyant, flowing hand whose individual letters are kept very thin and sharply incised, where rhythm is all and where the proper gaps between words are somewhat elided.[77] The inscription panels are sometimes unusually long, stretching up to 2.7m, and some, like the portal inscription of the Qubbat al-Miʿraj (pl. LX), or the cursive text of the Aqsa *mihrab* (pl. XLVIII), have a very narrow field. A deliberate simplification can be detected from the slightly mannered details of certain Nurid inscriptions to the mature Ayyubid style of the early 13th century. Nurid epigraphy makes free use of overlap, the upper register, the sharp reverse twist at the end of a *waw, ra', dal/dhal* or *ya',* irregular switches from baseline to mid-line and finally a preference for quite broad letters.[78] Yet the variety of Ayyubid inscriptions is much wider than this simple summary suggests. Many further sub-categories could of course be identified in Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, while even in Jerusalem at least four basic types can be recognised, ranging from a strongly plastic, indeed sculptural ductus, with fat, chunky letters (pl. XIV), to a thin, attenuated script whose letters are engraved with razor-sharp precision. Ayyubid inscriptions typically have plenty of space and air in them. They avoid ostentation, and thus have very little added ornament. Legibility is the prime criterion, and it trumps presentation. Thus several Ayyubid inscriptions in Jerusalem lack the recessed *tabula ansata* panel so typical of Ayyubid buildings in Damascus, lack bars used as line separators, and indeed have little attention paid to their framing or presentation.

[68] *ODS* 2001, 20.

[69] *ODS* 2001, 52.

[70] Von Folsach 2001, 257, cat. no. 412.

[71] *ODS* 2001, 45, cat. no. 32.

[72] *ODS* 2001, 209-10, cat. nos 221-2; von Folsach 2001, 316, cat. nos 504-5.

[73] *ODS* 2001, 99, cat. no. 69; 159, cat. no. 143; 160, cat. no. 145; 162, cat. no. 150; and 179, cat. no. 177; Jenkins-Madina 2006, 49, 56, 75, 85-6, 103, 112, 120, 125, 127, 136, 139, 141-2, 146, and 153 (an outstanding example of the genre).

[74] *ODS* 2001, 60, cat. no. 56; 162, cat. no. 149; 166, cat. no. 158; and 168, cat. no. 171. See also Jenkins-Madina 2006, 114, 147, 149, 158 and184 (6.11).

[75] *ODS* 2001, 213, cat. no. 227 (printed in reverse); James 1992, 30.

[76] *ODS* 2001, 61, cat. no. 58 and 80; Ermete and Gleba 2006, 108.

[77] *ODS* 2001, 98, cat. no. 67.

[78] *ODS* 2001, 98, cat. no. 66.

The messages of the Ayyubid portable arts

The discussion so far has made it clear that the attempt to define Ayyubid art inclusively across an improbably wide geographical range causes more problems than it solves. It must therefore be relinquished, and the attempt to define the nature of Ayyubid art as a whole, even along its principal axis, is equally ill-conceived. The reason is plain: architecture sends one set of messages, but the rest of the visual arts send quite another. What are these messages?

First, then, the portable arts. Perhaps the most important of them at the time was, as ever, textiles—but, again as ever, the few surviving fragments give a very skewed idea of what was achieved in this period. They include some strips of embroidered linen with sketchy images of animals and trees, other linen fragments with polychrome geometric or animal designs in silk and sometimes taffeta, and—in a class by itself—a tunic fragment in silk (of which a dozen pieces are preserved in eleven collections) where successive rows display either lions passant alternating with addorsed phoenixes or affronted rampant griffins. The latter are separated by a repeated stylized Tree of Life motif but the interstices of the field also contain lotus motifs against a scrolling arabesque pattern with thin stems and fleshy leaves. Tenuous as this evidence is, it suffices to show that the iconography of these textiles favoured animals, including fantastic ones (griffins, phoenixes) and those that connoted luxury (the peacock).

It is precisely this figural iconography, with the added charge given by the human figure, that lies at the core of Ayyubid portable art, from book painting to glassware, from ceramics to metalwork (pl. I). Creatures of fantasy bulk large in it, notably in sculpture[79] and on coinage[80]—not only the griffins and phoenixes already noted, but also sphinxes, harpies,[81] unicorns (pl. 2.2) and double-headed eagles[82]—as do depictions of the celestial bodies and the zodiac: rayed sun-faces, half-moons, planetary figures (Mars, Venus, and the ecliptic-swallowing dragon, Jauzahr), and the symbols of the fixed stars. The sheer volume of this iconography goes far beyond a series of elegant allusions to the star lore which was an element of the education and outlook of any cultivated Arab (or indeed Persian) gentleman in medieval times. Rather may this fascination with the heavens have much to do, as Dr Sylvia Auld has suggested,[83] with what contemporaries

[79] Gierlichs 1996; Whelan 2006.

[80] Lowick 1985, 159-74, with references to the earlier literature; Spengler and Sayles 1992; Spengler and Sayles 1996.

[81] See Ermete and Gleba 2006, 90, for an example on barbotine ware, showing that this iconography percolated down to objects made for customers that were neither of the court nor of the wealthy bourgeoisie.

[82] Ermete and Gleba 2006, 102 (on a coin).

[83] Auld 2007, Bacqué-Grammont, Bernardini and Berardi 2007, 139-69.

must have viewed as a thoroughly sinister disorder in the heavens, with an unprecedented frequency of comets, eclipses, shooting stars and other unusual celestial phenomena. With the firmament so out of joint, what wonder that the world of men should be in such chaos? These obsessions found expression in multiple forms—in coins commemorating celestial events like eclipses, transits, occultations and conjunctions,[84] in the 1199 *Kitab al-Diryaq*, whose dedication mentions an eclipse, in the fascination with the *waq-waq* form, in the theme of twisting or entwined serpents,[85] in the unusual popularity of al-Sufi's compendium of star lore, *Kitab al-kawakib al-thabita*, in the 12th and 13th centuries (pls XXXIV and XXXVI), but above all in the zodiacal and planetary subject matter which dominated in particular the metalwork of the time. These many-layered themes, which often contain an ancient substratum of Babylonian or even earlier times, create an art of pulsating energy with a strong undercurrent of magic and the supernatural.

But this is only one aspect of the visual arts at this time. Much has been written about the classical revival in Syrian architecture from the mid-12th century onwards, as illustrated by careful copies of classical detail as well as the use of classical *spolia* at key locations of a building, such as the cornice over the entrance of Nur al-Din's *maristan* in Damascus. The Roman cameo formerly in the collection of an Ayyubid prince of Hama,[86] any number of classical echoes in 13th-century book painting,[87] and the rough copies on large bronze *dirhams* of debased images of Alexander, Constantine, Heraclius and other Greek, Roman, early Christian or Byzantine rulers[88] tell the same story: imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. So the iconographic reach of Ayyubid art extended to the remote past as well as to the distant regions of their contemporary world. It is a touchstone of their open-minded acceptance of ideas from outside.

The messages of Ayyubid architecture

What of the message of architecture? One must leave military architecture aside, for here practical considerations reigned supreme and determined such matters as the thickness and height of walls, the number of towers and gates, and the nature of the defensive techniques employed—ditch, glacis, ramparts, bent entrances, machicoulis and the like.

Public buildings are of a modesty, sobriety and even austerity that strike a new note in Islamic architecture. This is a world where less is more. It is easy to stroll along the streets of medieval Aleppo and Damascus and quite overlook some Ayyubid mosque, *madrasa* or mausoleum. They are often more than integrated into the urban fabric—they seem to be camouflaged in it. Frequently their portals do not break the rooflines of the buildings around them. Their lack of external ornament signals a complete break with the standards of medieval Islamic architecture generally. No wonder there are so many of these buildings crammed into so brief a time-frame. The bald fact is that, small and plain as they are, they were cheap to erect. And yet as one studies them more closely, one realises that this is architects' architecture.[89] The quality of the stonework is uniformly high.[90] Its beauty lies in the precision of the cutting, the working of the ashlar surface with subtly different textures, the understated mastery with which problems of jointing and shifts of plane are overcome. And the very plainness of the wall surface as a whole encourages the eye to linger at the key points where the stone-carver so to speak despite himself produces a piece of ornament—an epigraphic rebus placed over a window or by a portal,[91] perhaps, or a riddling geometric escutcheon.

In much the same spirit, the overriding plainness of the ensemble is set against the carefully calculated proportions and execution of the single portal, the beckoning void in the otherwise unbroken solid of the façade. Here the attention focuses first on the arch of the portal itself, its constituent voussoirs cut with razor-sharp accuracy, and then on the vault behind it, whose *muqarnas* or facetted form varies from one portal to the next, and frequently features a central gravity-defying pendant, a *tour de force* of masonry technique.

Next, the eye falls on the lintel of the doorway itself and the arch that encloses it. Here a greater sophistication makes itself felt, especially in the lintel, which became the site of increasingly bold experiments in the shapes of the voussoirs.[92] These took on zigzagging or re-entrant curves of

[84] Spengler and Sayles 1996, xvi.

[85] Known in the Yezidi shrine of Shaikh Adi at Lalish (Spät 2005, pl.18); in the frontispiece of the *Kitab al-Diryaq* (well analysed by Azarpay 1978, who teases out the Babylonian background of the motif); above the third gate in the Aleppo citadel and above the Talisman Gate in Baghdad, in both cases with apotropaic intent (Rogers 1976, 46, middle and below); with the same purpose, on the doorknockers of Cizre, formerly known as Jazirat ibn 'Umar (Roxburgh 2005, 130-1); or in association with al-Khidr/St George at al-Khan near Sinjar (van Berchem 1911, 13, n.1 and Abb.7).

[86] Von Karabacek 1893.

[87] For example, the use of a *sella curulis*, of flying figures of *nike* type and of the arch of billowing drapery associated with the personification of Night, all found in the frontispiece of the *Kitab al-Aghani* depicting Badr al-Din Lu'lu' enthroned (Ettinghausen 1962, 65).

[88] Spengler and Sayles 1996, xvi-xviii.

[89] In Ayyubid Jerusalem the pervasive use of Crusader *spolia* complicates the picture and results in a palpable fall in quality.

[90] Écochard 1937-8.

[91] At the Rukniyya in Damascus (ODS 2001, 79) or the portal of the palace in the Aleppo citadel (Rogers 1976, 48).

[92] This feature is to be found in military architecture too, for example in the castle of Sadr built by Saladin in the Sinai peninsula (Barret et al. 2007, 11).

baroque extravagance whose execution called for the utmost technical skill, especially when stones of two colours had to be fitted together. Such bi-coloured masonry, though known for many centuries in the Mediterranean area (for example, in the interior colonnades of the Dome of the Rock), had long fallen out of fashion in the Near East, though their popularity in western Europe remained undimmed. Their appearance as the sole concession to polychromy in these otherwise austere buildings is all the more effective—though its absence in the buildings of Ayyubid Jerusalem is instructive.[93] By degrees this use of *ablaq* (pl. 2.4) became more daring—for example, blocks

Pl. 2.4 Khanqah al-Salahiyya: portal. (Photograph M Hawari)

of alternating cream and black stone frame the doorway to the palace of al-Zahir Ghazi, remodelled by al-Malik al-ʿAziz in 1231, in the Aleppo citadel.[94] Over the doorway lintel but within the enclosing arch was usually placed a panel of *tabula ansata* form containing the foundation inscription, set at a height where it could be read easily and executed in the well-spaced, fully legible, no-frills *naskhi* script that is the hallmark of this period.

The interiors of these *madrasa*s are dominated by a central courtyard sometimes laid with black and white marble in simple geometric patterns; the grandest instance of this technique is the courtyard of the Great Mosque of Aleppo in its Zangid refurbishment. The *mihrab* could be embellished with geometric strapwork in polychrome marble; perhaps the outstanding specimen of this technique is the *mihrab* of the Firdaus *madrasa* in Aleppo. Courtyards are articulated by between one and four vaulted bays or *iwans*, often with the domed mausoleum of the founder tucked into a corner. These

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[93] It occurs on the portal of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya (Hawari 2007, 43, pls 1.8-1.9), where it is used for the soffit of the portal arch itself, for the trefoil arch over the entrance, the masonry below the inscription panel and in the upper part of the flanking walls of the portal (pls XXXIX and 2.4). This adds up to a very confident use of a feature which otherwise does not occur in the architecture of Ayyubid Jerusalem, and it therefore creates a serious chronological inconsistency, especially given Dr Michael Burgoyne's view (Burgoyne 1987, 89) that it was from the last quarter of the 13th century onwards that striped masonry became popular. In view of the evidence for a Mamluk restoration of this building, which is both epigraphic (inscription over the *mihrab* dated 741/1341; Hawari 2007, 38) and textual (Mujir al-Din 1973, II, 171, cited by Hawari 2007, 38, notes that a certain Burhan al-Din, the *shaikh* of this *khanqah*, 'restored (ʿimara) the minaret (manara), the great portal (bawwaba), the vestibule (dargah) inside it and the hall behind the vestibule (iwan), the lower *mihrab* ... and most of the roofs ... before 820/1417-18'), it seems justified to question Burgoyne's dating of the portal to Saladin's conversion of the building in 585/1189 (Burgoyne 1987, 518, with a further reference to Burgoyne 1994, 227, where an Ayyubid date is proposed on the basis of the way that the trefoil arch is constructed). Hawari follows Burgoyne's dating but adds no further evidence in support of it (Hawari 2007, 40). Van Berchem (1922, 90) had argued that the portal as it has survived into modern times dates to the time of Burhan al-Din. Creswell (1959, II, 162, n.1) challenged this in a form of words that implied that the portal was the work of Saladin, but in fact the two parallels that he cites for it (noting that all three buildings 'bear a striking resemblance to each other, and the mouldings are identical') are not Ayyubid at all but early Mamluk, dating as they do to the reign of Qalaʾun: they are both named Ribat al-Mansuri, and are in Hebron and Jerusalem. The evidence of advanced *ablaq* technique (visible even in Creswell's photograph [1959, II, fig. 91 opposite 170], which shows the building wearing a face rather different from the one it has today [Hawari 2007, 43, pl. 1.8-1.9; Burgoyne 1994, pl.228]) has simply not been adduced in this extended controversy about the dating of this portal, and might well be regarded as conclusive. Creswell's own discussion of *ablaq* makes it clear that nothing as advanced as the *ablaq* of the Salahiyya Khanqah portal was known in the Levant until the Qasr al-Ablaq (whose name alone might suggest that this was a striking innovation) was erected in Damascus in 665/1266-7 (1959, II, 171). It is true that an earlier example of *ablaq*—and associated with a trefoil arch too—occurs in the Masʿudiyya Madrasa in Diyarbakr, dated 595/1198-9; but this is at once timid in scale and awkwardly executed. Finally, if this advanced *ablaq* at the Salahiyya Khanqah were indeed the work of Saladin, one might reasonably have expected other Ayyubid patrons to have followed suit in their buildings in Jerusalem, given the prestige of such a model. Yet this does not happen. The nearest approach to it is a half-hearted use of *ablaq* in the cusped windows of the Nahawiyya Madrasa (Hawari 2007, 121, pl. 12.13) whose uneven execution is clearly the result of patched-up later repairs, and may thus very well not be Ayyubid at all. Of course there remains room for doubt and further discussion, but the balance of probability seems to me to tilt in favour of regarding the portal in its present form as Mamluk work. Accordingly the building will not figure further in this chapter. To fix its exact date is a task for future research.

[94] Rogers 1976, 48.

Pl. 2.5 Jerusalem, city walls. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 4956)

domed chambers remain faithful to the minimalist aesthetic favoured by Syrian architects of the time, with tiered *muqarnas* squinches alternating with single or paired windows and a simple hexadecagon below the dome. Sometimes the arches of the square chamber below are triply recessed for extra monumentality.[95] The degree of variety in the ground plans of these *madrasas* indicates that there was no blueprint in use, but instead a readiness to use the constituent elements of courtyard, *iwans*, lecture spaces, prayer hall, cells and mausoleum inventively in response to the surface area available, which at times was little more than a gap site. All this was consistently achieved with no sense of strain. The humane proportions of these buildings, so obviously intended more for use than display, and their unobtrusive good manners, bring to mind a tradition from a totally different time and place, that of Georgian Britain and its derivatives.

Military architecture

Politically speaking, this was a thoroughly confused time. Nur al-Din and Saladin had been strong, charismatic and successful leaders, but not one of the subsequent Ayyubid princes could be described in similar terms. The polity that these earlier leaders had created fragmented into a confused jigsaw of shifting loyalties and power ploys, with rival princes watching each other jealously and constantly on the alert to exploit the least advantage that offered. From both the political and financial points of view, this was not a situation that favoured ambitious programmes of public works. The single exception was military architecture, whose construction was of course dictated by dire need in a society perpetually at war. So it is no accident that by far the grandest monument in the Levant between 1174 and 1260 is the citadel of Aleppo, refashioned from 1209 by al-Zahir Ghazi and further transformed in radical fashion in late Mamluk times, with its colossal glacis, its massive multi-towered *enceinte* and its theatrically grand approach with its outer barbican linked by a long bridge over a paved moat to the inner entrance complex, bulging with one machicoulis after another. Talismanic intertwined dragons

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[95] E.g. the 'Adiliyya in Damascus (*ODS* 2001, 80).

Pl. 2.6 Jerusalem: citadel (partly Ayyubid, 600/1203). (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 4920)

guard the entrance itself, but there are still a further five right-angle turns, each capable of being closed separately, to negotiate before the main street of the citadel, leading to the mosque and the palace above it, is reached. The outer walls of the barbican and inner entrance bear state-of-the-art decoration, including joggled *ablaq* voussoirs and window-frames also executed in alternating white marble and basalt, and a stalactite canopy at the centre point of the inner tower, just below battlement level. The palace portal within the citadel similarly features a black-and-white *ablaq* frame and a *muqarnas* canopy over the entrance and a geometrical strapwork panel, again in basalt and white marble, crowning the porch.

The citadels of Cairo and Damascus, both of them bearing the imprint of both Saladin and his successors, were not far behind Aleppo in scale and ambition, and the militarization of the entire Syrian countryside is eloquently attested by a whole series of fortifications of the third rank—Shaizar, Bosra, Apamea, Sahyun, Harran and many more, including Jerusalem (pl. 2.5). The standard formula for a city at this time was a defensive wall and a citadel within it which represented the seat of power and the well-protected home of the ruler. A series of inscriptions testifies to the energy with which Saladin and his nephew al-

Muʿazzam ʿIsa in particular repaired and extended the walls of Jerusalem, dug a ditch around them and strengthened the citadel (pl. 2.6). Jerusalem is thus revealed as a standard example of a process taking place all over the Levant at this period, in which the relentless quest for security devoured resources and goes far to explain the absence of large-scale mosques, *madrasas* and other public buildings in this period. Yet there is no lack of public foundations, even if they are typically of very modest size and plain, sober appearance. Their frequency may well reflect the restless emulation between the Ayyubid princes and between their notables as well as their modest means.

The architecture of Ayyubid Jerusalem
The context

Where, then, does the architecture of Ayyubid Jerusalem belong within the cadre of this Syrian architecture? It must be conceded at the outset that a great deal flows from the fact that Jerusalem had a much-diminished Muslim population, could not sustain a building industry that remotely rivalled those

of Damascus and Aleppo, and did not produce such a galaxy of élite patrons. The fact that the city had a small population is well known, but its implications have not been teased out sufficiently. If an admiring, optimistic report by a certain Nahmanides, a Jewish scholar living in Jerusalem in 1268, could state that the city's population was 'near two thousands, and among them about three hundred Christians … and there are no children of Israel therein,'[96] how much smaller was the city's Muslim population two generations earlier, in really troubled times?[97] Is it not plausible that al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa destroyed with a heavy heart the walls he had himself so expensively built simply because, despite all his own personal efforts to revive the city, it still did not have enough people to man the ramparts and could therefore be taken easily and held against the Muslims? Nor need one take absolutely literally the report that the walls were destroyed. A partial destruction involving the demolition of key towers and gates and other defensive features would have been enough to pose serious problems for any future Frankish occupants of Jerusalem, themselves likely to be starved of manpower, to rebuild the city's defences.[98] That said, the almost contemporary case of Antalya, where the Rum Saljuq sultan carried out in 612/1216 an ambitious programme of rebuilding walls and citadel and finished the work *within two months*,[99] admittedly with a huge labour force, suggests how quickly such work could be carried out.

At all events, it seems likely that it was this shortage of inhabitants that helps to explain why Jerusalem's inherently parochial status re-asserted itself in this period, with an ill-assorted ragbag of a round score of minor buildings, repairs

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[96] Hawari 2007, 18.

[97] Hawari (2007, 17) quotes the argument by Schaefer (1985, 227) that the population in the early 13th century was about one third higher than in the year 932/1525-6, when 934 households were recorded, representing some 4,700 people according to the calculations of Bernard Lewis (1955, 117-27). This was because 'political and economic conditions in the city were significantly better' in Ayyubid times, and accordingly Schaefer suggested that the city then had some 5,200 inhabitants (see Hawari 2007, 17)—though if the population then was really one-third greater than in 932/1525-6, it would have totalled nearer 6,300. Quite apart from the essential implausibility of this idea, given that at least part of the city's walls had been dismantled with the Franks not far away, whereas Jerusalem in 1532 had no external enemy to fear, there is the evidence of Abu Shama about the panic that seized the city in 1219. He notes that 'there was in the city a terror like that of Judgement Day: women and girls, old men and women, young men and children, all sought refuge in the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque; they cut their hair and tore their clothes. The *mihrab* of the mosque was full of hair …' (cited in Hawari 2007, 26). As a result of the pell-mell pace of the evacuation 'a great number of fugitives died of hunger and thirst' (Hawari 2007, 26). These do not sound like favourable political and economic conditions. For a discussion of the social and psychological implications of medieval Islamic city walls, see O'Meara 2007, 19-28 and 49-56.

[98] The first Saljuq sultan, Tughril Beg, destroyed part of the city walls of Isfahan because its population had become unruly; and almost a century later it is recorded that the wife of Sultan Sanjar demolished some of the city wall of Merv (personal communication from Professor Jürgen Paul). Thus this kind of destruction had some precedents.

[99] Redford and Leiser 2008, 96-7; the quality of these walls was not high.

and restorations of existing structures. There was very little of the emphasis on *madrasas* or mausolea that characterized the great Syrian cities. So the first problem to present itself is the inherent thinness of the evidence. There are too few surviving buildings in Jerusalem which are of Ayyubid manufacture through and through to permit a reliable judgment about what constituted the local house style at this time. And it is worth remembering that at this time of the reconquest of the city there was probably no living tradition of stone-cutting and sculpture among the Muslims of Jerusalem.

A further obstacle to defining that style is that the nature of the buildings is too varied—questionable stretches of city walls, bits of gates, a quartet of mosques (three of them converted Christian buildings), the remains of largely vanished *sabils* or water fountains, doorways remodelled in later times, assorted, rather run-of-the-mill commemorative buildings, a pair of undistinguished *zawiyas*, two *madrasas* largely overlaid by later work, a cistern serving the Haram and various ambiguous additions to the Haram colonnades. Even Saladin's *khanqah*, whose Ayyubid form is a matter of controversy, was located on the site of the Patriarch's house. All this points to a miscellany, a disjointed series of *ad hoc* decisions and interventions, rather than to a serious attempt to impose a Muslim face on this, the most powerfully christianized cityscape in the entire Levant. That was to be the task of the Mamluks, and they rose to the challenge magnificently.

Building, moreover, proceeded by fits and starts. There was an unanswerable practical reason for this. Jerusalem in 1187 contained perhaps the most intensively christianized square mile in the world. Churches, monasteries, convents and other sacred buildings fought, as it were, for space. Then, at a stroke, it was suddenly depopulated of its Christian citizens and all their religious buildings lay empty, uncared for, and subject to the slow decay of time or the rapid demolition of their walls and other features to provide building material for the Muslims. Hence, of course, the difficulty in defining a distinctive Ayyubid masonry style. Why should a patron eager to erect a building quickly hesitate to employ re-used material quarried from deserted Christian sites? Such a procedure saved time and expense. Nor was this all. The spectacle of a thoroughly christianized built environment encompassing the victorious Muslims on every side cannot have failed to inspire a determination to turn the tables in visual terms. Hence the concentration of building activity under the Ayyubid princes into the first quarter-century after Saladin's re-conquest. The process began with the restoration of the Dome of the Rock, in which Saladin's family played a leading role—Taqi al-Din ʿUmar, his nephew, built the screen and also 'washed and purified the edifice with rose-water' while Saladin's son, al-Afdal, refurbished it with carpets. Such activities had a powerful symbolic dimension. There was a propaganda war to win as well as a military one. Jerusalem had to be made to look Muslim again.

Pl. 2.7 Al-Aqsa Mosque, view of porch. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 4992)

Pl. 2.8 Nahawiyya Madrasa, squinches in the west domed chamber zone of transition (Photo © Joe Rock)

The key monuments

In the wake of the colossal effort required to de-christianize the Haram in the weeks following the re-conquest of the city, and the putting in place—under Saladin's direction or inspiration—of a basic infrastructure of the public buildings needed to sustain a Muslim way of life (a Friday mosque, *khanqah, zawiya, madrasa* and hospital), all shoe-horned into the area around the Holy Sepulchre itself,[100]and therefore aimed at transforming the Christian heart of the city, there was a distinct lull. The counter-crusade, it seems, had finally run out of steam. The pace of building quickened once more under the rule of Saladin's nephew, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa. This prince, although based in Damascus, where he died and was buried,[101] took a lively interest in Jerusalem and even lived there briefly before his death.[102] Ten inscriptions in his name have been found in Jerusalem; they reveal that, apart from the walls, his attention was firmly fixed on the Haram.

His masterpiece is the dome of the Aqsa porch, perhaps the only example of Ayyubid architecture in Jerusalem that can rival the gold standard set by Damascus and Aleppo at that time. His contribution to the central three bays of the porch façade (certainly intended as a piece of display architecture) is difficult to disentangle from the morass of borrowed Crusader elements—capitals, elbow brackets, mouldings, colonnettes—in which his work, whatever it was, lies embedded (pls XLIX and 2.7). The stonework of the dome's 18 courses comprises carefully cut blocks of various sizes; in the bigger blocks each long side has a slight curve. The soffits of the supporting arches consist of even more diverse sizes of stone perfectly fitted together in a frank display of virtuosity not found elsewhere on

the porch.[103] The dome rests on pendentives, a slightly unusual device in the contemporary Levant, but here executed with complete assurance. There is a scallop-shell design—a popular motif in Ayyubid architecture, and often found in the squinch zone (pl. 2.8)—in the middle of each pendentive echoed by a further four in the outer reaches of the dome interior.

Apart from some sections of the Nahawiyya Madrasa (pls XLIII and LV-LVII), and the very plain Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya *extra muros*, the only other building which has maintained its Ayyubid character virtually unchanged, and which features high-quality stonework and decorative elements, is the Qubbat Musa (pl. XLVI). Its exterior is frankly unprepossessing, with ill-fitting stonework whose joins are fudged by the liberal use of mortar, and a foundation inscription of startling clumsiness. But the interior, despite heavy-handed repointing of its stonework, can hold its own with the standard Ayyubid mausolea of Damascus, its space dominated by four arches so huge that they cut boldly into the octagon of alternating oblong panels and doubly-recessed squinch arches. These have a central scallop motif. Above this zone sits the dome. The *mihrab* has a hood in the form of an up-ended scallop, and its walls are decorated with marble whose wavy grain moves from one panel to the next. But it is the floor that constitutes the real surprise (pl. XLV). For it is paved with marble of various colours—white, pink and black—climaxing at the centre with a geometric design in yellow, pink, black and white marble forming interlaced octagons with rayed motifs in the corners and at the centre. The dome in its present form is plain, but the design of the floor, with its octagon theme and radiating corners, suggests that the cross-reference to the upper elevation was deliberate. The absence of such marble ornament elsewhere in Ayyubid Jerusalem, with the obvious exception of the Aqsa Mosque interior, suggests that a specialist from Aleppo, or perhaps Damascus, was called in for this commission.

Style and technique

Seen as a whole, then, the architecture of Ayyubid Jerusalem is unimpressive and its core nature seems almost unreasonably difficult to define. Indeed, that task—such is the denatured state of most of the buildings—is one as much for the archaeologist as for the art historian. This is not to deny that the local style has certain trademarks. One of these is the scallops which are found in the dome of the Aqsa porch and in the squinches or squinch zones of Qubbat Musa, Qubbat Sulaiman, Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya, the Nahawiyya Madrasa, Qubbat al-Miʿraj, Bab al-Silsila and Bab Sakina as well as over the door of Qubbat Musa. Another is the multi-recessed or fluted trefoil squinches of Qubbat Musa, Bab Sakina and Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya.

[100] See Chapter 19 by Professor Korn *infra*

[101] Hawari 2007, 147

[102] Hawari 2007, 147.

[103] Cf. the soffit of the depressed Ayyubid arch over the inner door of Bab Hitta (Hawari 2007, 169, pl.20.3).

the latter with a long triangular tail. A third is the radiating masonry of windows and *mihrab* hoods (Qubbat Sulaiman, the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa and Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya). These were often carved in lengthy blocks involving several planes, and thus presented a significant technical challenge to the stone-mason.[104] Numerous other features turn up repeatedly: cavetto cornices,[105] cross-vaulted entrances,[106] lintels with radiating[107] or joggled[108] voussoirs, decorative window hoods,[109] trefoil windows,[110] and decorative medallions parsimoniously distributed across a façade.[111]

A clear hierarchy of masonry techniques was in operation. The top of the range, exemplified by the dome of the Aqsa porch, and by parts of the Nahawiyya Madrasa, Qubbat Musa and Qubbat Sulaiman interiors, yields little in quality to the best work of contemporary Aleppo or Damascus. In the second rank, as seen in the Bab al-Silsila, Bab Sakina, the Masjid al-Muharib and Nahawiyya Madrasa façades and the Haram colonnades, the emphasis was on solid, sturdy craftsmanship rather than virtuosity. Here the stonework was characterized by small ashlar blocks, some smooth, some rough, and of different colours, in regular courses. But these blocks were not cut to a uniform size, so that some courses are higher than others (pl. LVII). But the commonest masonry technique is also the simplest, the most rough and ready: somewhat roughly dressed, pitted ashlar masonry, the blocks of uneven size, with rubble as infill, set in irregular courses (Qubbat Musa, Qubbat al-Qaimariyya, the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa, the Badriyya Madrasa, and Bab al-'Atm [pl. XL]).[112]

The role of spolia

With hindsight, it might be argued that the presence of so much intricately carved Crusader stonework in the city was a decisive factor in preventing the evolution of a distinctive Ayyubid style in the architecture of Jerusalem. The use of such *spolia* certainly saved time and money; but it also constrained the imagination of the craftsmen. It prevented them from developing an architectural composition in an integrated way and thus it militated against harmony and proportion. Instead, it invited *ad hoc* solutions to architectural challenges. Examples

Pl. 2.9 Dome of the Rock: *spolia*. (Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. CA90)

include the farrago of capital types that mars the otherwise exquisite proportions of Qubbat al-Mi'raj (pls LVIII-LIX), or the hodge-podge of voussoirs and cornices crammed as bridging lintels into the squinch area of Bab al-Silsila.[113] When real care was taken with such *spolia*, as at Qubbat Sulaiman, the Haram colonnade or the twisted columns of Bab Sakina, Bab al-Silsila and the original Nahawiyya Madrasa façade (pl. LVII) or the central three bays of the Aqsa porch, there are no such clashing discordances. But even in the latter case it might be argued that the flavour of that porch is altogether too Western to be entirely appropriate for the third holiest mosque in the Islamic world (pls XLIX-L). But such care was not the norm; rather was it the common practice to incorporate bits and pieces of Crusader stonework, including decorative ensembles, at random into an Ayyubid structure, cutting them down where it seemed necessary (as at Bab Hitta, the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa and Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya).[114] The easy availability of such material helps to

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[104] See Hawari 2007, 159, pl. 18.21 (al-Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa, *mihrab*); 182, pls 22.8-22.9 (Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya, *mihrab* and window respectively).

[105] As in the Haram colonnade, Qubbat Sulaiman, Qubbat Musa, and Bab al-Silsila.

[106] As at the Siqayat, Bab Hitta and the Salahiyya Khanqah.

[107] As at the Nahawiyya Madrasa and the Siqaya.

[108] As at Bab al-Silsila and Bab Sakina.

[109] A series of these occur on the Nahawiyya Madrasa façade: a light, elegant and unexpected touch.

[110] As on the Nahawiyya *madrasa* façade.

[111] As at Bab al-Silsila, the Nahawiyya Madrasa, Bab Hitta and Qubbat Musa.

[112] In the upper part of the outer porch (Hawari 2007, 139, pl. 16.1).

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[113] One of these squinches is in fact different from the other three (Hawari 2007, 80-1, pls 8.8-8.9).

[114] See Hawari 2007, 169, pl. 20.5; 151, fig. 18.5 and 157, pl. 18.6; and 182, pls 22.7 and 22.10.
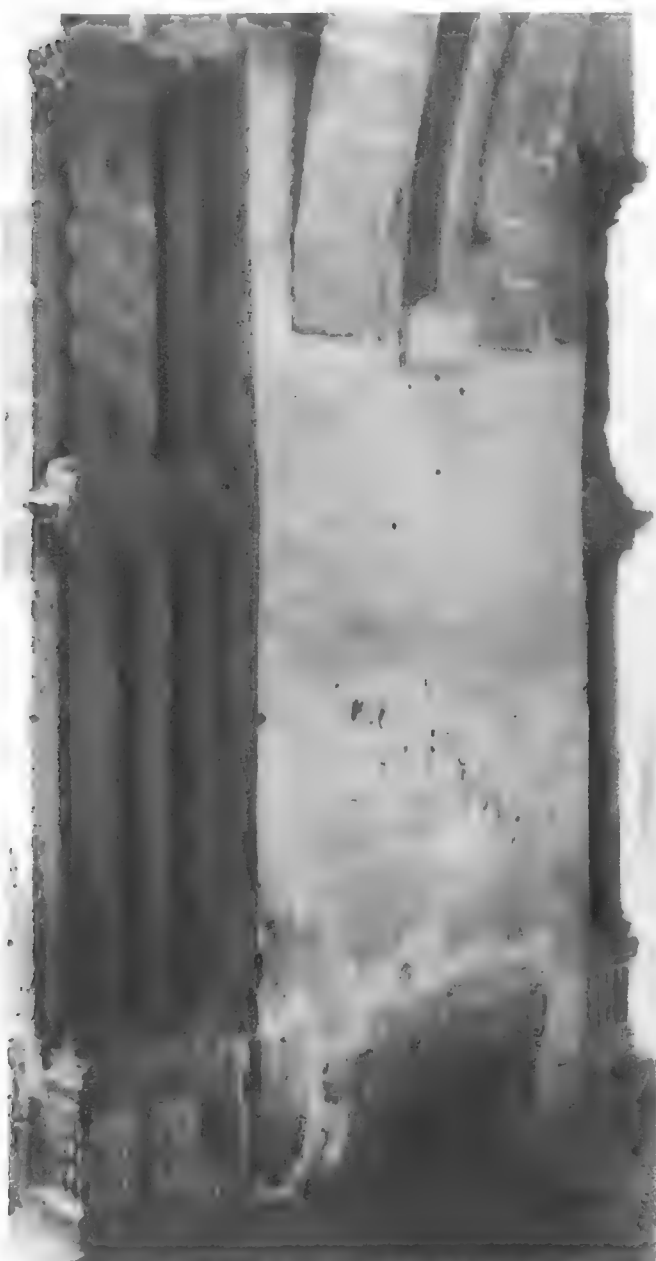
Pl. 2.10 Haram al-Sharif. Doorway, Bab al-Sakina detail. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5366)

explain, for instance, why the pair of *muqarnas* capitals in the Siqaya (water fountain) of al-'Adil, erected in 589/1193, in the very early and self-consciously Muslim days of Ayyubid Jerusalem, remained an isolated occurrence, although their execution is confident. It is this plethora of borrowed material, used to such an extent that it elbows out genuine Islamic detailing, that gives the architecture of Ayyubid Jerusalem—to borrow a phrase from Dr Barry Flood—such an 'ambiguous aesthetic'. And this term extends beyond actual *spolia* to the close imitation of Crusader forms, such as the arch with cushion voussoirs at the Siqaya of al-'Adil. A triumphal motif can perhaps be proposed for some *spolia*, for example in the

Dome of the Rock (pl. 2.9), but by no means for all such re-used elements.

In the matter of *spolia*—not all of them Crusader, there are several late antique and Byzantine examples, such as diminutive porphyry niches—the Aqsa Mosque is in a category of its own. Its interior works as a kind of medieval museum, full of trophies. Here the medieval walls of Konya as they survived until the 19th century provide an obvious analogy—a museum, in that case, where classical sculpture bulked large.[115] The analogy even works for the method of display, which is simply that of a picture gallery, represented here by the *qibla* wall—for that, of course, was the most prestigious location for objects of value. A certain austerity of taste makes itself felt here, in which the material itself rather than any decoration applied to it is the focus of attention, though there is no lack of geometric patterns executed in polychrome marble. Indeed, the prevalence of marble is striking. It was valued both for its colour and its natural markings or grain. The range of colours and textures here is truly impressive. There was even a portion of the Crusader grille—formerly surrounding the rock in the Dome of the Rock—set up beside the *minbar*, surely as a trophy.

What of the use of Crusader *spolia* elsewhere in the Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem? The roll-call of these carved fragments is itself lengthy enough to explain why their influence became so pervasive. It includes cushion arches whose gadrooned voussoirs have an arresting tactile quality;[116] corbel-table cornices;[117] twisted columns, whether single[118] or in pairs;[119] elbow capitals, otherwise known as elbow brackets;[120] any number of columns, and of capitals executed in a bewildering variety of styles with an apparent indifference to clashing contrasts of style;[121] sets of miniature columns;[122] colonnettes, single or paired;[123] chevron, cavetto, torus,[124] cyma

[115] Sarre 1936, 6, Abb. 2.

[116] As in the Siqaya: Hawari 2007, 55, pl. 4.6.

[117] As at Bab Hitta: Hawari 2007, 169, pl. 20.6.

[118] As at the Nahawiyya Madrasa (Hawari 2007, 114-5, figs. 12.5 and 12.7 and 120, pl. 12.7); and Bab Sakina (Hawari 2007, 76, fig. 8.4 left and 82, pl. 8.16).

[119] As at Bab al-Silsila: Hawari 2007, 76, fig. 8.4 right and 82, pl 18.15.

[120] As at Jami' al-Maghariba: Hawari 2007, 68, pl. 6.3 and at Bab Sakina and Bab al-Silsila (Hawari 2007, 80, pl. 8.7). There is a wonderfully varied group, effectively a display of them since many serve no structural purpose, in the Aqsa porch (for eleven of these, see Hamilton 1949, pls XXII 3-XXIV 4).

[121] There is a particularly rich selection at Bab Sakina and Bab al-Silsila (Hawari 2007, 80, pls 8.5-8.6, and 82-3, pls 8.17-8.19), or Qubbat al-Mi'raj (Hawari 2007, 92-3, pls 9.6-9.9), and these cases well illustrate the lack of any attempt to secure some degree of harmony in the use of borrowed material. In the case of Qubbat al-Mi'raj this failing extends in a very noticeable manner to the columns, some of which have bold veining while others do not, and since these are a much more visible element than the capitals, the effect is that much more discordant.

[122] As at Bab Hitta (Hawari 2007, 169, pl. 20.5).

[123] As at the Aqsa porch (Hawari 2007, 164, pl. 19.6).

[124] These three types all occur at the Aqsa porch (Hawari 2007, 165, pl. 19.8).

recta[125] and other mouldings; hood moulds;[126] dentils;[127] and imposts, abaci and pedestals galore (pl. 2.10).

Ayyubid work on the Haram al-Sharif

Clearly the first priority of the Ayyubid builders was to place their stamp on the Haram al-Sharif. No less than 17 Ayyubid projects survive there, and originally there were a further seven. They cluster around the centre of the western flank and to the far south of the precinct; yet this does not mean that even in their own time, before the Mamluks had begun their ambitious project of sacralising the inner borders of the Haram with lofty structures, their physical presence was powerful enough to transform even those portions of this vast space. And so, for all their quantity, their impact was almost negligible. Certainly they are wholly overshadowed by the succession of masterpieces put up by the Mamluks. The Mamluk whole was very much more than the sum of its parts; the cumulative effect was to islamize the Haram even more than the Umayyads had done.

The reason for that contrast between Ayyubid and Mamluk work is not far to seek. The Ayyubid contribution essentially stopped short of ambitious new buildings. Instead, its focus was on the appropriation of the site for Islam. Hence the refurbishment of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, and the restoration of the North Portico and the South-east Colonnade, and of some of the gates: Bab al-Nazir, Bab al-Mathara, Bab Hitta, Bab Sakina, Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-ʿAtm. Qubbat al-Miʿraj, though a building of the first quality (pls LVIII-LXII), derives much of its character from *spolia* and is in any case very small, while the Khatniyya Zawiya is very modest and is precariously perched at the very edge of the platform to the south of the Aqsa Mosque and therefore easily overlooked. Jamiʿ al-Nisa' is basically a converted Templar building. Jamiʿ al-Maghariba, though its scale is impressive—a long barrel-vaulted hall some 54 metres long by 9 metres wide—is architecturally unremarkable. Two domed commemorative structures in honour of the prophets Moses and Solomon (pl. XLII) survive; they carefully avoid any external display. A few other minor buildings are recorded in the texts but have vanished over the years: a humble mausoleum for an Ayyubid *amir*, a probably undistinguished *zawiya* above the Golden Gate, and a two-domed *masjid* for the Hanbalis. The four water installations can be seen as no more than very basic utilities with no pretensions to architectural splendour. That leaves the Nahawiyya Madrasa as the only substantial structure built from scratch in Ayyubid times on the Haram; and it is of a studied simplicity, with Crusader *spolia* adding its principal touch of luxury (pls XLIII and LV-LVII).

So it is futile to wonder why the Ayyubids did not produce great architecture in Jerusalem. It was the wrong place and it was the wrong time, a time of alarums and excursions. To the question 'where did the money for building go?' in this period, the Aleppo citadel gives an eloquent answer. In comparison, what was left over for public buildings—and this is especially true of Jerusalem—was essentially small change.

Conclusion

Ayyubid art is essentially international. It took up and crystallized, brought together and fused, many disparate features that had developed in isolation in the far-flung pockets of their realm. This was a short-lived phenomenon, but it was a crucial moment in the middle period of the Islamic Middle Ages. Not since Umayyad times had Syria been the forcing ground for the creation of an international style in which east and west mingled freely. The West was now a more complex entity, for it comprised the culture not only of the oriental Christians but also of the western Franks. The foreign element varied in strength and importance from one medium to the next. Thus Khurasani metalwork modes found their way to Mosul and thence to Syria and Egypt.[128] Lustre techniques, whether taken from Fatimid Egypt or Saljuq Iran, were used in new and strikingly expressive ways in Syrian pottery. Motifs and styles from Byzantium, from the Jacobite communities in Syria and the Jazira and perhaps from Coptic Egypt, played their part in the first flowering of Arab book painting, in which Syria was a major centre. Local Christians left their imprint on Ayyubid glass and metalwork. But in all these fields—and this is the key finding—Syria became a key player and innovator in its own right. It was far from providing a pale reflection of ideas that came from outside its territory. The energy that came from these disparate sources enriched Ayyubid art beyond all measure.

That is why it is so much fuller and more varied than Mamluk art, whose principal centre of gravity was in Egypt, so that Egyptian taste was the dominant factor. And that taste was in some sense confined. Mamluk art is unswervingly official and formal in a way that Ayyubid art is not. This is well illustrated by the differing uses of monumental inscriptions in the minor arts of these two traditions. In Ayyubid ceramics, for example, showy inscriptions with shafts of exaggerated length are not rare,[129] but they co-exist with all kinds of other motifs, figural and abstract alike—and the abstract designs can attain

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[125] As in the Aqsa porch (Hamilton 1949, pls XXIII/6 and XXV/2).

[126] As in the *mihrab* at Qubbat Sulaiman (Hawari 2007, 111, pl. 11,14).

[127] As in the Aqsa porch façade (Hawari 2007, pls XXI/2 and XXII/1).

[128] In a helpful formulation, Annette Hagedorn proposes replacing the notion of a 'Mosul school' by that of a Mediterranean art world (1989, I, 181).

[129] ODS 2001, 99. It is interesting to compare this inscription, with its alternations of thick and thin lines, its sense of spirited freedom and even swagger, with the tight discipline of Mamluk epigraphy.

a profound complexity and splendour. Mamluk artists, by contrast, seized on this feature of exaggerated serried shafts and made it a trademark of their metalwork and glassware, giving it well-nigh exclusive pride of place and banishing figural art altogether in these contexts. The contrast could not be more striking.

The essential context of Ayyubid art, then, is one of political disunity and weakness, of limited resources, of minor rulers aspiring to major status, of an unusually wide geographical reach which made little of natural frontiers, and of an unusually marked cultural pluralism that co-existed with an increasing awareness, sharpened by the long-drawn-out war with the Crusaders, of what it meant to be Muslim, from which stemmed the desire to promote Islamic values. This is indeed a complex tapestry. But it is precisely these features that explain some of the abiding characteristics of this art: the lack of major public buildings, the corresponding frequency of lesser foundations, the heavy investment in military architecture, the flourishing of the portable arts—especially ceramics, glass and metalwork, media which lent themselves particularly well to conspicuous consumption—and the openness to ideas from the eastern Islamic world.

Chapter 3
CROSS-CURRENTS AND COINCIDENCES: A PERSPECTIVE ON AYYUBID METALWORK

Sylvia Auld

The period during which the Ayyubid dynasty flourished saw some of the most skilful metalwork, both technically and artistically, ever produced in the world of Islam. It is also among the best published. David Storm Rice's seminal articles on objects signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili (1957), or the extant pieces made for the contemporary ruler of Mosul, Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (1950), for example—backed as they are by Rice's beautiful and informative drawings and photographs—remain at the centre of any study on metalwork of whatever date. In particular, Ayyubid Islamic objects with Christian imagery have received more than their fair share of attention.[1] From an iconographic point of view too, it was a time of exceptional richness and diversity. In particular, there is evidence of two-way influence between Levantine Islam and Christian Europe, as might be expected in a period when the two religious communities were in close physical contact.[2] It is impossible in this short contribution to equal these publications in depth, but an attempt will be made to give an overview of the objects, to put them in context, and to offer possible explanations for the way they were designed.

The objects themselves fall into two categories. One group is made up of precious metals and the other, in many ways the more interesting, of base metal ('brass') inlaid with silver. Both will be reviewed.

The focus in this chapter covers the questions usually associated with artefacts: when, where and how were they made and, more difficult, why and for whom. In point of fact, the technique and style of the inlaid silver decoration gives a clue as to the general area from which the concept of the objects might have originated, for some are signed by men with

the *nisba* 'al-Mausili'—from Mosul.[3] But the *nisba* is far from conclusive evidence of where the objects were actually made. The popularity of inlay as a means of decoration seems to have travelled westwards from eastern Iran, and in particular Khurasan, in the mid-12th century, although a slightly different technique had long been known further east.[4] Whether the art was originally Indian or came from even further east—for example South-East Asia or China—is a question still to be answered.[5] The earliest known dated Islamic brass object inlaid with silver is a pencase of 542/1148 and is of Persian craftsmanship.[6] The Khurasanian wares were either exported or belonged to travelling merchants, for not only was a collection of such objects found in Hamadan in 1908,[7] but two more belonged to men with the *nisba* 'al-Tabrizi'. The Mongol invasion of 1220–21 seems to have fatally disrupted the metalworking industry in Khurasan, more particularly in the capital Herat, for no comparable object securely dated after 1210 is known. Indeed, it seems to have been

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[3] The use of this *nisba* has been much discussed. It seems at the very least to point to a recognition by craftsmen of the town's reputation as one of metalworking excellence. Rice made this point in 1957, and it has not since been seriously disputed; he wrote 'it [is] clear ... that the use of this *nisba* [al-Mausili] indicates neither the origin of a piece from Mosul nor its being decorated in the "Mosulian" style' (1957c, 286). For a discussion, see also Rice 1949, 334 quoting van Berchem 1912, Wiet 1932b, Kühnel 1939. Rice (1957c, 326) listed twenty-eight craftsmen who used the *nisba* al-Mausili on objects dating from 617/1220 to 691-721/1287-1321.

[4] The upsurge in interest was marked by four key dated and signed pieces: the bronze pencase now in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, dated 1148, published by Giuzalian in English in 1968 (first in Russian in 1938); a bucket ('the Bobrinsky Kettle') now in the same museum, inv. no. CA 12687, signed, dated 1163 and first published by Ettinghausen in 1943; a ewer dated 1181 now in the State Museum of Georgia, Tbilisi, also published by Giuzalian (1968); and finally a pencase dated 1210 now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC, inv. no. 36.7, more recently published by Esin Atıl, Atıl, Chase and Jett 1985, 102-10.

[5] See for example a bronze censer inlaid with gold, silver, turquoise and cornelian; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC (no inv. no. given) illustrated in Jenyns and Watson, 1980, 73 cat. no. 38.

[6] Giuzalian 1968.

[7] Harari in Pope and Ackerman, 1981 Vol.VIB, 2496-7.

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[1] As a starting point, see Eva Baer's monograph of 1989, which has photographic details of these objects; she gives a full bibliography.

[2] Rice 1954 *passim*. See too, more recently, Khoury 1998; Ward 2005 now questions the intrinsic 'Christian' nature of the imagery on many of the objects.

only with Timur and his successors that the production of luxury, inlaid metalwork returned to eastern Iran despite the continued popularity of such wares in the south of the country.[8] At roughly the same time as the Mongols invaded Khurasan, there is evidence of a metalworking centre in the Jazira—that is, the area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers that now includes much of modern Iraq, part of northern Syria and eastern Turkey, which was in the past known as North-West Mesopotamia. Whether the art of inlaying brass with a precious metal was brought into the Jazira by craftsmen fleeing the Mongol advance, or whether there had been a Jaziran metalworking centre before the 1220s, is not at the moment clear. The evidence for an established Jaziran centre by the middle of the century is given by Abu Sa'id, a geographer from Muslim Spain, who was travelling in the area in 1250 and who wrote that inlaid brass vessels *('awani al-nuhas al-mutaʿam')* from Mosul were 'exported and presented to rulers'.[9] It is perhaps relevant that Abu Sa'id follows this rare reference to a metalworking industry by one extolling the locally produced 'silken garments' (*'muharrar'*; a Spanish-Arabic term) for which the area was famous,[10] because the inlaid decoration covers the metal vessels in a way reminiscent of a draped textile. There is also a reference by Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi who, when describing the defeat of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' in 635/1237, gives details of the belongings the *amir* left behind in his precipitous escape—a silver-inlaid pencase (literally 'silvered', *al-dawat al-mufaddada*), a basin and a ewer.[11]

Although the craftsmen themselves are rarely mentioned in Muslim writings, fuller information about them emerges from the Geniza documents, which date from the 11th to the 13th century and are therefore pertinent to the period under discussion. For example, it is clear that in Egypt there was a surprising degree of specialization. Goitein gives instances of makers of kohl sticks, writing cases, mirrors, fans, spindles, sieves, combs, manufacturers and stringers of beads and so on.[12] The Arabic term for the technique of inlaying metal is *kuft*. Maqrizi used the root *kaffa ta* to describe the market for inlaid objects *(suq al-kuftiyyin)*, as well as the workshops from which the objects were sold.[13] There were general terms for the men who undertook different processes of manufacture—*al-sa'igh* (gold- or silversmith, although rarely the word *al-dhahabi* or 'goldman' was also used), *al-sabbak* (worker in cast copper, *al-sabika*), *al-darrab* (hammerer), *al-qazdiri* (tinner), and *al-rassas* (worker and/or dealer in lead).[14] There were grades of craftsmen too; Mayer defined them as *al-muʿallim* (master),

al-tilmidh (pupil), al-ghulam (apprentice, literarily young man), and al-ajir (journeyman).[15] From the Geniza papers, it is clear that Muslims, Jews and Christians operated together in small groups in workshops which served also as points of sale.[16] This may help to explain the mix of typical Islamic and Christian decoration on a group of pieces to be discussed below, or perhaps the explanation for these lies in a mixed marriage between Christian and Muslim.[17] In Cairo, trade outlets tended to be located together in a single street, but named *suqs* or bazaars were not exclusively populated by a single craft.[18] Materials for a specific order were apparently provided for an individual craftsman by the owner of a workshop; they were weighed before and after manufacture—probably a sensible precaution in the case of precious metals.[19] There is also evidence that metals were recycled. A Fatimid hoard unearthed at Tiberias included an amount of off-cut metal scraps clearly intended for re-use.[20]

A number of Mamluk objects include the information that they were made *'bi-misr'*, providing further evidence for a continuing Cairene metalworking industry. The earliest securely dated to the relevant period was decorated *(naqasha)* by Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mausili *bi-misr* in 668/1269-70.[21] An astrolabe in the British Museum[22] also bears the words 'in Egypt' but Dr Rachel Ward thinks that these may be a later addition because of their position. Another astrolabe made by the same craftsman in 625/1228[23] was intended for the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf, who ruled Diyar Mudar from 1201-1227, and Damascus from 1227-37. In her opinion, it is thus a strong possibility that both astrolabes were made in Damascus, although the peripatetic nature of metalworkers, who moved to wherever there was work, makes such a conclusion less than secure. There are six further objects made by al-Mausili craftsmen in the early Mamluk period where inscriptions specify that they were indeed made in Cairo.[24] From the chain of family names, it seems that

[8] On this school of metalworkers in Fars, see Melikian-Chirvani 1969, and 1982; and Komaroff 1984, 31-95 and 174 ff.

[9] Rice 1957/3, 283-4, quoting from the manuscript currently in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, no. 2234, fol. 73v. He pointed out (p. 284 note 9) that *'tuhmal minha ila'l-muluk* is more than just "is exported". The expression indicates that the vessels were of high quality and fit for kings.'

[10] Rice, *ibid.*, note 10.

[11] Quoted by Rice 1957, 284.

[12] Goitein 1965, 99.

[13] Al-Maqrizi 1858 II, 105; the term is discussed by Rice 1955, 228-31.

[14] Goitein 1965, 109.

[15] Mayer 1959, 14.

[16] Goitein 1965, 81, 85.

[17] There is not a great deal of evidence available for such liaisons, but they undoubtedly did occur. For example, al-Ashraf Musa ibn al-Muzaffar Ghazi, brother of al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad, had a Georgian wife. We learn this from the fact that she was taken captive with two Ayyubid princes in Jumada I 627/April 1230; see Humphreys 1977, 218 and 450, n. 46.5.

[18] Goitein 1965, 83.

[19] Goitein 1965, 90.

[20] Archeological excavations were conducted by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1999; on the evidence of coins, the hoard was concealed no earlier than 1078. An analysis of the hoard is currently being undertaken by Elias Khamis who first presented his findings to date in an as yet unpublished paper at a conference entitled *Metals and Metalworking in Islamic Iran*, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, 3-4 September 2004.

[21] Cairo Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 1657; see Wiet 1932, 47-9 and, more recently Atil 1981, 57 no. 10; see too Ward 1995, 147.

[22] Inv. no. OA 1855 7-9 1.

[23] Museum for the History of Science, Oxford.

[24] These include the candlestick dated 1269 by Muhammad ibn Hasan al-Mausili, see note 21 above; three objects made by 'Ali ibn Husain ibn Muhammad al-Mausili: ewer dated 674/1275-76, candlestick dated 681/1282 and basin dated 684/1285; and a tray by Husain ibn Ahmad ibn Husain al-Mausili, undated but made for the Rasulid Sultan Da'ud, who ruled 1297-1321.

this group may have centred around the descendants of Husain (or Hasan) ibn Muhammad al-Mausili, who decorated a ewer in Damascus in 1258-59.[25] The question is—was inlaid metalwork made in Cairo prior to 1269?

No such detailed information has emerged about the metalworking industry in the Jazira or Syria, but undoubtedly a similar situation was to be found in centres throughout the Levant. Jerusalem never appears to have been a centre for fine metalworking, although there would have been craftsmen in the city involved in producing everyday wares. There was a universal need for brass and copper cooking vessels, for example, which would have to be re-tinned at intervals to prevent food prepared in them from becoming tainted.[26] Aleppo may also have been a centre, although evidence is less conclusive here, resting on the existence of a pyxis in the name of al-Malik al-ʿAziz Ghiyath al-Din,[27] an Ayyubid prince who came to the Aleppan throne in 1216 when a child, ruling first under an *atabeg*[28] and then alone until his death in 1236. However, Ayyubid princes moved as much as workers in metal; in addition, the size and nature of the objects on which the names appear makes it unwise to rely solely on this sort of information.

Objects made for Badr al-Din Lu'lu', who ruled Mosul in the Ayyubid period, were probably made in that city; only one piece specifies that it was made in Mosul (pl. 3.1), but it is likely that the ruler would have patronised local craftsmen. The pieces with his name are certainly skilled work, and this is further evidence that Mosul was a centre for the production of high-class wares as already indicated; the objects will be discussed in more detail below.

The picture for Damascus is more clear-cut. One 'al-Mausili' master was working in Damascus in 1258, that is four years before Mosul was in turn sacked by the Mongols,[29] and there is evidence for the continuity of production in Damascus. A candlestick survives dated 1297, which was signed by ʿAli ibn Kasira al-Mausili, who added the words 'in

Pl. 3.1 'Blacas' ewer. London, British Museum inv. no. 1866 12-29 61. The ewer is richly decorated and unusual because, in addition to a signature and the date Rajab 629/May 1232, it bears the words 'made in Mosul'. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Damascus the God-protected'.[30] According to al-Maqrizi, it was to Damascus that in 1293 Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalil ibn Qala'un sent for one hundred copper, and fifty silver candlesticks.[31] The tangled political history of the period in particular points to rivalry between the Ayyubid princes of the cities of Cairo and Damascus;[32] perhaps because of this, both were renowned centres of patronage. Again to judge from the writings of al-Maqrizi, by the 14th century they were equally recognized as centres of excellence.[33] The objects continue to display a repertoire of motifs familiar from the Ayyubid period—knotted Kufic inscriptions, 'y- and t- interlace' (both based on a hexagon), 'swastika' geometric roundels, human-

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[25] For a discussion on this hypothesis, see Ward 1995.

[26] Evidence of run-of-the-mill metalworking was found, for example, at the village of Khirbat al-Burj (Khirbat al-Kurum); Onn and Rapuono 1995, 88-90.

[27] Naples, Museo di Capodimonte inv. no. 112095 (previously in the Borgia Collection).

[28] The *atabeg*'s name was Shihab al-Din Tughrul. A ewer dated 629/1232 signed by Qasim ibn ʿAli in the name of this *amir* is currently in the Freer Museum of Art, Washington DC, inv. no. 55.22. Its decoration is both restrained and beautiful, consisting of a scrolling stem with pointed split palmettes set within ogival frames. The elegant *naskhi* inscriptions, which name the patron and artist and contain the usual formulaic good wishes, appear on the collar at the base of the neck, in lobed repoussé terminals at the start of the shoulder, and on the foot. A further short inscription, this time in Kufic, encircles the base of the spout, which is a replacement. See Atil, Chase and Jett, 1985, 117-23; illustrated on pp 117, 119 and 122. The craftsman, Qasim ibn ʿAli, was a *ghulam* (apprentice) of Ibrahim ibn Mawaliya al-Mausih, who signed a ewer now in Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. K3435.

[29] The information is found on a ewer in the Musée du Louvre, Paris inv. no. OA 7428, which was signed by Husain ibn Muhammad in 657/1246.

[30] Allan 1986, 49-50.

[31] Al-Maqrizi, *Khitat*, Vol. II, 112

[32] Humphreys 1977 gives an overview of the constant struggles for power between successive Ayyubid princes who ruled Egypt and Syria/the Jazira

[33] Al-Maqrizi was writing in the early 15th century; evidence for Cairene markets based on contemporary commentaries is summarized in Wiet 1964, 93-106. By the mid-14th century the high achievements of the early years had declined, particularly in Cairo, perhaps because of a silver shortage: Allan 1984, 85.

and animal-headed arabesques, undulating floral scrolls and friezes of running animals (pl. 3.5; fig. 3.1). But it is just this continuity and broad geographical stretch of appeal which makes it almost impossible in anonymous cases to be certain when and where a specific object was made.

One of the most striking features of the products of metalworkers operating in north Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt in the late 12th and 13th centuries is their eclectism. The wide variety of images used stem from further east, to judge by pieces like the so-called 'Bobrinski bucket',[34] which not only gives full information on who made it, for whom, and where, but also carries bands of figures, human, animal and mythological, engaged in various activities.[35] One of these

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[34] Published by Ettinghausen 1943.

[35] *Ibid*
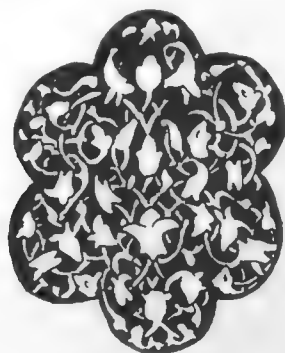
Fig. 3.1 Lobed roundel with inlaid animal- and human-headed arabesque *('waq-waq')*; detail from the basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 55.10.

bands has animal and human heads acting as terminals to the *hastae* of a *naskhi* inscription of good wishes, which finds an echo in similar bands of animated script on the wall of a canteen in the Freer Gallery of Art, which also has roundels of musicians, animal combat and so on (fig. 3.2).[36]

In 1957 Rice published his analysis of the work of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili. The breadth and variety of the inlaid images and the consummate skill with which this master designed and executed the animated scenes used to decorate his pieces, especially the earlier ones, is without equal in any period. One example of his skill is seen in the unfortunately damaged, but still exceptional, double-registered hunting scenes on the inside of a basin now in the Louvre, dating from 1238–40 (fig. 3.3).[37] The basin carries the name and titulature of al-'Adil II Abu Bakr, which allow the precise dating. In addition, a graffito on the base denotes that the basin was destined for the

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[36] For details, see the exhibition catalogue *Earthly Beauty, Heavenly Art. Art of Islam*, 2000, 159 where a bibliography is also given. The activities and way in which these figures are depicted led me to think that they are a reference to names of the fixed stars (Auld, 2007).

[37] Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. 5991, shown in Rice 1957 (exterior) pl. 6d and interior pl. 7 and figs 28–29; see too the exhibition catalogue *l'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 50 no. 42. The catalogue includes the information that there is also a small unsigned pyxis in the name of the same al-'Adil II Abu Bakr in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, but does not give details. The Keir Collection, London (see Fehérvári 1976, 103–4 no. 129) has an incense burner (my inv. no. 9) in the name of 'Abu Bakr, the son of the Sultan, al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad, son of Abu Bakr, son of Ayyub' which also has a graffito stating *bi-rasm al-tishtkhana al-'Adil*; see Fehérvári 1968. The incense burner has a band of human and animal-headed *naskhi* benedictory phrases interrupted by roundels with swastika-interlace, and below a further *naskhi* inscription gives the name of the sultan. A band of running animals encircles the bottom, while another forms the lowest register of the pierced lid, which also has three lobed medallions with pairs of figures. The form of the incense burner, and in particular the legs and feet, looks forward to similar objects popular in the Mamluk period. See, for example, Allan 1982, 86–9, no. 15.
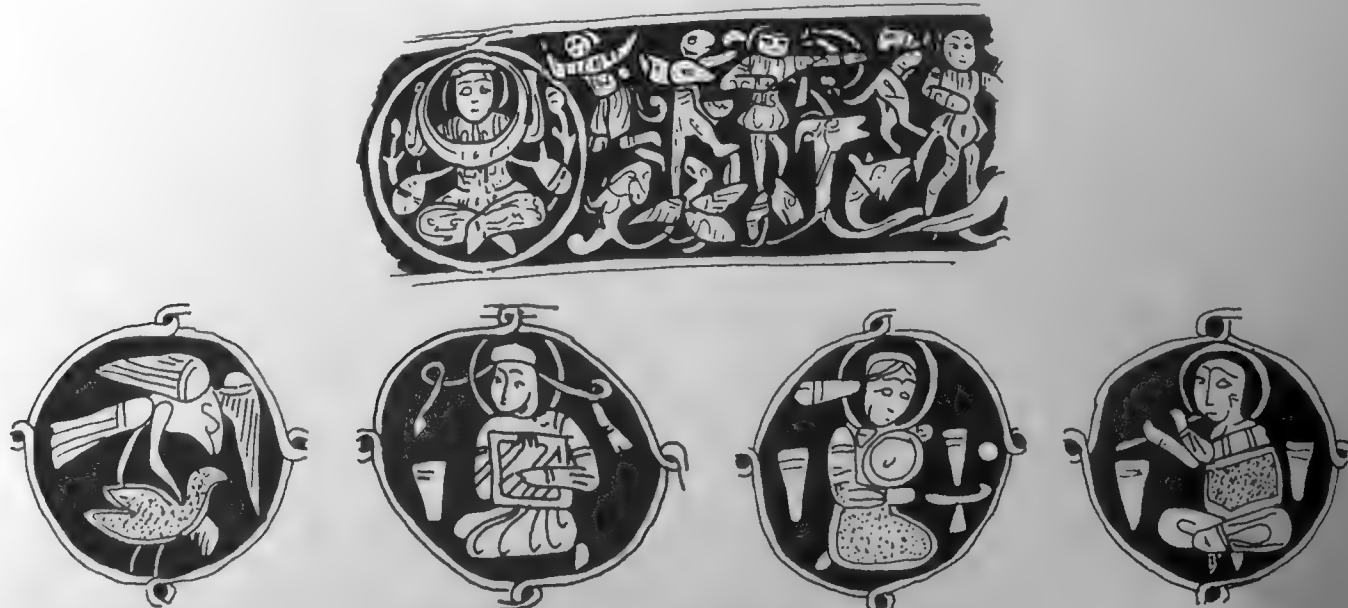
Fig. 3.2 Details of inlaid animated script and small roundels with musicians and an animal combat from the shoulder of a canteen; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 41.10.
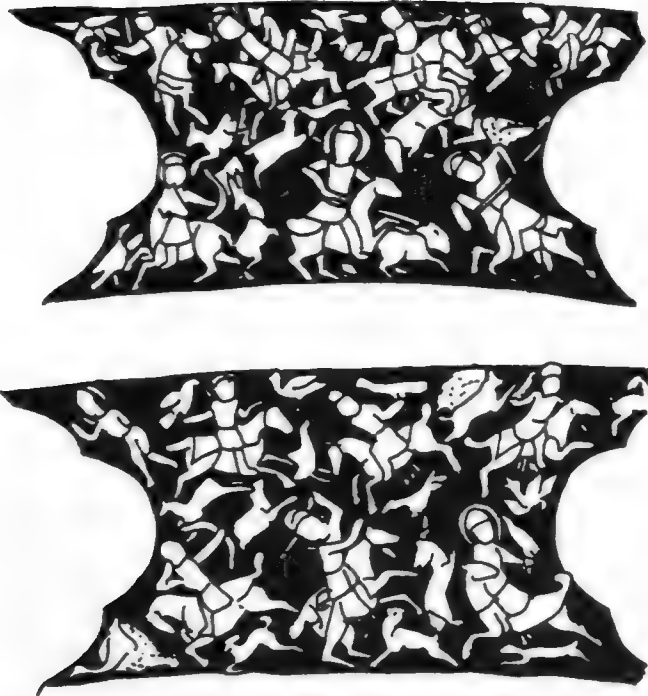
Fig. 3.3 Details of equestrian panel from the interior of a basin in the name of al-ʿAdil II Abu Bakr; Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. 5991 (after Rice 1957, figs. 28–29).

Fig. 3.4 a. Detail of a centrifugal device of four horsemen from the interior of a Basin; Bologna, Museo Civico (after Rice 1953).
b. Three hares, joined by the ears, in a centrifugal design, from a ceramic shard; Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 6939/1.
c. Three hares, joined by the ears, from a fresco *ca* 1400, Val d'Aosta, Italy (after Hahnloser 1972, fig. 208).

tishtkhana (pantry or royal vestiary) of the ruler. The scenes are outstanding, not only because of the foreshortening of some of the animals, but also because the figures in the upper register are slightly smaller, presumably to indicate distance. The fact that these scenes are on the inside walls, an area which is particularly difficult to work, adds to the impression of an extraordinary skill. In addition to the panels there are nineteen medallions with musicians and mounted figures. One medallion has two figures on a camel—it is likely that these represent Bahram Gur and his singing-girl Azada, who also appear on the 'Blacas' ewer. This signed and dated ewer (pl. 3.1), now in the British Museum, was made in Mosul in 629/1232, one year after Badr al-Din Lu'lu' was recognised *de jure* as ruler after fourteen years of filling the role *de facto*.[38] The five other unsigned pieces with this ruler's name[39] share certain characteristics. One is a preference for

centrifugal compositions, found on four of the objects. The most complex is on the base of another piece associated with Mosul, a cast brass basin in Bologna, noteworthy because of its unusual shape, which was made for one of Badr al-Din's (unidentified) officers.[40] On the basin, four horsemen circle a central bird in a clockwise movement (fig. 3.4a); a hare (a recognised moon or astral symbol) and deer appear beneath the feet of two of the horses. The figures are haloed and seem to represent the hunt, or, more likely, because of their position and implied relationship to the 'fishpond' or 'fount of light' imagery, may have some astral or solar significance.[41] This seems borne out by the presence of six symbols for the known planets encircling a device of strutting ducks arranged on the base of a basin made for the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, al-ʿAdil II.[42] A similar centrifugal design is to be found on a ceramic potsherd now in the Museum of Islamic

[38] London, British Museum inv. no. 1866 12-29 61. The 'Blacas' ewer was signed by Shujaʿ ibn Manʿa al-Mausili and is dated Rajab 629/May 1232. It is the only piece that carries the information 'made in Mosul'. For a coloured detail of the scene, see Auld fig. 8.2 in Hillenbrand (ed.) 2004, 100. For illustrations of the figural medallions, see Ward 1986. See too Avinoam Shalem, 'Bahram Gur Woven with Gold: A Silk Fragment in the Diocesan Museum of St. Afra in Augsburg and the Modes of Rendition of a Popular Theme' in the same volume, 117-27.

[39] Rice 1950; these are a box (pyxis), London, British Museum (inv. no. 1878 12-30 674) with four ducks with entwined necks; a salver, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 905-1907) with three sphinxes; a 'dish' in the Munich library (no number given) with four sphinxes; a basin in the Museum of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev; a candlestick in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg (inv. no. KИ 3690). It is fascinating to find that one of the pages in the notebooks of Villard de Honnecourt has three sketches of centrally-joined figures, including one of three fish with a converged head; Taf. 38 in Hahnloser 1972.

[40] Rice 1953 15/2, 232-38, held in the Museo Civico, Bologna.

[41] The best-known example of the 'fish-pond' of 'Fount of the Sun' (*chashma-yi aftab* or *chashma-yi khorshid*) is to be found on the bottom of the inside of the so-called 'Baptistère de St Louis' in the Musée du Louvre (Paris, inv. no. LP 16), illustrated in colour in Atil 1982, 79; see too in the same publication on p. 91 the inside of a basin made for Sultan Nasir al-Din Muhammad (British Museum, London, 1851 1-4 1), where six fish converge on a central point, surrounded by other fish; the whole roundel is haloed in 'rays' of lambrequins. On 'fish-pond' decoration, see Baer 1968, 14-28, and Melikian-Chirvani 1982, 86 and 169. Immediately, the drawing of three fish with a single conjoined head by Villard de Honnecourt is brought to mind. See note 39 above.

[42] The basin is signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili and is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 5941; see Rice 1957.

Art, Cairo, showing how similar ideas pervaded different crafts (fig. 3.4b).[43] Here three hares, one red, one blue and one black, pace in a clockwise motion, and are joined by their ears, which form a central triangle. Was it on a plate, a piece of metalwork, a silk, or in a pattern book that the idea of the three conjoined hares travelled westwards? It seems undeniable that it did because a remarkably similar device appears in a fresco (fig. 3.4c) in a castle in the Val d'Aosta, dated *ca*1400. It also appears as church architectural detail and in manuscript illuminations in western Europe.[44] In my opinion, the resemblance is too close to be coincidental, in particular the way the hares' ears create a central triangle, and one has an internal division similar to the ceramic fragment.

Ahmad al-Dhaki was not the only artist of the period to show an interest in movement. For example, the figures on an incense burner in London (pls 3.2-3.3, fig. 5a-g), a pyxis in New York (pl. 3.4, figs 3.6a-e; 3.7b), and a candlestick in Istanbul (fig. 3.7a)[45] show a considerable sophistication. A woman on the pyxis turns to the right, her left wrist raised to her chin. Her left knee is bent and projects forward, while her weight rests on her right one in the classical contrapposto pose (fig. 3.6a). Although less accomplished, the maker of the London incense burner has shown a comparable interest in a variety of standing poses, while pairs of musicians on the candlestick play with vivacity. One pair of women in particular (fig. 3.7a), engaged in playing stringed instruments, interact in the way they turn towards each other. One sits with her knees wide apart, her skirts draped elegantly between them, while the torso of the other turns in the opposite direction to her glance. The similarity in technique between these figures and those on the New York pyxis is marked.

There was a contemporary interest in movement and weight distribution in the west. This is not the place for a long disquisition on the subject, but it is necessary only to recall the 'Gothic sway' of 14th-century statues of the Virgin and Child to see a similarity.[46] There is a likeness too between a cowled figure on the New York pyxis (fig. 3.6b) and contemporary figures in French funerary sculpture known as *pleurants* ('weepers'). The faces of these are hidden under their cowls and their limbs are equally hidden beneath voluminous

drapery.[47] Previous research has shown links in the 11th and 12th centuries between Norman France and Islamic Spain,[48] but to my knowledge there has been no comparable careful study of contemporary links between France/Italy and the Levant other than in architectural detail.

For all the similarity between 14th-century European art and the Ayyubid metalwork objects discussed here, there was another avenue of influence at work. This was Fatimid art from Egypt. Much has been lost, but fragments remain and these show an equal interest in lively portrayal. One potsherd now in Athens shows a courtly scene. On the left a figure holds a cup; one leg is bent back. The drapery falls over an arm raised towards the companion figure, who plays a lute.[49] Al-Maqrizi wrote of a competition in the 1050s between a local artist and an Iraqi rival. It was designed to test their skills in illusion, for they were required to depict a dancing girl in credible space.[50] Another demonstration of commensurate interests can be found in a highly unusual enamelled bowl now in Innsbruck.[51] Not only does the bowl have roundels with wrestlers, musicians, and animals (also found in Spain and in France),[52] but between them are scenes of gymnasts, more musicians, and dancing girls, all of whom are depicted with a lively sense of movement. Similar scenes, set into individual cells of the central, painted *muqarnas* ceiling of the Cappella Palatina in the Palazzo Reale of the Norman king, Roger II, in Palermo, underline the role of 12th-century Sicily as a link between medieval western and eastern traditions. The subjects of the ceiling appear to originate from pre-12th-century Islamic, Byzantine, and late classical and early medieval western art to form a stylistic fusion. The ceiling was executed *ca* 1140-1147, 'with a strong probability that it was already completed by 29 June 1143.'[53] In this respect the ceiling can be seen in relation to Ayyubid metalwork, for it is similarly eclectic with an interest in subjects such as the princely pleasures of banqueting, hunting, wrestling and musical entertainment. Dr Ernst Grube[54] points out that the similarities in subject matter and style in the Cappella Palatina and Romanesque architecture and artefacts were first explored by Dr Dalu Jones in 1972. His new study, with beautiful illustrations of the newly restored paintings, is devoted to an exploration of the rich background of the iconography. However, as in Ayyubid metalwork, he finds it difficult to discern a coherent programme.

[43] Inv. no. 6939/1, illustrated in colour in *l'Orient de Saladin* (hereafter *ODS*) 2001, 123 no. 111.

[44] 'See Hahnloser 1972, 99-100 and fig. 208. The device is surprisingly widespread from Germany to southwest England. See also Baltrušaitis 1955, 130 fig. 65. See too www.threehares.net and Auld 2009 (in press). I am grateful to Sue Chapman, Chris Chapman and David Sangmaster for their help and advice.

[45] London. British Museum, inv. no. 1878 12-30 679; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1971.39 A and B; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, inv. no. 2628. See too the foreshortened horse on the silver made for Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub in Musée du Louvre, Paris MAO 360; *ODS* 2001, 144 no. 120.

[46] Too numerous to list, but see *Les Fastes* 1981, 66-7, nos 6, 7, 8, and 233-4, no. 187 for example.

[47] Examples are given in *Les Fastes* 1981, 153, no 103 and 160, no. 111.

[48] Watson 1989.

[49] Athens, Benaki Museum illustrated in Brend 1991, 66, fig. 41.

[50] Referred to in Hillenbrand 1999, 68; see too examples of ceramics in Ettinghausen and Grabar 1987, 200-1, figs 189-192.

[51] Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum. See exhibition catalogue *Die Artuqiden-Schale im Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum Innsbruck. Mittelalterliche Emailkunst zwischen Orient und Occident*, May 1995. In particular see coloured plates following p. 80.

[52] Listed in Watson 1989, 270.

[53] Johns in E J Grube and J Johns (eds) 2005, 7.

[54] 2005, 16.

Fig. 3.5 a–g. Figures from an incense burner, London, British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 39 are shown with a variation in movement and stance.

Pl. 3.2 Incense burner with Christian figures; London, British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 679. The container would once have had an attached handle. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)
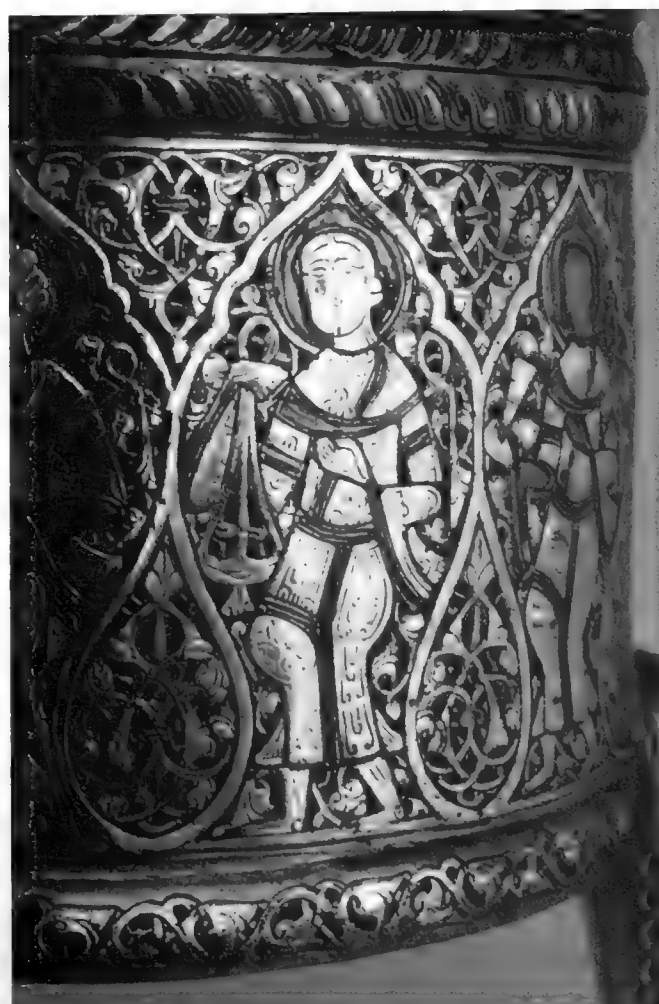
Pl. 3.3 Detail of a female figure with a censer from the incense burner in pl. 3.2; London, British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 679. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

Pl. 3.4 Pyxis with Christian figures; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1971.39. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1971)

Similar influences are evident on the basin for al-ʿAdil now in the Musée du Louvre. The interior base is badly worn, as already noted; in the centre, surrounded by six medallions with planetary figures, a group of ducks forms a whorl. The waterfowl occupy the place of, and thus signify, the sun, and hunting scenes adorn the inside walls, as already noted (fig. 3.3). The outside of the basin is also unusual. It has not suffered the same degree of damage as the interior, and remains almost perfect. Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili has covered the walls with a pattern of interlinked swastikas, derived from hexagonal interlace. In two registers, 'suspended … like pendants from a chain', as Rice eloquently describes them, are thirty medallions linked by small rosettes (fig. 3.8a-f). It is the occupants of these medallions which best demonstrate al-Dhaki's skill and dependence on a variety of source material, fully analysed by Rice (1957). The swastika interlace may itself have celestial connotations—to judge by its common appearance in roundels, which act as linking devices between larger medallions—while here it creates a patterned ground. Closely confined within the quadrilobed borders—and even the shape brings to mind innumerable examples of similar quadrilobed framing devices in contemporary French and Italian architecture—small figures are contorted to fit the space, frequently in whorl-like designs (see especially figs 3.8b, 3.8c). The subjects are unusual but not unique—they consist of acrobats, dancing monkeys, dragon-headed and winged lions, swordsmen with shields, affronted moufflons, a bull attacked by a winged lion, and so on. It is startling to find similar subjects on the capitals of contemporary

French churches and abbeys. Romanesque capitals in particular are animated by contorted figures of confronted and addorsed animals, for example at Moissac; wrestling figures are to be found at Anzy-le-Duc, and fantastic creatures at Vézelay—all of which led St Bernard to pen his famous diatribe against the practice.[55] It is as interesting to find many of the figures sketched in Villard de Honnecourt's notebooks, which date to *ca* 1235. One page has a winged lion which is confronted by a winged bull; another is given over to small figures which include an equestrian knight, two pairs of wrestlers, a man with a scythe (who wears a shallow triangular hat reminiscent of a Chinese peasant), and two overlapping and addorsed lions.[56] I am not suggesting there was any direct link between Villard and the Levant, but the studies demonstrate a shared contemporary interest in such depictions in both east and west.

Rice gives the full list of the subjects on al-Dhaki's basin,[57] which he groups in 'families' and suggests they may have been taken from a pattern book. In another article on representations of seasons and labours of the month in Islamic manuscript painting, he draws attention to sculptural representations on the portal of St Mark's basilica, Venice, which are themselves close to ivories conserved in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence.[58] Even closer, in point of fact, are similar subjects on the façades of French Romanesque churches. The double archivolt surrounding the central tympanum at Vézelay is decorated with signs of the zodiac and labours of the month. As Stoddard pointed out,[59] they bring a cosmic aspect to the main subject of the Ascension of Christ and Mission of the Apostles, and relate specifically to the Crusades. Urban II originally intended that the First Crusade of 1095 be launched from Vézelay; the Second Crusade was indeed launched from the church. The interconnections and cross-currents of influence between east and west are still not entirely clear, but the role of pattern books may offer a possible solution. From the fact that Christian subjects are presented out of context, and in iconographically 'incorrect' fashion on Ayyubid metalwork, as both Schneider (1973) and Katzenstein and Lowry (1983) point out, it is clear that the Muslim craftsmen did not fully understand what it was they were copying, or, if they did, were not overly concerned. The

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[55] '… To what purpose are those unclean apes, those fierce lions, those monstrous centaurs, those half men, those striped tigers, those fighting knights, those hunters wielding their horns? … Here is a four-footed beast with a serpent's tail; there a fish with a beast's head.' Quoted in full in Stoddard 1972, 78. These sculptures date to the beginning of the 12th century.

[56] Hahnloser 1972, tav. 26 and tav. 37. The wrestlers are shown drawn to a higher degree of finish on tav. 28. Villard's subjects also include wrestling figures; see Hahnloser 1972, tav. 28. Pairs of wrestlers are also found on the painted ceiling of the Cappella Palatina; their significance has been variously interpreted; see Simon Cahn PhD thesis 1978 and d'Erme 1995. See also Grube and Johns (eds) 2005, 159-67, pls 37.6-41.8.

[57] Rice 1957, 306-7.

[58] Rice 1954, 31-3, pl. 19 a-d.

[59] Stoddard 1972, 69-70, following Katzenellenbogen 1944, 141-51.

Pl. 3.5 Basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, known as the 'd'Arenberg basin'; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 55.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

Pl. 3.6 Detail of the exterior of the basin shown in pl. 3.5, showing polo players in the central band. Above, the Angel Gabriel announces the Coming of Christ to the Virgin; below is a band of running animals, and *waq-waq* lobed roundels flank the four horsemen. Note the liveliness with which the horses are portrayed, particularly second left and far right. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

Pl. 3.7 Detail of the interior of the basin shown in pl. 3.5, with figures standing in an arcade below a panel of *thulth* script, the whole of which bears the titles and name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub. Note the flourish above the words *al-islam* and *al-din*. A band of running animals adorns the rim and the text is broken by lobed roundels with *waq-waq* arabesques. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

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Fig. 3.6 a–e. Figures from a pyxis, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1971.39. The contrapposto post of the female figure (a) shows particular sensitivity.

Fig. 3.7 a. Detail of a roundel with female musicians from a candlestick; Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Müzesi, inv.no 2628. Note the drapery and variation in pose between the two women. b.Virgin and Child from the lid of a pyxis; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1971.39. In the west, this type of portrayal is known as 'the Virgin of humility', and became popular in France and Italy in the 14th century.

published comments were in connection with biblical scenes, and do not concentrate on the standing and pacing figures, usually—but not always, as shown in pl. 3.8—placed within an arcade, found on many of the Ayyubid metal objects. We will be returning to them shortly but at this point it would be helpful to recall the standing figures of saints and kings who frequently bear witness from the jambs and lintels of Romanesque French churches in a way reminiscent of these figures.

One of the objects signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki dated 640/1242 includes such Christian figures. They appear on the ewer known by the name of a previous owner, M. Homberg, which is now in the Keir Collection, London (pl. 3.9).[60] It has suffered badly from an almost complete loss of its original inlay. This was then replaced and subsequently engraved in a disastrous attempt at renovation so that it is difficult to guess its original appearance. The ewer has been described in detail and was well illustrated by Professor Eva Baer[61] and does not require fuller

discussion, except to take another look at Rice's comment[62] that the mixture of themes, courtly and religious, 'appears forced'. He did not draw any comparison with a similar mix on the basin made for al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub which is now in the Freer Gallery, Washington (pls 3.5, 3.6, 3.7), but added merely that al-Dhaki was 'moving with the times'.

What appears to be an incongruous use of Christian subjects may, however, have carried a deliberate message—if they are indeed 'Christian' at all, as Dr Rachel Ward (2005) questions. It has already been suggested that the muddled iconography may relate to a misunderstood use of pattern books or a shared workshop, but equally the way standing figures are shown may reflect a knowledge of frescoes, such as those at the Maronite monastery of Dair Salib in the Qadisiyya in Lebanon,[63] or St Antony's Coptic monastery near the Red

[60] Fehérvári 1976, no. 131.

[61] 1989, 15-16, pls 45-48.

[62] 1957, 314.

[63] Leroy (trans. Collins) 1963, 108 pl. 33. The frescoes are in poor condition, but show standing saints with long faces, pointed beards and tapering fingers, hieratically posed and holding various attributes.

Fig. 3.8 a–f. Figures from a basin made for al-ʿAdil II, signed by Ahmad ibn ʿUmar al-Dhaki al-Mausili, *ca*1238–40; Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. 5991 (see fig. 3.2).

Sea.[64] Rice was convinced that neither al-Dhaki nor his *ghulam* were working in Mosul. He thought it more probable that they were working first in Amida, then in Cairo.[65] It is, however, unusual to find static, frontal figures on the metalwork examples. There are one or two static figures among less formal, more animated ones, such as no. 19 on the canteen in the Freer (figs 3.9, 3.10; pls 3.10, 3.11) or one on the incense burner in London (fig. 3.5a). There are others on incense burners in Berlin and Cleveland, on a goblet in Istanbul, and on a candlestick signed by Daʾud ibn Salama al-Mausili, now in Paris.[66] However, it is more common to find the figures either turned to look or to move in a single direction, as, for example, do the other figures

on the Freer canteen (pl. 3.12) or those on the interior of the basin made for al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (pl. 3.7).

Rice suggested that scenes on a candlestick signed by Abu Bakr ʿUmar ibn Hajji Jaldak, the *ghulam* of Ahmad al-Dhaki, may also have been taken from a pattern book. The candlestick, dating from 622/1225, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, was included by Rice in his article of 1957 following his fuller treatment in 1950. In the 1957 article he drew attention to how the scenes compared to similar ones in ogival medallions on a ewer now in Cleveland, signed by al-Dhaki and dated 620/1223.[67] The figures in Ibn Jaldak's candlestick are not in medallions, however, but are set within ogee arches. This is particular interesting because 'Christian saints' are usually shown in a similarly compartmentalised way, already noted to be a wider fashion of the period in both east and west.[68] On the candlestick, enthroned ruler

[64] Bolman 2002, fig. 4.22 for example. The formal, hieratic figures stand within an arched colonnade; they are dressed in long robes with an overmantle whose sleeves reach the hem; they are hooded and bearded, their hands, palms outwards, held up before their chests. One figure (Arsenius), dressed in more elaborate robes, holds a scroll.

[65] Rice 1950, 340. No further information has emerged to change this view.

[66] Canteen, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC inv. no. 41.10; goblet, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul inv. no. 102; incense burners: Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. I 3572, London, British Museum inv. no. 1818 12-30 679, and Cleveland, Museum of Art, inv. no. 37.26; Baer 1989, pls 6, 18, 71 and 9. Candlestick, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. 4414. A detail of the candlestick is shown in ODS 2001, 116 no. 99.

[67] Rice 1957, 287–301; especially figs. 5 a and b, 11-20.

[68] In France, for example, figures are shown within ogival arches not only in stone sculptural decoration on churches (for example on a funerary frieze dating to the second half of the 13th century from the church of Autreville, or a retable in stone from the second quarter of the 14th century from St-Jean-Baptiste de Vaudémont, *Fastes du Gothique* 1981, 70 no. 11, 105 no. 51) but also on ivory diptychs, also 14th century: *ibid.*, 199-202 nos 160, 161, 162, 163.
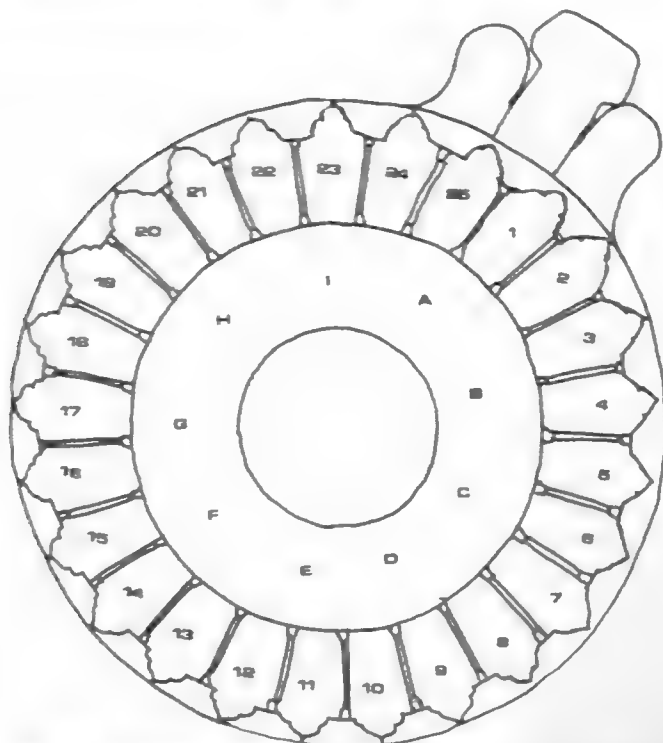
Fig. 3.9 Schematic drawing of the flat back of a canteen, showing the position of standing and equestrian figures; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art, inv. no. 41.10

Pl. 3.8 Pyxis with pacing figures, one carrying a stemmed censer, allegedly depicting the Christian sacrament of baptism, confirmation or ordination; the scene appears above a band of running animals, frequently found on Islamic metalwork. London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. no. 320-1866. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

Pl. 3.9 'Homberg' ewer, signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili, dated 1242, which is decorated with both secular and Christian subjects; London, Keir Collection, no. 131.

figures are set between attendants above pairs of musicians; these scenes are interspersed with different agricultural and hunting pursuits.[69] Figural scenes, arranged in a similar way in ogee arches, appear on a recently published candlestick base in the Khalili Collection, which has sadly lost not only its shaft but also part of the shoulder tray, where a possible signature may have appeared. Here too there are acrobatic figures, hunting scenes and, less common, a scene in an apothecary's shop, and another unusual episode, set in a schoolroom, both illustrated in the catalogue *l'Orient de Saladin*.[70] Parallels for these unusual scenes of everyday life, which can be seen in the same light as representations of seasons and labours of the month mentioned above, are to be found in contemporary manuscript painting and artefacts. On the Khalili candlestick base, one scene[71] is of a schoolboy, supported over the back of a classmate who holds his arm, while the master raises a cane

[69] Rice 1957, fig. 40.

[70] See ODS 2001, 140–41, no. 114 and p. 200.

[71] Illustrated in ODS 2001, 140–41, pl. 144. I am grateful to Professor Robert Hillenbrand for his suggestions for parallels to the details on the Khalili candlestick base

to whip him. A somewhat similar subject appears in a copy of the *Maqamat* dating to *ca* 1222; here Abu Zaid is shown in the guise of teacher, a threatening split cane in his hand, as the boys, most of whom hold a writing slate, gather around him.[72] A lustre dish in Copenhagen[73] is closer to the Khalili scene in that it is of a schoolroom in which the teacher is seated in the centre, surrounded by kneeling pupils, again many with a slate. Although the master's right hand is also raised here, there appears to be no threat of punishment; it is, rather, a gesture of communication, for he too holds a slate. The common denominator in all these scenes is the writing slate, which is in the form of a classical *tabula ansata*.

Another scene on the same Khalili candlestick base is set in an apothecary's laboratory or shop. It is illustrated in *l'Orient de Saladin* on page 200, and also has its parallels in manuscript painting. While the apothecary directs operations from a brick platform to the right, in the centre a customer is shown receiving treatment, perhaps manipulation or a massage,

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[72] *Maqamat of al-Hariri*, Bibl. Nat. de France, ms Arab 6094, f. 167, illustrated in ODS 2001, 196; Hillenbrand 1999, pl. 102.

[73] Iran, Kashan dating to the late 12th century, David Collection inv. no. 50/1966; von Folsach 1990, pl. 97.

Pl. 3.10 Back of canteen with standing figures in an arcade watching equestrian exercises; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no.41.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)
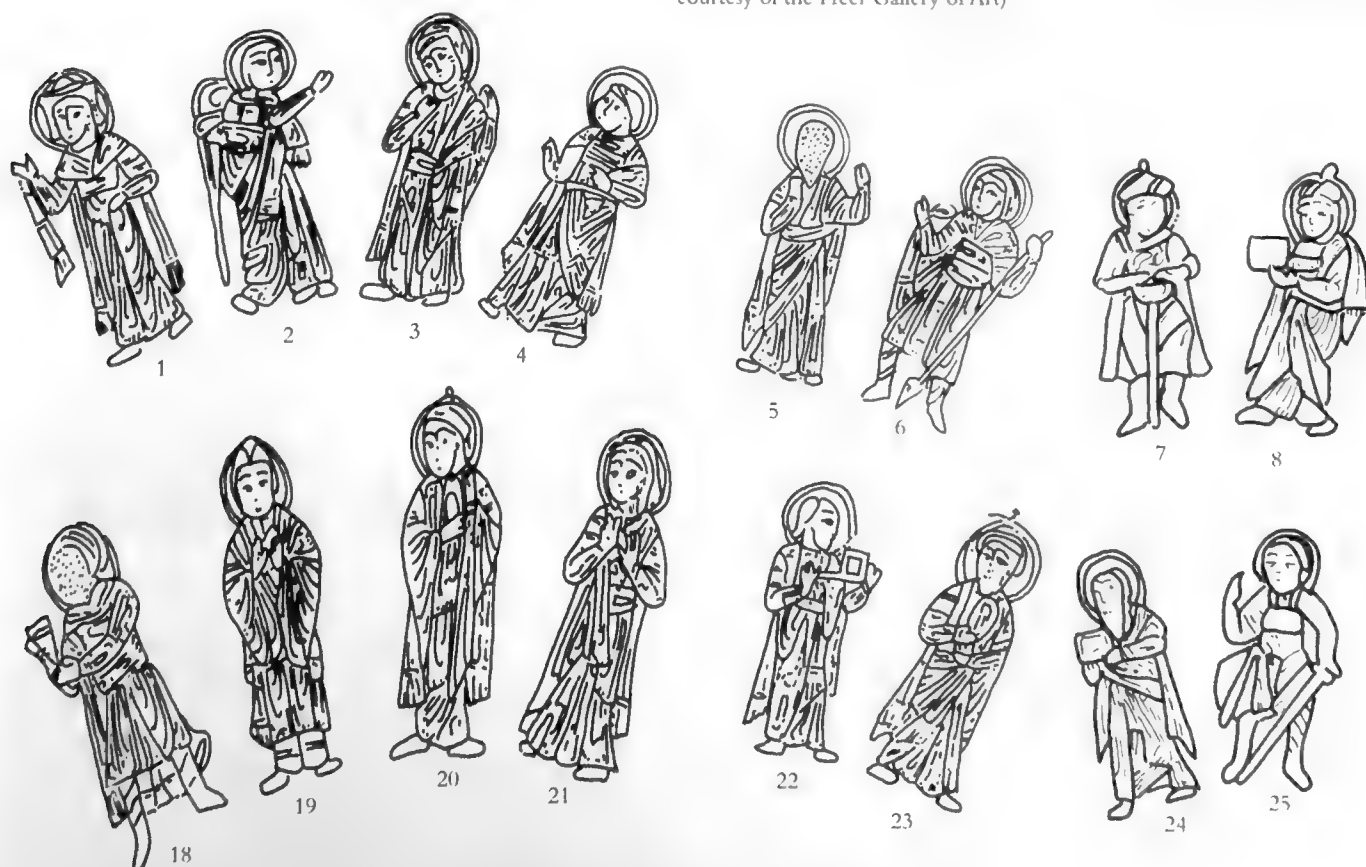
Fig. 3.10 Figures from the flat back of the canteen; the numbers relate to figure 3.8 and show their position; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 41.10.

Pl. 3.11 Detail of the back of canteen, with figures nos 17-23 (see figs 3.8, 3.9); Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 41.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

Pl. 3.12 Detail of the back of canteen, with figures nos 1-6 (see figs 3.8, 3.9); Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 41.10. (Photograph courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art)

while to the left another man is undergoing an operation of some kind. Bottles and dishes litter the ground. The closest to this arrangement is to be found in a copy of the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides dating to 1224. Here too the apothecary is placed on an elevated brick platform to the right. His bearded and pig-tailed customer forms a pendant to the left, while an assistant stands in front of the apothecary at a lower level. Above, three rows of four jars are shown in careful detail; presumably they hold the drugs. Below them, hanging as it were from the ceiling, there is a collection of bags and jars, presumably also filled with the medicaments.[74] In another copy of the *Materia Medica* of the same date, an attendant is shown sitting on a folding stool, engaged in pounding substances for a poultice. He is working under the direction of the physician, who once again is shown seated on a raised platform to the right.[75] Finally, in yet another copy of the same manuscript which is now in New York,[76] an illustration shows an apothecary stirring a liquid over a stove. He holds a cup in his hand, and is closely observed by his customer, seated on a stool to his left. Two further men are shown in an upper storey with a row of six large albarelli between them; one stirs a large pot, while the other looks up towards the ceiling, perhaps to consult the stars. These publications of the preparation of medicines were paralleled by an interest in medical procedures. In a copy of the *Maqamat*, a birth is shown in progress. The expectant father sits in an upper room, while astrologers to each side of him predict the baby's future.[77] In yet another volume, the *Book of Antidotes* of Pseudo-Galen, a young courtier is treated for

snake-bite.[78] That similar images appear on metalwork of the period is unprecedented.

This evidence of an interest in portraying the life of ordinary people on everyday metalwork objects did not preclude traditional images of the court. Between each lively scene on the Khalili candlestick base, for example, there is an equestrian figure. The Blacas ewer, already mentioned (pl. 3.1), alternates mounted huntsmen with pairs of figures engaged in scenes of princely entertainment or pursuits. One pair of figures consists of a woman holding a handmirror and an attendant clasping what appears to be a box, perhaps of jewellery or cosmetics.[79] Similar scenes at court are, as might be expected, portrayed on al-Salih Najm al-Din's bowl now in Washington (Freer Gallery of Art 55.10), and a salver now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (45.386). These are but two of many similar examples.

Nineteen of the Ayyubid inlaid objects include what have been interpreted as Christian scenes taken from the Life of Christ. It is noticeable, but not surprising given Muslim beliefs, that the one subject ignored by all of them is Christ's Passion. One section of this group consists of four incense burners now in London (pl. 3.2), Edinburgh, Berlin and Cleveland.[80] None of these has its original handle, or gives the name of a maker or is dated; a similarly shaped and complete example is, however, signed by one Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mausili, who also signed a geomantic table, dated 639/1241-42, now in the British Museum.[81] Figure no. 22 depicted on the back of a canteen in Washington, to be discussed below, carries

[74] Ayasofya, Istanbul no. 3703 f2r. See EJ Grube 1959, 171 fig.1.

[75] Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC, inv.no 32.20v; see Atıl 1975, 60 no. 25.

[76] Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv.no. 57.51.21; illustrated in Ettinghausen 1977, 87.

[77] *Maqamat of al Hariri*, No. 39, copied in Baghdad in 1237 by Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms Arabe 5847, f122v.

[78] *Kitab al-Diryaq* dated 1199, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms Arabe 2964, old page 27, illustrated in Ettinghausen 1977, 85.

[79] See *ODS* 2001, 146-47, no. 122. The detail on p. 147 is reversed.

[80] British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 679; National Museum of Scotland inv. no. 1956.518; Museum für Islamische Kunst inv. no. I.3572; Cleveland Museum of Art inv. no. 37.26. Details are given in my Appendix.

[81] Barrett 1949, xxii and pls 16 and 17.
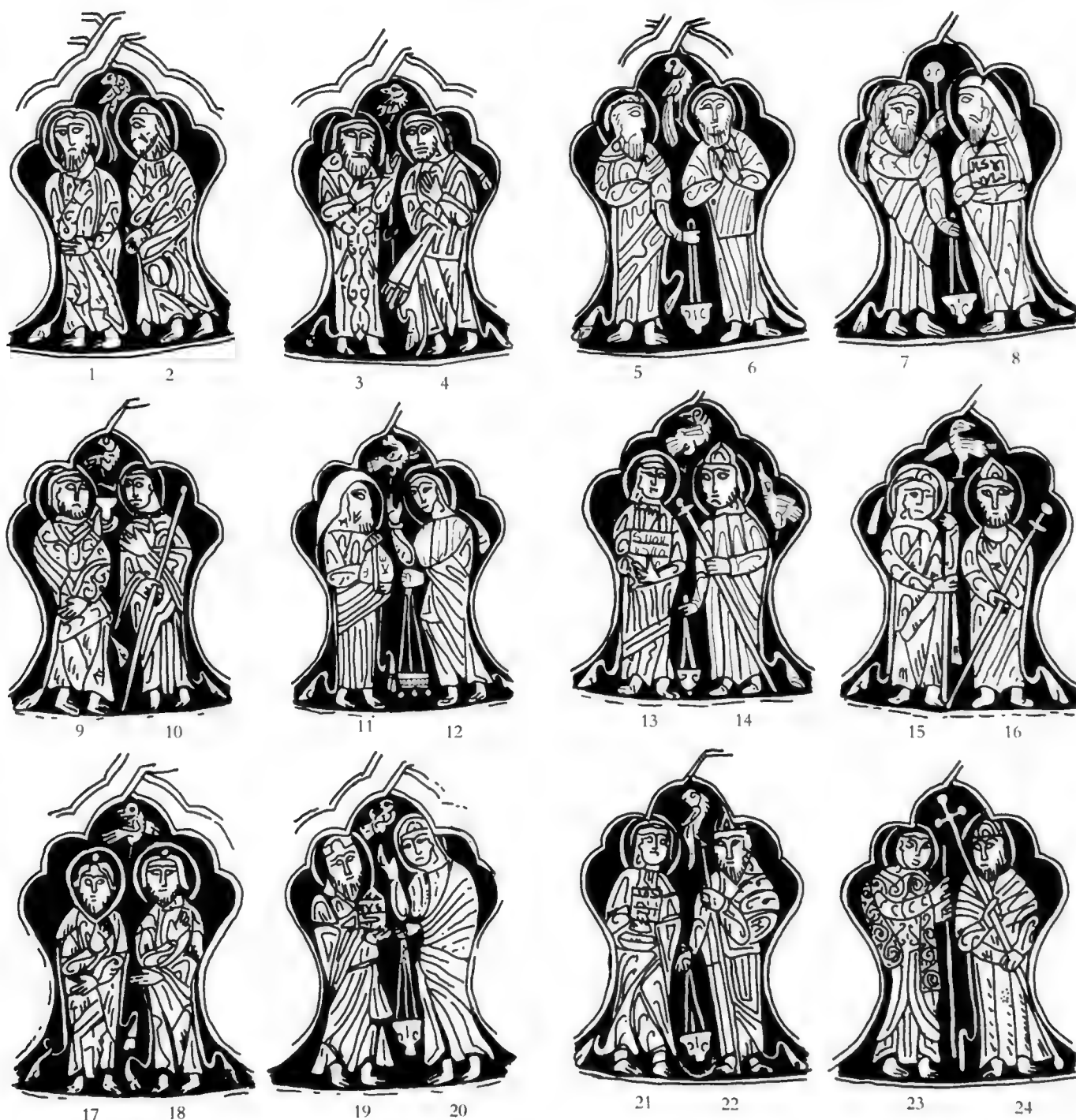
Fig. 3.11 Pairs of ecclesiastical figures standing in an ogival arcade on a salver; St Petersburg, Hermitage State Museum, inv. no. NCA 14-238.

just such an incense burner by its handle (pl. 3.11, fig. 3.9). Muhammad ibn Khutlukh's incense burner is undated but this is another example which usefully states where it was made, this time in Damascus. It breaks the usual pattern of decoration applied to objects made by those with the *nisba* al-Mausili, for Muhammad ibn Khutlukh has looked back to classicising architectural formulae for the body, and has given the handle a dragon- (or lion-) mouthed terminal.[82] The group with

'Christian' subjects includes three salvers, two basins, two salvers (fig. 3.11), three pyxides, (pls 3.4, 3.8), three ewers (pl. 3.9), one complete candlestick and one socket, a 'vase' and a goblet and, finally, the well-known canteen or pilgrim's flask now in the Freer Gallery (pl. 3.10).[83] The Christian imagery—or

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[82] Allan 1986, 25-34 and 66-67, inv. no. 1.

[83] All these were published in Baer 1989 and details are given in my Appendix. Stefano Carboni 2003 has published a so-called *lajvardina* pilgrim's flask now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. As *lajvardina* wares are thought to have been produced in Iran during the period of the Mongol Ilkhanid rule (1256-1353), the flask is roughly contemporary with the famous object
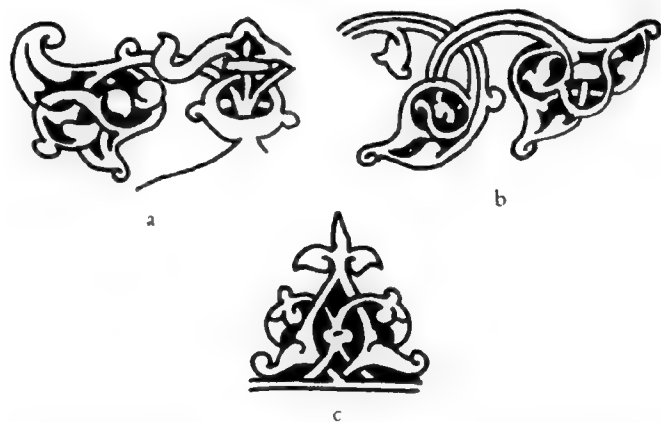
Fig. 3.12 a. Split-palmette terminal on tray in the name of Badr al-Din Lu'lu; London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv.no 905-1907.
b. Split-palmette terminal on basin signed by Da'ud ibn Salama al-Mausili dated 650/1252; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (after Rice 1950, fig. 8).
c. Split-palmette device on bowl in the name of Najm al-Din 'Umar al-Badri; Bologna, Museo Civico.

at least, the individual biblical scenes—on these objects has been exhaustively published,[84] and there is no advantage in repeating the arguments in detail. Both Dr Laura Schneider and Professor Eva Baer looked in particular at links with illustrations in Syriac gospels as the origins of many of them. As I have already suggested, it seems likely that contemporary Syriac and Coptic frescoes were another source.

Almost all the objects with Christian scenes could have been used in an ecclesiastical context. Salvers, basins and ewers were used by a priest for ablutions during Mass, while pyxides contained the Host, candlesticks provided lighting, and so on. But, equally, the objects could have had a secular function, for similar objects were used in a domestic setting. This seems the most logical conclusion for the sole piece to carry the name of a patron—a beautifully decorated basin dedicated to the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (pl. 3.5).[85] This powerful but somewhat austere prince was the only one to have conferred upon him the caliphal right to use the title *al-sultan*.[86]

Four objects have survived which carry the name of al-Salih Ayyub, the last Ayyubid ruler in Egypt: the basin

in the Freer Gallery of Art;[87] another example, still in Cairo, similar in shape to the one in Washington;[88] a salver in Paris;[89] and a large bowl in the University of Michigan.[90] It is unusual to have four objects extant in the name of a patron—to have two patrons from a similar period, al-Salih Ayyub and Badr al-Din Lu'lu', each with multiple objects in his name, is one of those vagaries of history which bring back to us how much has been lost. Differing in style, al-Salih Ayyub's pieces also allow a glimpse of the eclecticism of the 13th century. If this is one of the most immediately recognisable attributes of late 12th- and early 13th-century metalwork, there are others—delight in a contrast between different surface textures and the fascination with centrifugal design already explored. A tray in the name of Badr al-Din Lu'lu', for example, has a good deal of undecorated surface brass; this allows the inlaid areas an impact lost on more heavily covered areas, and is a little unusual.[91] Areas left blank to allow a full appreciation of inlaid decoration are also found on a basin now in the Musée Jacquemart-André-Institut, Paris.[92] Rice had suggested that this style was current until the 11th century, but these pieces break the pattern, coming as they do from the 13th.[93] The basin shares split-palmette terminals remarkably similar to the ones on Badr al-Din Lu'lu's tray, and these occur once again on a basin, also in Paris, dated 650/1252 (fig. 3.12 a-c).[94]

The two basins in the name of al-Salih Ayyub were almost certainly part of a matching set, each of which once had a companion ewer, now lost.[95] These basin-and-ewer sets were intended for use before and after eating; the elaborate nature of the basin now in the Freer means that in all probability it also had the additional function of ostentatious display.[96] Both basins conform in shape to others made during the same period.[97] They were fashioned from a seamless, single sheet of brass,[98] which was raised and then turned or spun. Both have a flat base and a slightly concave profile before flaring out to a wide, and thickening, rim. The diameter of the rim is twice as broad as the bowls are deep. A technical report from the Freer Gallery on their basin (often called the 'd'Arenberg basin') reads:

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in the Freer Gallery of Art. The decoration on the MMA object (inv. no. 57.164) includes the twelve signs of the zodiac, aquatic birds and vegetal patterns. However, overpainting has been added to an original blue-glazed bottle. He points to a European connection by way of a late-Ming object decorated with the Annunciation on one side, and St Christopher and the Virgin, or perhaps the Flight into Egypt, on the other, 'seen through the eyes of Chinese artists working for the Jesuit community established in China ...' Moreover he points to the commission of commensurate objects in Italy for special occasions such as a marriage or the birth of a child.

[84] Schneider 1973, Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, Baer 1989.

[85] Most recently, Ward (2005, 319-21) has suggested that the basin may have been specifically commissioned by al-Salih Isma'il for his nephew, al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, during peace negotiations in 1243.

[86] On al-Salih Ayyub's title see Humphreys 1977, 140.

[87] Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 55.10, appendix no. a. For a bibliography see Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 135.

[88] Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 15043.

[89] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MAO 360.

[90] Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, inv. no. 28801; Grabar 1961.

[91] Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 905-1907, illustrated in Rice 1950, pl. 13.

[92] See *ODS* 2001, 143, cat. no. 117; Appendix no. d.i.9.

[93] 1954, 25.

[94] Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, [inv. no. not given] Rice 1950, 633; Musée Jacquemart-André inv. no. D.985.

[95] See Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 147 note 8.

[96] For a different view, see Ward 2005, 324 note 32.

[97] For example, a basin inlaid with silver made for al-'Adil II by Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Dhaki, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. OA 5991. Appendix no. a.5.

[98] The Freer Gallery basin has a metal content of copper 78.9; for a technical analysis see Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 146.

The broad areas of silver inlay [elsewhere described by Professor James Allan as 'spatial inlay'][99] are set into recesses formed with punches to create the outline and with chisels to remove the central area. The depth of the recesses leaves the inlay lying flush with the surrounding surface. The inlaid lines [Allan's 'linear inlay'] are set into double rows of punch marks. Chasing was used to add detail to the inlay and to decorate the body metal.

In the 18th century, an inscription and shield, which has been identified as belonging to the cadet branch of the French counts of Borniol, were added to the outside of the base of the Freer basin.[100] The interior bottom of the bowl is badly worn with an almost total loss of inlay, but it is possible to see that its decoration is arranged in two concentric zones around a central medallion. The inner zone has five groups of three figures engaged in courtly entertainment: drinkers with beakers, flautists, drummers, lutists, and players of tambourines and zithers. They sit surrounded by beakers, long-necked bottles and fruit in high-footed bowls (similar in profile to the so-called 'Wade Cup').[101] Between the groups there are lobed medallions with floral scrolls. Around them there is a radiating scrolling stem with the so-called *waq-waq* motif;[102] there are five lobed medallions with the same motif both on the outside and inside walls of the bowl. A similar animated scroll runs round the outer edge of the base; a border of lancet leaves points towards the inner walls. In a close analysis of the iconography of the period, Rice drew attention to the fact that many of these scenes of courtly entertainment are shown in association with signs of the zodiac. This is particularly relevant here because of the animal- and human-headed scrolling arabesque.

As I have explored elsewhere, the heads of the animated scroll correspond to the names of constellations and the fixed stars contained within them. The function of the *waq-waq* or 'Talking Tree' in the Alexander story was to warn the hero of his fate if he were to invade India; in other words, it fulfilled the role of court astrologer-cum-adviser. The inclusion of a reference to Alexander, albeit an obscure one, may be of some significance on al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub's basin. In a recent exploration of the work of Qudama ibn Jaʿfar,[103] Heck underlined the long-held Muslim belief that the 'ultimate happiness of a human community [lies in one] which lives in order and harmony'; further, this happiness was 'dependent upon the ruler's knowledge of and adherence to, philosophical

Fig. 3.13 a–d. Details of the equestrian panels on the basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 55.10. e. Lobed medallion from a candlestick signed by al-Hajj Ismaʿil and Muhammad ibn Futuh al-Mausili; Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art inv. no. 15121.
Note the difference between the lively depiction of the riders on al-Salih Najm al-Din's basin and the static pose of horse and rider on the candlestick. Here there is an astral connection between the horseman and his fight with the knotted serpent.

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[99] Allan 1979, 64–5 following a report by Michael Hughes of the British Museum.

[100] Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 143 n. 2.

[101] See Rice 1988 (originally 1955).

[102] See P Ackerman 1937; Baer 1968; Auld 2007.

[103] Heck 2002, *Kitab al-Kharaj wa-sinaʿat al-kitaba*, especially his chapter on Ibn Jaʿfar's political thought.

Fig. 3.14 Detail of processing figures who carry symbols of their office on a Mamluk candlestick: London, British Museum inv. no. OA 1969 9-22 1.

principles, especially the dictates of the active intellect (*al-'aql al-fa'al*), which produces all order and all harmony'.[104] It was believed that in part this order was based on the concept of *haiba* or dread.[105] The theory appears to surface in a description by Ibn Wasil of al-Salih Ayyub's relationship with his companions. The 'extreme gravity' of the ruler is underlined, as was his practice of sitting apart from the company 'with no-one close to him'.[106] A ruler was, in turn, conceived as the embodiment of the state, giving it life and holding it in balance.[107] The events of the life of Alexander (in essence 'the model of intelligent rule') were quoted to show how his rule had been based in wisdom, specifically due to his education in the science of philosophy at the hands of Aristotle. It was this Greco-Hellenistic heritage that was later adapted to Islam. In addition, there was a stress on a historical connection and the essential role of Qur'anic teaching, where the intentions of Allah in relation to political rule and the exercise of power could be understood—'Allah is the final source of all guidance and good fortune.'[108] It is fascinating to find that Katzenstein and Lowry offered a somewhat similar explanation for the inclusion of scenes from the Life of Christ

on the Freer basin. They show that a parallel was drawn between Alexander and Jesus in the poetry of Nizami. 'From the king's justice thousands of hearts dead become alive; but the enemy appears not on the road. Like Jesus, he made many live.'[109]

But the question must be raised how far these somewhat arcane musings would have been understood by the owner of the basin. How far, for example, should the *waq-waq* motif be interpreted either as a reference to Alexander's encounter with the Talking Tree, or as a specific reference to the role of the ruler within 13th-century Muslim awareness? It was certainly a popular motif in the period. Similar animal- and human-headed terminals animate the script on the so-called 'Wade cup',[110] the Fano Cup,[111] and a basin in the Musée des Décoratifs dated 650/1252.[112] Although thought to be earlier, neither the 'Wade' nor 'Fano' cup has an inscribed date but both are believed to be from Khurasan. On al-Salih Najm al-Din's basin, it is noticeable that each medallion varies slightly in the arrangement of heads; this cannot be coincidental. Nor can it be by chance that other bands of decoration contain similar references to the stars. On the exterior, above a broad band of split-palmette arabesques, there is a narrow band of mythical and real animals which chase each other in a clockwise direction on both interior and exterior of the basin (pls 3.5, 3.7).[113] Once again, these quadrupeds reflect the names of stars. There are five animals in each of five sections, which are separated by small lobed roundels, each with a seated musician, such as might entertain at court, a theme which echoes the decoration of the interior.

The programme of decoration on the basin seems to have been organized with more than usual care. It was probably intended for use at a ceremonial banquet (*khiwan*), a ceremony which expressed bonds of loyalty and fellowship between a sovereign and his *amirs*.[114] The Cairo basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din[115] has no decoration on its exterior. One suggestion is that it was designed to be set inside another basin as a lining; it is more probable that it was simply abandoned unfinished. Its interior base has a central lion surrounded by six figures and a Kufic inscription of good wishes. Is the lion a reference to the sun, or to the sultan himself? The ambiguity is probably intentional. The sultan is named in a *naskhi* band

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[104] Heck 2002, 207.

[105] Heck 2002, 215-17. Heck quotes, among others, Ibn Abi 'l-Rabi, 'And when the people congregated in cities and had dealings with one another, and their ways were different in terms of [the expectations of] justice and injustice, Allah established laws and duties to which they might have recourse and which they might regard as a final authority, and he raised up rulers for them to preserve the laws and conduct [the people] by means of [the laws], so that their affairs might be put in order, they be united and injustice and transgression, which is the cause of division and corruption, part from them.' The concept of *haiba* is analysed by Heck on pp. 222-25.

[106] Ibn Wasil Paris Ms 1702, fols 359b-360a with additions from Paris ms 1703, fol. 66b, quoted by Richards in this volume, Chapter 24, p. 441.

[107] Literary evidence is given in the so-called *Fürstenspiegel*, where the qualities required of a ruler are listed. On another level this can classified as part of the wider body of writings devoted to the 'science' of culture (*adab*) intended to govern both the personal and public areas of life. See Heck 2002, 227-8.

[108] Heck 2002, 231-5, quoting Qudama. The supposed correspondence (*Risalat al-tadbir*) between Alexander and Aristotle illustrated how Aristotle communicated the art of judgment and governance (*wujuh al-ra'i wa'l-tadbir*), instructing the hero in demonstrating 'noble qualities and sublime action'. Although the treatise by Qudama dates to the period of the 'Abbasid al-Mansur, there can be little doubt that these ideas had a long, and continuing, life.

[109] Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, 65 and n. 44, quoting from Nizami, *Iskandarnama*. In the same article (p.62, n. 21), they quote from Nizami on the practice of borrowing elements from many sources: 'I took up material from every book; / I bound on them the ornament of verse / More than new histories / Jewish, Christian, and Pahlavi. / I chose from every book its charm; / Took out from every husk its grain.'

[110] Dated by Rice 1988 (originally 1955) to the late 13th century from Azarbayan, figs 19 and 20; and by Ettinghausen (1957) to earlier the same century from Khurasan.

[111] Cabinet des Médailles, Paris; Rice 1988 (originally 1955), fig. 28.

[112] Rice 1957, 326; see note 94 above.

[113] On these animal chases, see Ettinghausen 1950.

[114] On the *khiwan* see Gaudefroy-Demombynes 1923.

[115] Islamic Museum inv. no. 15043.

on the upper lip, which is interrupted by six figures.[116] It is significant in view of similar break points on the Freer basin, to be discussed shortly, that the script is cut after the words *al-malik, al-ʿadil, al-muthaghir, najm, sultan* and *muhammad*.[117] A band of running animals surrounds the rim.

The main motif of the central band on the exterior of the Freer basin consists of five panels with equestrian figures, separated by the five lobed medallions filled with *waq-waq* arabesques (pl. 3.1, 3.6; fig. 3.13 a-d). The riders and their mounts are drawn with some panache; the turbanned horsemen wield polo sticks, and their mounts are shown in various animated postures reminiscent of the early work of Ahmad Dhaki al-Mausili on the inside of the Louvre basin. Both riders and horses are clad in a 'Turkish style'[118] and the figures may represent military exercises. There is more evidence from the Bahri Mamluk period for this field of equestrian knowledge *(furusiyya)*, but there is a belief that the Turkish cavalry of al-Salih Ayyub may have been similarly trained. The people of the plains were long known for their equestrian skills. Al-Salih Ayyub himself is reputed to have been an avid polo player; he built a *maidan* or hippodrome in Cairo in 641/1243.[119] *Funan al-furusiyya* consisted of mastery in no less than twelve branches of physical skills, not all of them equestrian, which covered such exercises as games with lance, polo stick, mace, and gourd, to fencing, shooting, wrestling, hunting and horse-racing.[120] Chess too was considered an accomplishment—particularly interesting because of its appearance in the band of pursuits on the 'Bobrinski' bucket. Many of these subjects appear in the decorative schemes of Ayyubid metalwork. It is noticeable that a saluki chases a hare in one equestrian panel on the Freer basin, and in another a fox is shown above the right-hand shoulder of a horseman; the iconography is thus extended to the hunt. Furthermore, by including two animals whose identities were used as names for fixed stars, an additional astral aspect has been introduced into this specific scene.[121] The artist (for there is no other way to describe the anonymous designer of the basin)

has used either the direction of the body or the head of each horse to draw the viewer's attention to the succeeding panel to the left, thus echoing the direction of the eye reading the script above. In one (fig. 3.13d), the right-hand animal is shown in extreme foreshortening, and in another (fig. 3.13b) it has been pulled up with such verve that it has been forced back onto its haunches. These lively depictions—which contrast with more traditional contemporary portrayals (fig. 3.13e)— relate to contemporary manuscript illustration, exemplified to perfection by the work of al-Wasiti. His miniatures in the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri, copied in 1237 probably in Baghdad,[122] show not just an interest in everyday life but equally a keen eye for movement and a delightful sense of humour. For example, folio 59r shows two horses facing, and one with its rear to the viewer; these demonstrate the illustrator's skill in foreshortening.[123] Each rider portrayed on the basin is shown with a halo (which here has no Christian overtones) and wears either a small Turkish cap, a close-fitting turban, or a headdress with a pointed crown. None carries a weapon. A further link to manuscript painting conventions is the way vegetation on the inlaid panels has been portrayed. The background to the figures consists of spiralling stems with tiny hooks (pls 3.5, 3.6). In front of these, there are single curving branches with pointed leaves, each stem ending with a trefoil. This convention of using foliage to set the scene is found in the edition of the so-called Pseudo-Galen, the *Book of Antidotes (Kitab al-Diryaq)* produced in 1199, probably in northern Iraq.[124] The way it is shown in the manuscript shares similar characteristics with the basin, as do certain of the *Maqamat* scenes (for example, no. 39 'The Eastern Isles', f. 121r), and seems to derive from miniatures in Iraqi copies of *De Materia Medica* by Dioscorides. One miniature from a copy in the Freer Gallery, Washington shows the preparation of medicines under a tree. Round fruits hang from the branches, which have long pointed leaves.[125] The round fruits may explain dots on leafed stems which fill the background on the contemporary ceramic potsherd with three hares joined by the ears (fig. 3.4b).[126] The interest in everyday life, with lively animals and 'ordinary' people manifest in manuscript painting, is thus found equally on contemporary metalwork objects, as already discussed.

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[116] Identified as an equestrian figure with a falcon; a dancing girl; a polo-player; two seated and turbanned figures, one with a cup; another polo-player; and finally another pair of seated figures, one offering a cup to the other. See ʿIzzi 1965, figs 4-9, although these are not easily deciphered.

[117] The band was read first by Wiet 1931, 175; see also *RCÉA* XI, 200. A brief commentary is given by ʿIzzi 1965, 255-7, who points out that the epithet *al-muthaghir*, 'defender of the frontiers', also appears in the mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub dated 642/1244.

[118] Nicolle 1988.

[119] Al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub not only built the polo ground in Cairo but also had a bridge constructed over the Nile for easy access to it; Rice 1952, 572 note 5 quoting Maqrizi, *Khitat* ii, 198.

[120] See D Ayalon, '*Furusiyya*' in *EI* Vol.2 1965, 952-5, where details of these skills, sometimes called *kamalat* (perfections/accomplishments) or *fada'il* (excellent qualities/virtues) are listed. See too C Hillenbrand 1999, 446-64.

[121] *Lepus*, the Hare, known in Arabic as *al-arnab*; *Canes venatici*, the Hunting Dogs, or *Canis Minor*, the Lesser Dog, in Arabic *al-kalb al-asghar* or *al-kalb al-mutaqaddim*, the Preceding Dog. For a discussion, see Hinkley Allan 1963 114-5, 131-34, 264-68; Kunitzsch 1961, 73-4.

[122] Yahya ibn Mahmud al-Wasiti, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Arabe 5847.

[123] *Maqamat of al-Hariri*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms Arabe 5847, illustrated as fig. 7.13 in Bolman 2002, 111.

[124] Ms. arabe 2964, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; for two coloured illustrations, see Ettinghausen 1977, 84-5.

[125] Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC; for and illustration see Buchthal 1942, 23 no. 8 and fig. 11. He describes the tree as a 'wild vine'. For similar trees from copies of the *De materia medica*, see Buchthal 1942 fig. 17 (p. 26, no. 15) from a copy in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; fig. 19 (p. 26 no. 17) in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; fig. 21 (p. 28 no. p. 26 no. 19; and fig. 27 (p. 28 no. 25).

[126] Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 6939/1.

The upper register on both the inside and outside of al-Salih Ayyub's basin has an inscription (pls 3.5, 3.6, 3.7). On the exterior, the name of the sultan appears in plaited Kufic[127] and it is noticeable that the script is set against a background of animated heads. Five lobed medallions interrupt the script at significant points—respectively after the words *al-malik, al-'alim, al-murabit, al-Din* and *Ayyub*, as noted above[128]— and it is here that scenes appear which until recently have been seen as incontrovertibly Christian: the Annunciation by the angel Gabriel to the Virgin, the Virgin and Child enthroned, the raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem and the Last Supper. Rachel Ward has suggested that, although based on Christian originals, they have been adapted to refer to the son of al-Salih Najm al-Din, al-Mughith 'Umar, who was being held captive in Damascus by al-Salih Isma'il. In 1243, his release was a central factor in peace negotiations between uncle and nephew.[129] It may indeed be that the presence of the Christian scenes has some specific relevance; al-Salih Ayyub seems to have had good relations with the *mihmandar* of the Emperor Manfred of Sicily. Ibn Wasil relates that this man, Bernard, dressed as a merchant, was sent by the emperor to warn al-Salih Ayyub that Louis IX of France was planning a further crusade. Ibn Wasil's report was compiled several years after the event, which must have taken place some time in 1248-49, for the Franks arrived and took Damietta in Safar 647/June 1249.[130] Contacts between the Ayyubids and Franks were not new. Agreements between merchant colonies were signed on more than one occasion.[131]

On the basin, each of the 'Christian' scenes is set immediately above an equestrian panel. It is noticeable that they are firmly located in Palestine, the only exception being the Virgin enthroned between two angels: the Annunciation took place in Nazareth, the Raising of Lazareth in Bethany (just outside Jerusalem), the Entry into Jerusalem, and the more ambiguous last scene either in Galilee (the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes) or in Jerusalem (the Last Supper). In the context of a period that saw the area see-sawing backwards and forwards between Muslim and Christian forces, this may be significant—although historically, of course, Christ lived and taught in Palestine. Equally significant is the way the bands on the inside of the basin have been arranged. Above an arabesque band where the base meets the walls (and thus matching the exterior), a frieze of thirty-nine figures is shown, each figure standing under a separate section of a colonnade (pl. 3.7). Thirty-nine is a curious number, but it is repeated in the number of quadrupeds (and one bird) on the rim. Esin Atil and Eva Baer have interpreted the standing figures as Christian, but in point of fact none of them has a specifically Christian attribute apart from their dress. None of them carries a cross, censer, or flabellum as do paired figures on a salver in St Petersburg (fig. 3.11); not one of them is in an attitude of prayer. If they are Christians, then they are not shown in an ecclesiastical setting. Loss of inlay makes it difficult to distinguish all the details, but the figures appear to be dressed in long robes, and some seem to be bearded; some are bare-headed, some turbanned.[132] Their stance is informal in that they turn towards a neighbour, and the attitude of their hands seems to indicate they are engaged in conversation. A number carry triangular cups. Although the use of a colonnade relates to, say, Coptic art of the period or to arcades in contemporary French and Italian art, the figures on the basin are casually arranged. There is no hint of the familiar attitude of oriental prayer.[133] Formal figures with their hands raised in an orans position, or holding a censer, a cross or scriptures, are to be found on a number of the metalwork pieces.[134] Where these figures are immobile and face the spectator, they act as witnesses to, and participators in, the scene enacted before them. Similar figures, as indicated above, appear in Byzantine, Coptic and Syrian/Nestorian churches, where they are participants in the Divine Service.[135] The movement and informality of the figures on al-Salih Ayyub's basin seem to relate more to pacing figures on, say, a Mamluk

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[127] Details of this are given in Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 138 (1).

[128] 'The lord', 'the illustrious', 'the warrior', 'star [of the faith]'.

[129] The Christian elements of Ayyubid metalwork have received extensive investigation; for the images on the d'Arenberg basin see Baer 1989, *passim*, but in particular pages 18-19 and figs. 64-68; Ward 2005.

[130] Quoted by Richards in this volume, Chapter 25, p. 457, from Ibn Wasil, Paris ms. 1703, fol. 121b.

[131] Humphreys 1977, 274. See Heidemann in this volume, Chapter 13, p. 288-89, for a supposed contractual agreement between Damascus and Acre following an alliance between the Crusaders in Acre and al-Salih Isma'il in Damascus in 641/1244. Earlier agreements had been made with Armenia (598/1201 and 643/1245) and Aleppo (604/1207-8) Further details of continuing mercantile activity are given in C Cahen, 'Ayyubids', *EI* Vol. 1 1960, 796-807.

[132] Baer 1989 fig. 63; Atil in Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 140 goes so far as to call them 'saints'; pls on pages 139 and 141.

[133] Compare, for example, praying saints illustrated in Baer 1989, pl. 117.

[134] Incense burners: Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst inv. no. I-3572; Cleveland Museum of Art inv. no. 37.26; London, British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 679. Pyxis: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. no. 1971.39; canteen: Freer Gallery of Art, Washington DC inv no. 41.10. It is relatively unusual to find static, frontal figures on the metalwork examples. There are one or two amongst the less formal, more animated figures, such as no. 19 on the Freer pilgrim's flask, or on a goblet in Istanbul or on the incense burners in Berlin, London, and Cleveland, or on a candlestick in Paris signed by Da'ud ibn Salama al-Mausili; see Baer 1989, pls 6, 18, and 9. A detail of the candlestick is shown in *ODS* 2001, 116 no. 99.

[135] See, for example, the figures in the Monastery of St Antony on the Red Sea (see Bolman 2002, figs 7 and 4.22) or, in the Lebanon, at Dair Salib in the Qadisyya (illustrated in Leroy 1963, fig. 33). 'Saints' arranged to bear witness to an event such as a religious service taking place beneath them are common in both eastern and western Christianity. For Byzantine examples, see for example, illustrated in colour in A Grabar 1979, 50, 54-5, 56 (where the figures have been removed from a colonnade), 62-3 at the Church of St Demetrios, Salonica, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale, Ravenna, or the Basilica, Torcello among many examples. In San Vitale, the royal figures themselves are portrayed as participants in the Eucharist while at Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, a procession of saints and martyrs move towards the Virgin and Child to offer symbols of their martyrdom.

candlestick now in the British Museum (fig. 3.14).[136] The use of a colonnade with a rounded or ogival arch to separate and add emphasis to a figure or pair of figures is all but universal in objects with Christian imagery, as already explained.[137]

The association of the standing figures with the other imagery on al-Salih Najm al-Din's basin raises an interesting question. As we have seen, the figures in the exterior panels wear Turkish dress, and are engaged in the sort of equestrian exercises which gave Muslim forces a military edge over their European adversaries (pl. 3.5; fig. 3.12a-d). Surrounded by references to the fixed stars within the panels themselves, in the animated script and in the friezes of coursing animals, they are in direct relationship to scenes from the Christian gospels. As for the interior, figures stand below yet another band which names the sultan; they appear to be spectators of, or participants in, the courtly scene on the bottom of the basin. It is known that the dignitaries of all faiths were expected to attend the Fatimid ruler at his *majlis*.[138] Could it be that a similar scene is portrayed here? If this is correct, one interpretation of the iconography of the basin is that on the outside we have the sultan, supported by his army and blessed by the stars, the defender and warrior of Islam, portrayed in the context of the Christian holy places. On the inside, again within the orbit of the heavenly bodies, his eminence and power are observed by his non-military subjects of all faiths as he sits surrounded by the glory of his court, symbolised by the scene on the base.

As already described, the coincidence of standing and equestrian figures in conjunction with what are clearly biblical scenes also occurs on the back of the canteen in the Freer Gallery of Art (pls 3.10, 3.11, 3.12; figs 3.9, 3.10)[139] where, on the back, spectators 'watch' a frieze of equestrians (fig. 3.15).
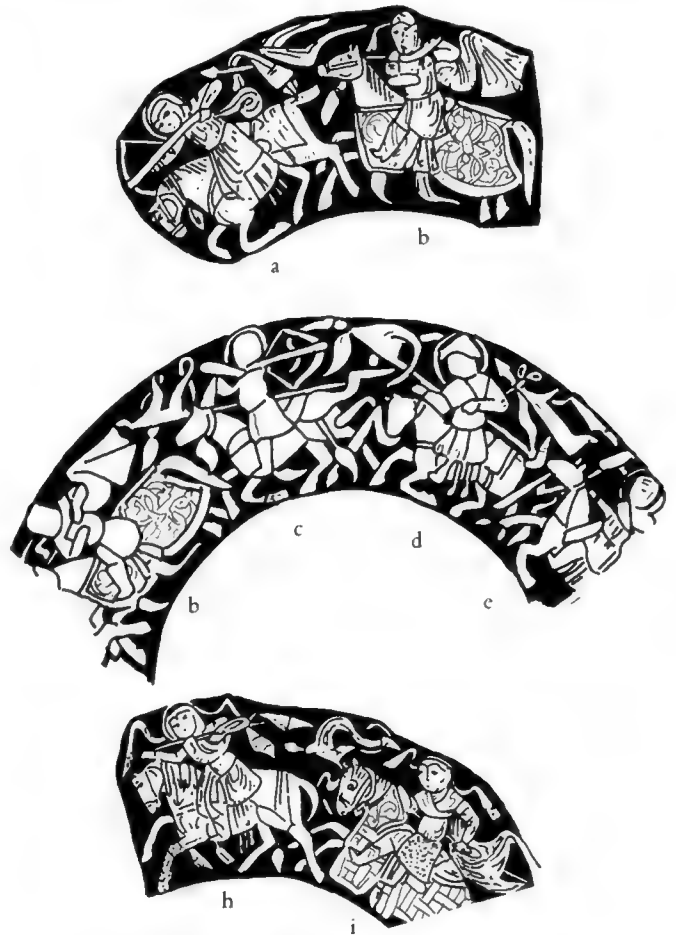
Fig. 3.15 Details of equestrian figures from the back of the canteen 'watched' by standing figures, some of whom appear in fig. 3.10; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art inv. no. 41.10.

Although the riders have been described as combatants, they do not face each other. The nine horses follow each other in an unbroken circular movement, with only one rider changing the direction of the action by turning in the saddle to point an arrow at the man behind (fig. 3.15c). Although there are no tassels here, this figure has a horsetail ornament hanging under his mount's chin, another from the girth and a third from the bound tail, all of which represent Turkish horse trappings. Interestingly, the succeeding horse (fig. 3.15d) is one of those with a triple tassel under his belly; this detail is found again on the al-Salih Ayyub basin, and on horses in other contemporary works—the basin in the Musée du Louvre signed by Ahmad al-Dhaki, the ewer in the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the Boston candlestick signed by Ibn Hajji Jaldak, for example.[140] The figure under discussion on the canteen carries a long staff from which flies a pennant; he wears a short surcoat, long boots and a triangular cap. There appear to be four horses in all with the typical Ayyubid triple tassels below their bellies. Three others, presumably Franks, have armoured mounts with

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[136] The scene is processional; in one panel, haloed figures with different headdresses carry a polo stick, peacock, penbox (or book) and spear: British Museum, London, inv. no. OA 1969 9-22 1, illustrated in Ward 1993, fig. 86. Rachel Ward interprets these attributes as representations of their position at court. A similar procession is shown on a large salver, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 45.386. The salver is illustrated in Grabar 1978, 98-9. Here the figures are bareheaded. Although badly worn, it is possible to interpret the base as containing six lobed medallions with images of princely pursuits. A central roundel has six similar subjects with animal combats (two with oxen attacked by quadrupeds, one with a camel) interspersed by a cross-legged figure [?musician], an archer and perhaps a hunter bringing down a camel.

[137] One exception is a frieze with what has been described as an ordination scene on a little pyxis in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. 3.8; pl. I) where the figures appear above a band with an animal chase; other exceptions are the figures on the neck of the 'Homberg ewer' (pl. 3.9)—but here the facets act as an architectural substitute for the columns and arches.

[138] Reference to this practice is made by Lyster in his chapter entitled 'Reflection of the temporal world: Secular elements in Theodore's program' in Bolman 2002, 111.

[139] Here the Christian scenes are on the front of the flask; in the centre are the Virgin and Child in glory, with four angels and two standing figures, one bearded, the other clean-shaven; between three roundels of *waq-waq* arabesques run three panels with the Nativity, Presentation in the Temple, and Entry into Jerusalem. These have been fully described and analysed by Schneider 1973.

[140] Paris, inv. no. OA 5991; Cleveland, inv. no. 56.11; Boston 57.148.

Fig. 3.16 Virgin and Child flanked by angels on an unpublished silver flabellum from Syria. A Syriac inscription running vertically to the left of the Virgin's throne reads 'The Mother of God'; round the outer edge of the fan another inscription in Syriac names a 'monastery of the house of the Mother of God—Saint Mary—which is in the desert of Scete'.

heavy, padded, textiles over their rumps; one of these has an armoured headpiece.

Each of the twenty-five spectator figures is separated from his or her neighbour, standing within an ogival colonnade. Laura Schneider identified all the figures as 'saints' or 'holy persons'.[141] However, to judge by their attributes, they are not necessarily Christian, although some certainly are. One set of neighbours would seem to represent the Annunciation by the Archangel Gabriel (fig. 3.9 no. 2) to Mary (fig. 3.9 no. 3). One figure in a short-skirted tunic (fig. 3.9 no. 25) has a sword; in similar clothing, those at 3.9 no. 6 and 3.9 no. 7 carry a spear and (perhaps) another sword respectively. But other figures clad in similar dress have what appear to be a scroll (fig. 3.9 no. 14) and a cup (fig. 3.9 no. 18). Dress alone does not seem to determine religion, for further figures dressed in the same way carry a codex (fig. 3.9 no. 24, who is also bearded) and a censer (fig. 3.9 no. 13). All but one of the figures in this type of clothing are clean-shaven. Indeed, the majority have no facial hair, but the figures 3.9 nos 5, 12 and 24 are clearly shown with long pointed beards, while it is possible that figures 3.9 nos 10 and 22 have short ones. All of them are shown in some sort of movement; only one looks to the right, while twenty-three turn to their left. One (fig. 3.9 no. 19) is shown as immobile, staring straight out at the spectator. This figure has a tight-fitting cap, long sleeves and holds his hands together in front of his chest. From their dress, there appear to be three women—the Virgin (fig. 3.9 no. 3), an orant figure (fig. 3.9 no. 21) and someone carrying what appears to be a bunched handkerchief (fig. 3.9 no. 9). There has been a good deal care taken by the master craftsmen to distinguish these figures.[142] The equestrians are as carefully executed, with considerable detail paid to horse trappings and dress. If it is correct to

interpret the scene on the interior of al-Salih Ayyub's basin as a *majlis*, it is equally possible to see the scene on the back of the Freer canteen as a court ceremony, where horsemen demonstrate their skills before standing spectators, details of which were copied by the craftsman without understanding their full significance.

It is time to attempt a solution to the problem of where these two most famous Ayyubid objects were fashioned. It is not known who designed and decorated any of the pieces in the name of al-Salih Ayyub, nor is it certain where they were made. Any decision is hindered by the career of this complicated character, who began as heir to al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad in Egypt and then fell out of favour; he was sent first to the Jazira, progressed to Damascus and finally, in 637/1240, he returned to Cairo. There are hints, however. The best-known example of the many basins which are similar in shape to the ones bearing his name is later in date and now in Paris; it was signed '*amal al-mu'allim Muhammad ibn al-Zain*.[143] Ibn al-Zain signed a second basin,[144] now also in the Musée du Louvre. Both are thought to date to the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, and both share a courtly iconography. A similar, slightly later, basin was made for the Egyptian sultan, Nasr al-Dunya wa 'l-Din Muhammad ibn Qala'un, sometime *ca* 1330.[145] The parallels between the two basins in Paris[146] and the Ayyubid one in the Freer may be significant. Rice suggested that one of basins signed by Ibn al-Zain was made for Salar, a wealthy Egyptian *amir* who became viceroy in 1299. Salar fell from grace in 1309, which would indicate a date for the basin of 1299-1309. Moreover, it is probable that it was made in Egypt. The parallels between this famous basin and those in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub are worth bearing in mind when considering where the Ayyubid pieces were made. For example, it is just possible, despite a complete loss of inlay, to make out that the interior of al-Salih Ayyub's basin in Michigan also has what Eva Baer described as a 'fish-pond' motif, as does the Baptistère and the basin for Nasr al-Din Muhammad ibn Qala'un. Three of the basins have a frieze of running animals,[147] although by the 13th century this particular motif had become widespread.

[141] Schneider 1973, 140.

[142] See C Hillenbrand 1999, 431-66.

[143] Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MAO 331; Atil 1981, 76-9 no. 21, widely known as the 'Baptistère of St Louis'. Another example, later in date, signed by Turanshah, and equally well decorated with striking imagery, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London inv. no. 760-1889; see Melikian-Chirvani 1982 cat. no. 104, 223-29 and, more recently, Auld 2004, 94-116.

[144] Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. LP 16; Atil 1981, 74-95 no. 20.

[145] London, British Museum inv. no. 1851 1-4 1; Atil 1982, 89-91 no.26.

[146] See too basin with epigraphic blazon in the name of Sultan Nasr al-Din Muhammad ibn Qala'un, now in the British Museum, London, inv. no. 51 1-4 1, well illustrated in Atil 1981, 89, no. 26. The smaller rounded basin signed by Ibn al-Zain is now in Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MAO 331. Yet another basin of similar shape to the 'd'Arenberg basin' is also in London, this time in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 740-1898; it was made for an anonymous patron, but shares similarities of iconography with the Freer basin in that it shows pacing attendants, equestrian figures in roundels, animated script, roundels with 'swastika'-interlace, and pacing animals: Atil 1981, 69 no. 18.

[147] See Baer 1983, 176-80; Ettinghausen 1950.

The Michigan basin also has a type of *waq-waq*; the uppermost level on the outside of the basin, on the rim, has what Professor Oleg Grabar described as 'a narrow band consisting of three braided lines [a guilloche plait]. ... At times one of the lines widens to the shape of an animal ... birds, a number of horned beasts, and, probably, a few female-headed monsters.'[148] Grabar thought that the Michigan basin, because of its shape and its commensurate iconography organized in a similar way to early Mamluk examples, was made during the latter years of al-Salih Ayyub's reign. This would indicate Egypt as a probable place of manufacture. However, if Rachel Ward's suggestion that al-Salih Isma'il commissioned the basin is well founded, then Damascus would seem more likely.

Of the second group of Ayyubid objects, few have survived that were made from precious metal. A cache found in a ceramic pot at the Basilica of the Holy Cross at Rusafa is an exception.[149] There are five pieces of this 'treasure', all silver and either totally or partially gilt. They were probably hidden for safety sometime after 1243 and before 1259 when the town was attacked by the Mongols. They are not from a single period, place or workshop, but were assembled only by this accident of history. One other object is known, which has not yet been published; this is a silver flabellum. All six objects were almost certainly made by Frankish metalworkers, five of whom were probably working in Syria; some of the decoration includes niello, to be discussed below. The presence of Frankish enamellers and workers in brass in Levant at this period is well established.[150] The exception is a shallow, footed vessel, which may have been made in the north of France because the cup is decorated with ten repoussé European-shaped shields. Their form dates to *ca* 1200, and each has a heraldic device. The majority of these pertain to knights from Picardy, although one has yet to be identified and two belong to English families. An eleventh device, that of Sire de Coucy, decorates the central medallion, which is surrounded by ten lobes. The men to whom the shields belonged almost certainly took part in the Third Crusade and it has been suggested that Sire de Coucy can be identified as one Raoul I de Coucy, who died in Acre in 1191.[151] Wherever it was made, it clearly came into the possession of a Levantine family, for an Arabic inscription on the reverse states 'This was given by Zain al-Dar, daughter of the master Abu Durra, to the blessed church of Qal'at Ja'bar'. The cup has no overtly Christian symbolism and neither do two other pieces of the Rusafa treasure.

These are a stem (presumably of a chalice) and a censer. The stem is again decorated with repoussé work, with lobes extending into the foot, and it has embossed shields. The censer is more elaborate. It stands on a short foot and has vertical walls, which are decorated with repoussé roundels and nielloed ornamentation in the intervening panels. The subjects of the roundels are fully 'Islamic' in form, alternating between a bird of prey attacking a duck, and pairs of confronted felines.[152] Between these, confronted and haloed sphinxes are separated by a slender palmette which issues from a cup to form a circular arabesque. The devices are similar to scenes in the medallions of Ahmad al-Dhaki's basin now in Paris, already discussed. Although certainly not Christian in origin, they were acceptable in a Christian context to some, not only on ecclesiastical portals and at the edges of manuscripts[153] but also on objects. Somewhat similar subjects appear on a perfume burner (or perhaps lamp) now in the Treasury of San Marco.[154] What is interesting about the decorative technique of the censer is that it is niello; this was not widely used by Islamic masters, although it was imported into the west, probably from Byzantium.[155] There are examples of Islamic work in this technique reputed to be of a similar date, but these seem to me to be equally problematic.[156] The roundels on the Rusafa censer are surrounded by a twisted 'rope' frame, and, in contrast to the usual mode on Islamic objects, are not linked to those which encircle the walls at top and bottom.

Dr Sophie Makariou[157] considered the censer to have been made in Mesopotamia or Iran; there is no exact equivalent portrayed on the objects with Christian scenes

[148] Grabar 1961, 360.

[149] Now held at the National Museum of Damascus and in 2001-2002 part of the exhibition *ODS* held at l'Institut du Monde Arabe in Paris, in the catalogue of which they are well illustrated; 2001, 106-9, nos 85-89.

[150] Gauthier 1984, 177-84.

[151] See *ODS* 2001, 107 no. 85, with bibliography.

[152] For the raptor and prey, compare a 13th-century candlestick in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, inv. no. 15.121 illustrated in Baer 1983, 168 fig. 142. Pairs of animals facing towards a plant are thought to be associated with the 'Tree of Life'; compare a rectangular incense burner in the David Collection, Copenhagen, inv. no. 24.1969: *eadem* 161-62 and fig. no. 136. An eagle (raptor) was interpreted as a type for the Resurrection of Christ, following Isaiah 40: 31, 'But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary, and they shall walk, and not faint', or Psalm 103 : 5 'Who satisfieth thy mouth with good things; so that thy youth is renewed like the eagle's'.

[153] See, for example, Camille 1992, *passim* but especially pages 65-75. His pls 34-36 illustrate monstrous animals at the 12th-century Cluniac Church of S Pierre, Aulnay-de Saintonge; pl. 36 shows a duplicated image of a raptor attacking a beast. The Portail des Libraires at Rouen is a further example of such an extravaganza (Camille 1992, pls 43 and 44), here set within quatrefoils, one of which has a sphinx, another a harpy.

[154] Tesoro no. 142, probably end of 12th century, adapted to serve as a reliquary of the Holy Blood (so listed in the Treasury Inventory of 1283); no. 33 in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, 1984, 237-43.

[155] A technique by which a compound usually composed of metallic sulphides (copper and silver) is inlaid into silver, the earliest examples known coming from about 1400 BC. Instructions and a recipe to decorate a chalice are given by the 11th-century Theophilus Presbyter (1979, 104-5, 108, 115; Chs 28-29, 32 and 41), who attributed the art to 'the Russians' (*idem* 13). It was known in Islam; a hoard of Saljuq objects, some of which included niello, was said to have been found at Nihavand. For examples, see Pope and Ackerman 1981, pls 1350-51.

[156] See cup, incense burners, spoon and caskets previously in the Harari Collection (Pope and Ackerman 1981, Vol. XIII, pls 1350-1352). One footed incense burner (pl. 1352D) is decorated with a Greek cross. It was suggested to Harari by Kühnel that the hoard, which was found in an earthenware jar, dates to the 11th century (Harari, 1981, 2501 note 2).

[157] See *ODS* 2001, 109, where she dates it to the 12th or early 13th century.

already discussed. On the salver now in St Petersburg,[158] a female figure holds a straight-sided censer suspended from three strings, but it has three feet (fig. 3.11 no. 12). Another straight-sided censer held by a female figure on a pyxis in New York[159] has no foot, while yet another female on the same pyxis has one shaped like a stemmed cup (pl. 3.4; fig. 3.5 c, e). The neck of a candlestick in Montreal[160] has a man with a censer of similar bowl-like shape suspended on three strings but it has no foot, while a rounded censer on a faceted goblet in Istanbul[161] has a high, triangular one.

It is not only censers and incense burners which are shown in inlaid decoration. One bearded figure on the St Petersburg tray, whose headdress resembles a *kafiyyah*, suspends a censer from one hand, while he flourishes an object shaped a little like a lollipop in the other (fig. 3.11 no. 7).[162] This must be a flabellum, or liturgical fan. Although larger in scale, two similar objects appear in an ordination or baptismal scene in a Syriac manuscript now in Paris.[163] The publication of the recently excavated silver example, which has a Syriac inscription around its circumference and an image of the enthroned Virgin and Child in the centre (fig. 3.16), referred to above, is keenly awaited.[164]

The interior of the Rusafa chalice also has a depiction of the enthroned Virgin and Child; she is flanked by the archangels Gabriel and Michael. The latter is dressed in a long tunic and carries a lance; in other words, he is shown according to Oriental Christian iconography. The strictly hieratic portrayal of the Virgin and Child is also clearly Oriental Christian in origin. The Byzantine image of the Virgin on the flabellum, as enthroned Queen of Heaven, is in strange contrast to the informality of Mother and Child on the cover of the pyxis in New York (fig. 3.7b),[165] where she is shown wearing a turban-like headdress. Apparently seated on a cushion on the ground, she turns her head to the Christ-child perched on

her right thigh. He looks towards his mother, his hands raised to caress her face. This scene is watched by a much smaller male figure to the Virgin's right. The informality of the pose is heightened by the oddness of the Child placed to the Virgin's right—in Oriental Christianity the Child, as far as I know, is usually placed either centrally or to his mother's left. The scene seems to conform to what is known in Western Christian art as 'the Madonna of Humility', a well-known iconographical type. What is particularly strange about its appearance on the New York pyxis is that it became popular in Italy and France only during the 14th century.[166] But, like other instances of apparent influences working in both directions mentioned throughout this chapter, a fuller investigation of this phenomenon will have to await a further, more focused study.

The Rusafa chalice also has a Syriac inscription and this refers to the sacramental use of the cup; this is interrupted by a roundel with a Byzantine image of Christ Pantocrator, with an admonitory right-hand finger and a volume in the other hand. In Greek to each side of his cross-nimbed head are the abbreviated forms of 'Jesus Christ'.[167]

The other Rusafa objects are the foot of a chalice,[168] and a patena.[169] The decoration of the patena with its lobed base and engraved central medallion with a blessing hand can be compared to European objects dating from the late 12th to 13th centuries,[170] but it was almost certainly made in the Levant, for it too has a Syriac inscription running round the everted rim which again refers to its liturgical use. It states that 'Hanon, the son of the late Abel of Adessa give this patena to the Church of Mar Sergios of Rusafa.'

Although not numerous, these Christian objects in precious silver show that doubtless there were once contemporary Islamic pieces made in silver or gold. So far, none have emerged, but this is not surprising. It was the customary fate of objects made in precious metal to be melted down for re-use. The Rusafa hoard survived only because it was hidden from marauders and never reclaimed. The Ayyubid objects we have must be only a remnant of what was made at the time. For all that, the beauty, skill and diversity of the extant pieces make it one of the most fascinating of all periods for the study of metalwork. The eclecticism and careful construction of iconographic programmes on the objects demonstrate cross-currents of influence that are not yet fully understood, but which will doubtless yield a rich harvest to future research.

[158] Hermitage State Museum, inv. no. NCA 14-238.

[159] Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1971.39.

[160] Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 49.50; illustrated in Baer 1989, pl. 57.

[161] Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, inv. no. 102; illustrated in Baer 1989, pl. 74.

[162] Illustrated correctly in Baer 1989, fig. 28 and also in ODS 2001, 115 no. 98; but in the latter both the tray and detail have been printed in reverse.

[163] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. syr. 112, fol. 69r.

[164] A photograph of the object has been shown me by Professor Robert Hillenbrand. The Virgin and Child is shown on a square-backed throne; her feet rest on an arch and she is flanked by two flying figures. In addition to the Syriac inscription round the outer circumference of the fan, a phrase runs vertically to each side of her. I am most grateful to Dr Peter Hayman, then Senior Lecturer in Hebrew and Judaic Studies at the University of Edinburgh, for his help in reading these. The inscription round the perimeter reads 'For the praise and the glory of the Holy Trinity and equal in substance—Father and Son and Holy Spirit. It was provided/made as a fan for the monastery of the house of the Mother of God—Saint Mary—which is in the desert of Scete [?]; the year [?one] of the Greeks'. To the left of the image of the enthroned Virgin and Child are the words 'The Mother of God'. It has not yet been possible to decipher the date, or the inscription to the right of the central figures.

[165] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. no. 1971.39 A/B; illustrated in Baer 1989 pl. 44.

[166] The earliest known example explicitly designated as 'Nostra Domina de Humilitate' is on a panel painted by Bartolomeo Pellerano, dating to 1346, for the Franciscan fraternity of San Nicola in Palermo. The panel is now in the National Gallery of Sicily. This type of Virgin is relatively rare in France; but see a carved wooden example of the mid-14th century exhibited in the Grand Palais, Paris, October 1981-February 1982: *Les Fastes du Gothique, le siècle de Charles V*, Paris 1981, 78 no. 23.

[167] Damascus, National Museum inv. no. 29311, AN 29.

[168] Damascus, National Museum inv. no. 29314, AN 32.

[169] Damascus, National Museum inv. no. 29312, AN 28.

[170] Makariou, ODS 2001, 109, no. 89.

Appendix
Ayyubid Metalwork

The following list, which does not pretend to be fully comprehensive, gives details of objects quoted in the chapter and includes a selection of contemporary pieces which are not mentioned, but whose characteristics have been taken into account. Some pieces could be listed under more than one category, for example the Freer basin in the name of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub which includes Christian images. These pieces appear once only. Bibliographies contain selected references.

a. Objects made for the Ayyubid élite

Basin in the name of **al-Malik al-Amjad Bahram Shah**, prince of Baalbek (578-627/1182-1229); Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art inv. no. 15; Wiet 1932, 65, 171 no. 43; reference in Rice 1957, 311.

Globe in the name of **al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad**, *ca* 1225; Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. no. unknown; illustrated in *ODS* 2001, 127.

Salver in the name of **al-Malik al-Kamil Muhammad**, present location unknown; previously A Goupil; Wiet 1932, 70, 172 no. 47; reference in *ODS* 2001, 130 note 3.

Ewer in the name of **Amir Shihab al-Din**, signed by **Qasim ibn ʿAli**, Ramadan 629/June-July 1232, probably Syria; Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art, inv. no. 55.22; Rice 1957, 286, 325-26; Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 117-23.

Pyxis in the name of **Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAziz**, Syria, perhaps Aleppo, 1231-33. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. no. 112095 (previously Borgia Collection); exhibited Venice in 1993-94, no. 171; *ODS* 2001, 51 no. 43.

Salver in the name of **Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub**, Syria or Egypt, 1232-39 or 1240-49. Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. 360. *Arts de l'Islam des origines à 1700*, 104-5 no. 153; Wiet 1948, 239-41; Baer 1989, 10-13 pl. 24; *ODS* 2001, 144, cat. no. 120 (where the inventory number is given as Musée du Louvre, inv. no. MAO 360).

Basin in the name of **Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub** ('d'Arenberg basin'), Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art, inv. no. 55.10; Egypt or Syria, 1240s; Rice 1952, pl. 9b; Schneider 1973, figs. 19 and 21; Atil 1975, 186-89, no. 27; Baer 1983, figs 100 and 136; Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, pls 3-4; Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 137-147; Baer 1989, 18-19 and pls 63-68; *ODS* 2001, col. pl. on page 129. [Pls 3.5, 3.6, 3.7]

Basin in the name of **Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub**, Syria or Egypt, 1239-49; Cairo, Islamic Museum, previously Harari Collection, inv. no. 15043; Wiet 1932, 66 and appendix no. 58; ʿIzzi 1965; *ODS* 2001, 144, no. 119.

Bowl in the name of **Sultan al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub**, *ca* 1240; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, inv. no. 28801; Grabar 1961, 360-69; Atil, Chase and Jett 1985, 143 fig. 51.

Basin in the name of **Sultan al-ʿAdil II Abu Bakr**, signed by **al-Dhaki al-Mausili**, Syria 1238-40; Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. OA 5991; Rice 1957; *ODS* 2001, 50 no. 42.

Incense burner in the name of **Sultan al-ʿAdil II Abu Bakr**, 1238-40; London, Keir Collection inv. no. 129; exhibited St James of Compostella in 2000, no. 93; Fehérvári 1968, 37-54; 1976, 103-4 no. 129 col. pl. H; *ODS* 2001, 143 no. 118.

'Barberini Vase' in the name of **Sultan al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Din Yusuf**; under the base a further inscription in the name of **al-Malik al-Zahir** (Baibars, 1237-60), Syria, probably Damascus or Aleppo; Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. no. OA 4090; Alexander 1996, Vol. 1, 174 and Vol. II, 128; *ODS* 2001, 49 no. 41.

Ewer in the name of **al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf** in Damascus signed by **Husain ibn Muhammad al-Mausili**, dated 657/1246; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 7428; *RCÉA* 1943, no. 4439; Rice 1957, pl. 13c and d; exhibited *Arts of Islam* 1971, no. 152; *ODS* 2001, 147, no. 123.

Candlestick in the name of an officer of the Rasulid sultan of Yemen, **al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shams al-Din Yusuf** (1250-95), signed by **Husain ibn Muhammad al-Mausili**, Syria, Damascus, 1257; Doha, National Council for Culture, Arts and Heritage; exhibited Paris 1993, no. 373; *ODS* 2001, 148 no. 125.

Basin in the name of **Amir Badr al-Din al-Baisari**, signed by **Da'ud ibn Salama al-Mausili** 650/1252; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs (inv. no. not known); *RCÉA*, Vol. II, no. 4345; quoted Rice 1957, 326.

Bowl in the name of **Najm al-Din ʿUmar al-Maliki al-Badri** (an officer of Badr al-Din Lu'lu'), Bologna, Museo Civico. Undated but before 657/1259, year of death of Badr al-Din Lu'lu, probably Mosul; Rice, 1953 15/2, 232-38.

Basin in the name of **an anonymous dignitary in the service of ʿal-Malik al-Mansur'**; Doha, National Council for Culture, Arts and Heritage; Sourdel, 'Hamat' *EI*, Vol. III, 122-24; Ayalon 'Hins' *EI²* III 409-15; *ODS* 2001, 149 no. 126.

Salver in the name of **al-Malik al-Mughith ʿUmar** (died 1264), sultan of Karak; Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art inv. no. 8870; Wiet 1932, 70, 141-42, 185 no. 79; reference in *ODS* 2001, 130, note 5.

b. Inlaid objects with Christian imagery

Ewer, 'Homberg ewer', signed by **Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili**, dated 1242, Syria; London, Keir Collection. Rice 1957; Fehérvári 1976, no. 131; Baer 1989, 15-17, pls 45-49, 121; *ODS* 2001, 117, no. 101. [Pl. 3.9]

Candlestick signed by **Da'ud ibn Salama al-Mausili**, 1248-49 (previously Goupil collection); Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. 4414; Mayer 1959; Baer 1989, 17-18 and pls 53-56, 83, 95, 97; *ODS* 2001, 116, no. 99.

Incense burner, London, British Museum, inv. no. 1878 12-30 679 (Henderson Collection); illustrated in Pope and Ackerman 1964, pl. 1338D; Barrett 1949, figs 21 a and b; Aga-Oglu 1945, 33-34; Baer 1983, 1989, 7-10, pls 1 and 15-19, 20-21; *ODS* 2001, 113 no. 96. [Pls 3.2, 3.3]

Incense burner, Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland, inv. no. 1956.518; Baer 1989, 7-10 and pls 7 and 8.

Incense burner, Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. I. 3572; Aga-Oglu 1945; Baer 1989, 7-10 and pls 2-6.

Incense burner, Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 37.26; Hollis 1938; Baer 1989, 7-10. pl. 9 and 10-14.

Salver, formerly Piet Lataudrie Collection, present location unknown; Baer 1989, 10-13 and pl. 22.

Salver, St Petersburg, Hermitage State Museum, inv. no. NCA 14-238; Sarre and Martin 1912, Vol. 2, pl. 153; Yakubovkii 1938, 209-116; Baer 1989, 10-13 and pls 23, 25-36; *ODS* 2001, 115 no. 98.

Pyxis, Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 15130; Baer 1989, 13-15 and pl. 37.

Pyxis, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 320-1866; Baer 1989, 13-15 and pls 38, 105. [Pl. 3.8; pl. I]

Pyxis, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 1971.39 A/B; Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, 53-68; Baer 1989, 13-15, pls 39-44, 88, 107-108; Fontana 1994, 26-9; *ODS* 2001, 114 no. 97. [Pl. 3.4]

Ewer, Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. I. 6581; Baer 1989, 15-17 and pls 50-51.

Ewer, Paris. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, inv. no. 4413; Baer 1989, 15-17 and pls 52a-b, 98; 103; *ODS* 2001, 117 no. 100.

Socket of candlestick, Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 49.50 DM2; Baer 1989, 17-18 and pls 57-61.

Goblet, Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, inv. no. 102; Baer 1989, pls 69-72.

Canteen, Washington DC, Freer Gallery of Art, inv. no. 41.10. Lanci 1845 Vol. 2, 141-45; Vol. 3 pls XLV-XLVI; Ettinghausen 1950, pl. 3; Schneider 1973; Atil 1975, no. 28; Ghulam 1982, 340-79; Baer 1983, fig. 198; Katzenstein and Lowry 1983, pls 6-7; Atil, Chase and Jett (bibliography given) 1985, 124-35; Baer 1989 19-21, pls 73-74, 78, 85, 87, 111, 116, 119, 123, 125; *ODS* 2001, illustrated on page 126. [Pls 3.10, 3.11, 3.12]

c. Brasses in name of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' (published by Rice 1950, 627-54).

Pyxis, London, British Museum inv. no. 1878 12-30 674.

Salver, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 905-1907.

Platter, Munich library (no inv. no.).

Basin, Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences.

Candlestick, St Petersburg, Hermitage Stage Museum, inv. no. КИ 3690.

d. Precious metal objects

'Rusafa Treasure', found within north court of Basilica of the Holy Cross, Rusafa in an enamelled ceramic vase. Buried after 1243, but before 1259 when the town was under attack by the Mongols, the pieces include:

Gemellion/cup; Damascus, National Museum inv. no. 29313/15, AN 30; *ODS* 2001, 107 no. 85.

Foot of chalice; Damascus, National Museum, inv. no. 29314, AN32; *ODS* 2001, 107 no. 86.

Chalice; Damascus, National Museum inv. no. 29311, AN 29. Beginning

of 13th century; *l'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 108 no. 87.

Censer; Damascus, National Museum, inv. no. 29316, AN 31; *l'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 109 no. 88.

Patena; Damascus, National Museum, inv. no. 29312, AN 28; *l'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 109 no. 89.

Other:
Ecclesiastical fan in silver; Syriac inscription round exterior, set against a scrolled ground and in a central roundel the image of the Virgin and Child enthroned, flanked by angels. Unpublished.

e. 'Al-Mausili' brasses

Box, signed by **Isma'il ibn Ward al-Mausili**, dated Jumada II 617/ August 1220; Athens, Benaki Museum; Rice 1953, 61-65.

Basin, ?Syria *ca* 1220-50; unsigned but with split-palmette terminals close to those shown in fig. 3.12a, b; Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Institut de France, inv. no. D 985; *ODS* 2001, 143, no. 117.

Ewer, signed **Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mausili**, probably northern Mesopotamia, 1223; Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 56.11; Rice 1957; *Arts of Islam* 1976, 178 no. 195; *l'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 140, no. 113.

Candlestick signed by **Abu Bakr 'Umar ibn al-Hajji Jaldak**, 1225, perhaps Diyarbakr or Syria; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no.57.148; Rice 1949, 334-41. no. 561; 1953, 61-79; 1957, 283-326; Baer 1983, 27-28; exhibited Amsterdam 1999, no. 5; *ODS* 2001, 142 no. 115.

Ewer, signed by **'Umar ibn Hajji Jaldak**, *ghulam* of **Ahmad ibn 'Umar al-Dhaki**, 623/1226; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. not known; Rice 1957, 317-19, pl. 14c.

Ewer, signed by **Iyas** *ghulam* of **'Abd al-Karim ibn al-Turabi al-Mausili**, 627/1229; Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, inv. no. 217; Rice 1953, 229-232, pls 1-2.

Basin, signed by **'Ali ibn 'Abdullah al-Mausili**, *ca* 1220-40, Berlin. Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. unknown; illustration in *ODS* 2001, 128.

Ewer, signed by **'Ali ibn 'Abdullah al-Mausili**, *ca* 1220-40, Berlin. Museum für Islamische Kunst, inv. no. unknown; illustration in *ODS* 2001, 128.

Candlestick, signed by **al-Hajj Isma'il ibn Futtuh al-Mausili**; perhaps Jazira *ca* 1230; Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv. no. 15121; Wiet 1932, no. 66; *Arts of Islam* 1976, 182-83, no. 200; *ODS* 2001, 148, no. 124.

'Blacas ewer', signed by **Shuja' ibn Mana al-Mausili**, 629/1232, made in Mosul; London, British Museum, inv. no. 1866 12-69 61; illustrated in *Arts of Islam* 1976, 179 no. 196; Pope and Ackerman reprint 1981, pls 1329-1330; Ward 1993, 80 pls 59-60.

Incense burner, signed by **Muhammad ibn Khutlukh al-Mausili**, Damascus, *ca* 1230-40; Allan 1986, 25-34 and cat. no. 1, 66-67.

Geomantric instrument, signed by **Muhammad ibn Khutlukh ibn al-Mausili**, 639/1241-2; London, British Museum, (described by Wiet as 'astronomical table' and by Rice 1953 15/2, 230 as 'prognostication table'); Wiet *RCÉA* xi, no. 4202; Barrett 1949, xxii and pls 16 and 17; reference in Ward 1993, 84.

Ewer, signed by **Ibrahim ibn Mawaliya al-Mausili**; Paris, Musée du

Louvre, inv. no. 3435; Rice 1953, 5/1 69-79, pls 12-22.

Ewer, signed by **Yusuf ibn Yusuf al-Mausili**; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, inv. no. unknown; *A handbook of the collection*, 1936, fig. p. 49.

Candlestick base; London, Nasser D Khalili Collection, inv. no. MTW

1252; *ODS* 2001, 140, no. 113. Unsigned but close to the objects above; inscription unread, and with everyday scenes as well as the hunt and courtly entertainments.

Vase, signed by **ᶜAli ibn Hamud al-Mausili**; Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, inv. no. 360.

Chapter 4
THE *MINBAR* OF NUR AL-DIN IN CONTEXT

Sylvia Auld

Context

The *minbar* stood in the Masjid al-Aqsa from the time of its removal to Jerusalem, some twenty years after it was made in Aleppo, until destroyed by fire in 1969. It was remarkable not only because of its fine craftsmanship but also because the name of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Nur al-Din and his full titulature occupied an unusually prominent position on it (pls 4.1–4.2). According to the inscription, the pulpit was made 'in the months of the year 564/1168–69'. Another date was given over the opening to the raised seat; this inscription stated that it was 'finished' *(tammamahu)* by Nur al-Din's son, al-Salih Ismaʿil ibn Mahmud ibn Zangi ibn Aqsunqur (pl. 4.3). Van Berchem thought this statement must have been added early in al-Salih Ismaʿil's reign which began in 569 and ended in 577, and that perhaps the pulpit was 'completed' in 570/1174–75. As contemporary chroniclers made it clear that the *minbar* stood in the Great Mosque of Aleppo during the lifetime of Nur al-Din, he thought that al-Salih Ismaʿil probably 'appropriated' it as a finished piece of work.[1]

The *minbar* was signed by four men: Salman ibn Maʿali twice; Humaid ibn Tafir four times, Abu'l-Hasan ibn Yahya twice and his brother Fada'il ibn Yahya al-Halabi once. Van Berchem published seven of these signatures[2] but did not record small additional signatures by Salman and Humaid, which are fully described below; their positions are shown as (b) on figs 4.1 and 4.2. The four men all used the word *sanʿa* , 'fashioned', to describe their work, but three of them—Salman, Abu'l-Hasan and Humaid—also used *ʿamala*, 'worked or made'. Van Berchem thought that this indiscriminate use of the terms might indicate that the men were both carpenters and joiners, the latter being presumably more skilled in

carving than the former. But the explanation does not seem wholly convincing—if the sense of *sanʿa* was indeed that of 'decorator/joiner', why would the craftsmen use a less flattering description of their work if they were responsible for both? It would seem more logical to assume that the two terms were interchangeable. It is likely that the men were from Aleppo or its district. Not only were the brothers Abu'l-Hasan and Fada'il sons of an Aleppan,[3] but also Salman's father, Maʿali ibn Salam, was the man who fashioned *(sanʿa)* the *mihrab* for the Maqam Ibrahim in the citadel of the city in 563/1167–68 (pl. 4.4). He was the partner of Yahya al-Halabi and had at least two sons, one of whom is believed to be the woodworker called ʿUbaid 'known as al-Maʿali', who made the cenotaph of Imam al-Shafiʿi in Cairo, in 1178. Additional evidence comes from ʿImad al-Din who reported that Nur al-Din ordered the *minbar* from a carpenter *(najjar)*, 'who had no parallel', from the village of al-Akhtarin.[4] Woodworkers from Aleppo were highly regarded; van Berchem described them as *une école célèbre … de la menuiserie alépine*.[5] According to Ibn Jubayr, the city was renowned for its carpenters or cabinetmakers *(najjarin)* and workers *(sunnaʿ)* in ebony *(qarbasiya or qarnasiya)*. Bloom (in this volume) investigates the high status and many skills of contemporary woodworkers. It is particularly relevant to a discussion on the *minbar* and its decoration to note that one worker in wood, Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Harithi, was described by Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa as a *muhandis* (geometrician or engineer). He was trained in medicine following an early career in carpentry and stonecutting, when he made 'most of the doors' for the hospital of the patron of the *minbar*, Nur al-Din ibn Zangi. The

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[1] Van Berchem 1927, 393–98 nos 277 and 278; the discussion on the meaning of *tammamahu* is given on p.398, n.1.

[2] *Idem*, 396–97 nos 279 A–F.

[3] Ibn Jubayr 1952, 262–63.

[4] Quoted by van Berchem 1927, 399 who in his n.3 located 'Akhterin-köy' about 40km north-north-east of Aleppo; this is questioned by Bloom in this volume, Ch. 7, p. 131.

[5] Van Berchem 1927 398; and note 2.

Pl. 4.1 East face of *minbar* of Nur al-Din in Masjid al-Aqsa, Jerusalem showing the position of the inscription with the patron's name and titulature. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5005)

main source of Mu ayyad's geometrical skills was Euclid, and he later studied astronomy and mathematics.[6] In his chapter, Dr Jonathan Bloom raises a doubt whether Mu'ayyad's erudition was relevant to his work in joinery, pointing out that he studied Euclid only after he had moved into other professions. However, if a carpenter/joiner was to decorate his work with inlaid or carved geometric patterns and arabesques, he had to understand the basic rules of ratio and proportion in order to achieve a pleasing correlation between a design and its support—perhaps, at the very least, the impetus for al-Harithi's later studies began in his earliest career.

Details of the Qur'anic inscriptions and the location of the signatures on the pulpit are given below, as are the physical details of its appearance.

It is not known exactly when the *minbar* was transported from Aleppo to Jerusalem. Ibn al-Athir's account of the event does not give this information:

> 'Then Saladin appointed a *qadi* and an (ordinary) *imam* for the five canonic prayers, and ordered that a pulpit[7] should be built for him. He was told that Nur al-Din had once had one made in Aleppo,

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[.] The full quotation is given by Bloom in this volume, p. 132.

[.] On the origins and historical significance of a *minbar*, see Becker 1906 and 1924-32. The Arabic word is usually translated into English as 'pulpit' and is used to denote the structure from which a sermon was given; *minbar* is derived from the root *n b r*, 'elevated, raised place', and thus is not confined to a single function. It remains true that in a Friday Mosque the *khatib* (preacher, public speaker) pronounces weekly the sermon or *khutba* (which names the accepted ruler) from a *minbar*. See Carboni in Bloom *et al.* 1998, 42.

Pl. 4.2 Detail of the name of al-Malik al-ʿAdil Nur al-Din inscription on the *minbar*. © Van Berchem Foundation, Geneva, no. 2698/NC93.
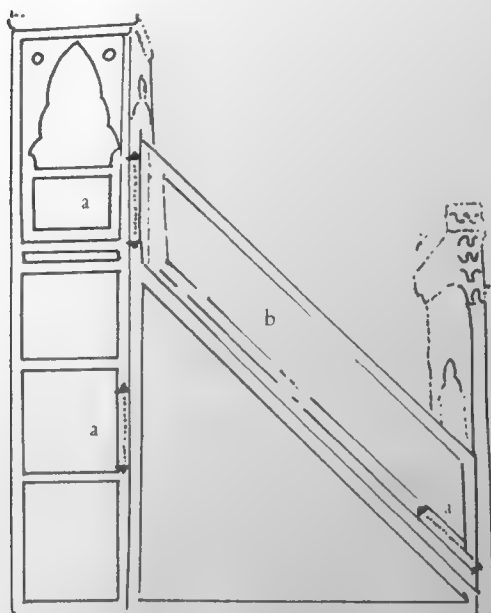
Fig. 4.1 Minbar of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem 564/1168-9. Sketch reconstruction of east face. a. marks the position of metre bars; b. marks the position of the previously unrecorded signatures.
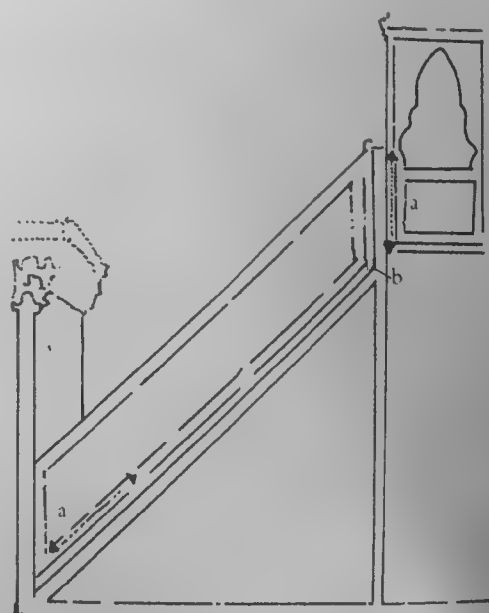
Fig. 4.2 Minbar of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem 564/1168-9. Sketch reconstruction of west face. a. marks the position of metre bars; b. marks the position of the previously unrecorded signatures.

Pl. 4.3 Inscription with the name of al-Salih Isma'il ibn Mahmud. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.566.

Pl. 4.4 *Mihrab* dated 563/1167-68 signed by Ma'ah ibn Salam in Lower Maqam of the Citadel, Aleppo, photographed before 1900. After *Ars Islamica* Vol. X 1943, fig.81.

which he had commanded the workmen to embellish and construct to the best of their ability, saying:"We have made this to set up in Jerusalem." The carpenters had taken so many years to make it that it had no rival in the whole of Islam. Saladin had it brought from Aleppo and set up in Jerusalem, more than twenty years after it was made. This was one of the noble deeds of Nur ad-Din and one of his good works, God have mercy on him."[8]

So it was not in place for the great celebratory sermon delivered by the *qadi* of Damascus, Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Zaki, on Friday 4 Sha'ban/9 October, one week after the fall of Jerusalem (27 Rajab/2 October), to mark the return of the Masjid al-Aqsa to the Muslims. It must have been difficult to transport the pulpit over land; presumably it had to be taken

apart, and then re-assembled on arrival." 'Imad al-Din (as quoted by Abu Shama)[10] also made reference to this event, explaining:

'But later he [Saladin] had need of a more beautiful pulpit ... so Saladin thought of that which al-Malik al-'Adil Nur al-Din Mahmud had had made for Jerusalem some twenty years before ... He ordered that they write to Aleppo to reclaim it; once it had been transported to Jerusalem, it was there put to the use for which it had been destined.'

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* Ibn al-Athir,Vol. XI, 365 (trans.) E J Costello from F Gabrieli, 1969 145. In the prologue to *The Crusades. Islamic Perspectives* (1999, 14), Professor Carole Hillenbrand warns that this source 'is some way from the original' because of the double translation involved, and a tendency to summarise the original texts. However, the general gist of the event as described in this translation suffices here.

* Vincent, Mackay and Abel (1923, 247) suggested that the *minbar* was transported from Aleppo as part of the restorations on the Haram al-Sharif some time in the year following Saladin's conquest, that is during 583/1188. On the feasibility of such an action, a comparison can be made with the *minbar* for the Kutubiyya (Booksellers') mosque discussed below, each flank of which was constructed with five large panels, which were fitted together. The backrest, risers and treads were also made separately and according to Bloom (1998, 3) 'it is likely that the pieces were shipped from Córdoba by boat down the Guadalquivir River and then across the Strait [sic] of Gibraltar' before being loaded onto camels or mules for the trek to Marrakesh across the Middle Atlas mountains.

10 Vol. II, 112

In these accounts both 'Imad al Din and Ibn al-Athir, who in particular was devoted to the Zangid dynasty, contrived to add *baraka* to the dead Nur al-Din, lest he be forgotten in the midst of the blessings conferred by the 'purification' of Jerusalem on his successor, the triumphant Saladin. In addition, 'Imad al-Din, secretary to Saladin and keen to lavish praise on his master, pointed out that the date of the conquest was the anniversary of the Prophet's ascension to heaven, the Mi'raj: what better date to return the Sanctuary to the hands of the faithful?

The celebrations at the time reflected the joy that the forces of Islam and local Muslims felt at the overthrow of the Franks. There was a stress in the texts on the elimination of the stain on the Holy City inflicted by the infidel presence, tellingly analysed by Professor Carole Hillenbrand.[11] Taking 'Imad al-Din as her focus, she underlines that 'the actions taken by Saladin and his followers were not mere ceremonies of re-appropriation of Muslim religious buildings'; the holy places, and in particular al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, had to be cleansed and purified. Ibn al-Athir made this point: when the infidels had finally departed, Saladin 'ordered the purification of the mosque and the Rock of the filths and impurities ... '.[12] Apparently an inscription which appeared on the dome, now lost but seen by Frederick II, specifically stated 'Saladin has purified this sacred house from the polytheists.'[13] The erection of the *minbar* ordered by Nur al-Din was part of the continuing re-Islamisation of the sanctuary. On at least one other occasion a *minbar* was the focus of popular emotion. In Baghdad the people 'made the preacher come down from the pulpit and then smashed it to pieces' on hearing of the arrival of the Franks in Syria,[14] presumably because of the official status of a pulpit in a Friday mosque. Arguably, the Zangid leader was the first man to concentrate single-mindedly on *jihad* with the goal of retaking the Holy City, and as a pledge towards this end, his pulpit took on additional resonance. Jerusalem had a specific significance; not only was it the first *qibla*, the third Holy City of Islam, but also the site from which the Prophet departed on his Night Journey *('isra)* and Ascension *(mi'raj)*, and, furthermore, traditionally it was to be the place of the Last Judgment.[15] But even without the extra dimension of holiness, a pulpit in a Friday mosque like al-Aqsa had both religious and governmental overtones. Becker showed that in the *jahiliyya* before the coming of the Prophet, the origins of the *minbar* lay in a seat from which the leader of the community dispensed justice. After the Prophet used a three-stepped construction from which to preach, the *minbar*

became specifically associated with Islam. Despite its political and religious overtones, its judicial aspect was never entirely lost. In particular, the association between the Haram al-Sharif, as the site of the Judgment Seat of the Last Day, and the *minbar* of the Prophet gave additional emphasis to this aspect. By the Ottoman period the joint symbols of the Jerusalem sanctuary were the Qubbat al-Sakhra and the Minbar al-Nabi.[16] The evidence that this was already clearly understood at the time of Nur al-Din is to be found in the choice of Qur'anic passages used on the pulpit.[17] The use of a *minbar* by a ruler to underpin his leadership was not unique. The pulpit constructed for the congregational mosque in Marrakesh between 1110 to 1120 is a case in point. Inscriptions on the backrest and left side give the information that it was begun in Cordoba on 1 Muharram (New Year's Day) 532/19 September 1137, during the reign of 'Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Tashufin or Tashfin, the first great ruler of the Almoravid dynasty. Like the *minbar* of Nur al-Din, then, it was constructed at a distance from its intended home, presumably because of the known excellence of the carpenters at the point of commission. We have already seen this to be the case in Aleppo.[18] In their day, both *minbars* were considered to be marvels of craftsmanship. Of the Kutubiyya *minbar*, Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Marzuq wrote that 'all craftsmen ... declare that nowhere in the world was the equivalent ever made. They agree that the *minbar* [of the Great Mosque] of Cordoba and the *minbar* of the Booksellers in Marrakesh are the most remarkable in craftsmanship because it is not customary for easterners to have fine woodwork'[19]—an odd statement, perhaps, for a man who had travelled throughout the lands of central Islam. Of the Nur al-Din pulpit, Ibn Jubayr also wrote that 'the art of ornamental carving has exhausted itself in its endeavours on the pulpit, for never in any city have I seen a pulpit like it, or of such wondrous workmanship.'[20]

There is also evidence of value of a *minbar* as propaganda in the transfer of the Fatimid pulpit made for the *mashhad* of al-Husain in Ashqelon.[21] According to Mujir al-Din, when Saladin was forced to withdraw from Ashqelon in 587/1191 and destroyed it to prevent it falling again into Frankish hands, he ensured the safety of the *minbar* by its transportation to Hebron, to be set up in the Great Mosque. Van Berchem doubted the veracity of this, suggesting instead that it was one of the Mamluk leaders who effected the transfer.

[11] 1999, especially 284-303.

[12] C Hillenbrand 1999, 300 note 84 quoting Ibn al-Athir, Bk XI, 365.

[13] C Hillenbrand 1999, 299 note 83, quoting Sibt ibn al-Jauzi 1907, Bk VII/2, 656.

[14] Ibn al-Qalanisi quoted in Gabrieli 1969, 29.

[15] The passages and their position are discussed below, and see Auld 2005.

[16] Baer, 1998. In a fragment of a pilgrim scroll depicting the Haram al-Sharif prepared in 1544-45, al-Aqsa Mosque is identified by the pulpit, which is labelled *minbar al-nabi* (Istanbul TKS H. 1812 shown as fig. 6); see too her fig. 8, a similar depiction of the Haram al-Sharif from a Book of Pilgrimage dated 1643-44, with the *minbar* again labelled (now in the Jewish National and University Library, Yah. MS 117, fol. 40v).

[17] Tabbaa 1986, especially 231-35.

[18] Ibn Jubayr 1952, 263.

[19] Ibn Marzuq (*ca* 1310/12-1379) quoted by Bloom 1998, 4.

[20] The full quotation is given by Bloom in this volume, Chapter 7, p. 142.

[21] Van Berchem (reprinted) 1978; Vincent, Mackay and Abel 1923.

To Vincent, Mackay and Abel, however, it seemed entirely likely that Saladin had the *minbar* brought to Hebron after the successful move of Nur al-Din's pulpit from Aleppo to Jerusalem some years previously. Over and above Saladin's need for a *minbar* of sufficient stature for the refurbished Farthest Mosque, there was an additional political and religious aspect. Van Berchem was the first to read into certain unusual elements in the inscriptions chosen by Nur al-Din an *ex-voto* pledge against the ultimate capture of Jerusalem from the Franks. This interpretation appears likely in view of the known facts about Nur al-Din's life and beliefs.[22] The role of the *minbar* in al-Aqsa—the Friday Mosque of the Third Holy City of Islam from which the name of the ruler was proclaimed weekly—was of particular importance. If it is right to see Nur al-Din from the start of his reign 'haunted' by the desire to retake Jerusalem,[23] then the role of the *minbar*, ordered before its conquest, begins to make sense. The words of ʿImad al-Din ('Saladin ... transported [the *minbar*] to Jerusalem where it was put to the use for which it had been destined')[24] show that this aspect of the commission was understood at the time. Saladin's role in bringing the pulpit from Aleppo and setting it up in its predestined place was thus not just a fulfilment of Nur al-Din's vow; it must also be seen as a political statement of his own, for it would be the name of Nur al-Din's successor as ruler that would be proclaimed from the *minbar* every Friday in the reclaimed Holy City, once the pulpit reached al-Aqsa.

ʿImad al-Din's description of the scene in Jerusalem at the first Friday prayers after Saladin's conquest, verbose as ever, contains more pertinent information on the *minbar* used for the occasion:

'Standards were raised high, the pulpit was draped with gorgeous cloths, voices were lifted, groups assembled, throngs crowded together, waves beat upon one another, the devotees made the uproar that "pilgrims at ʿArafa" make, until the hour arrived at which the sun began to set, the midday equilibrium failed and the call to prayer rang out, and the people thronged together. ... He [Qadi Muhyi al-Din Abu'l Maʿali Muhammad ibn Zaki al-Din ʿAli al-Qurashi] mounted the staircase as he was told ... the sides of the pulpit shook, and the assembly rose from height to height of enthusiasm. He addressed them and they listened, he spoke and they were silent ... He explained the significance of Jerusalem and its holiness, of the Masjid al-Aqsa from its foundation, of its purification after

profanation ... Thus perfect mercy fell from heaven and absolute grace was given.'[25]

The passage reveals that the temporary pulpit for the occasion must have been makeshift ('the sides ... shook'), and that it was draped with textiles, doubtless to give it the gravitas the ceremony warranted.[26] In a curious sense, the *minbar* commissioned by Nur al-Din was also clothed, but by inlaid intarsia work of different coloured woods with touches of additional colour in small stars and squares of wood and ivory or bone. Even this cladding was later concealed under gilding. When the gilding occurred is not clear; 19th- and early 20th-century photographs (pl. 4.5) show the pulpit in its pristine state, although surmounted by a facetted pinnacle—doubtless an Ottoman addition and, paradoxically, the only part to remain untouched by the fire that consumed the *minbar* in 1969 because it had been removed to the Islamic Museum on the Haram al-Sharif. The photograph by van Berchem of the inside of Masjid al-Aqsa shows the pulpit hard against the *qibla* wall, in the accustomed position to the right of the *mihrab* as the spectator faces it. A scrolling metal screen, similar to the panels still in the Sakhra and in the Islamic Museum, blocks the space to the immediate right of the doors leading to the stairs. The pulpit had still not received its gilding when it was photographed in 1893 and again in 1914, enabling van Berchem to undertake his detailed study of the inscriptions, which were published in 1927.[27] He was in Jerusalem for the first time, briefly, in 1888, and then again for three weeks in 1893 when he recorded some hundred inscriptions including those on the *minbar*, and took a number of photographs and squeezes. He returned the following year and once again in 1914, when he reviewed the inscriptions on the *minbar* and photographed it again. It was never easy to get access to the *minbar*, and more difficult still to get permission to photograph within al-Aqsa, so van Berchem was in a privileged position. Creswell[28] was the next most successful at recording it, and our knowledge of the pulpit relies heavily on his and van Berchem's plates. By the time Alistair Duncan took his coloured photograph in 1972 (pl. II),[29] the heavy cornices over the doors and the pulpit itself were covered in gold. As the pulpit had never been fully measured or the techniques used for its

[22] Auld 2005.

[23] Van Berchem 1927, 402, n. 2 quotes Abu Shama II, p. 113 line 6 'wa kana fath al-quds fi hammatihi min awwal mulkihi'.

[24] Quoted by van Berchem 1927, 399.

[25] ʿImad al-Din, 47-69 (trans.) E J Costello from F Gabrieli 1969, 167.

[26] 'Uthman, the third 'Rightly-Guided Caliph', is reputed to have been the first to cover the *minbar* of the Prophet with a textile *(qatifa)*, but this was when it was not in use. The practice led to an annual new cover *(kiswa)* being sent to Mecca for the purpose by the ʿAbbasid caliphs (750-1258). By draping the pulpit in al-Aqsa with a cloth, Saladin was perhaps deliberately drawing a parallel between the original *minbar* of the Prophet and the one from which the sermon on the retaking of Jerusalem was delivered.

[27] Van Berchem 1927, 393-402, nos 277-79; Gauthier-Van Berchem 1982, 79.

[28] Now held in the Creswell Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; some are also in the Library of Congress, Washington DC.

[29] Published in Duncan 1972, 77.

Pl. 4.5 Late 19th- or early 20th-century photograph by Max van Berchem, showing the interior of Masjid al-Aqsa with the *minbar* of Nur al-Din *in situ*. Note the pyramidal apex and painted *qibla* wall. © Van Berchem Foundation, Geneva, no. 718.

construction analysed before it was severely damaged by fire, it came as a surprise to the man given the task of trying to record it after the event to discover how it had been made. There is still (to my knowledge) no scientific analysis of the woods used; the craftsman in question, Mr Jamal Badran, spoke to me of 'ivory', 'ebony' and 'cypress' but he may have based his theories on historical reports.[30] The only contemporary chronicler to give a specific description was Mujir al-Din, whose first-hand report stated that the wooden *minbar* was 'incrusted with ivory and ebony'.[31] Dr Jonathan Bloom, with his knowledge of contemporary woodwork, has questioned these identifications.[32] But any conclusive decision must await a proper laboratory investigation of the few charred remnants.

Mr Jamal Badran discovered that thin slivers had been set into a frame, so closely packed that he claimed they were not held by anything other than proximity; certainly there was

no evidence of nailing. This is questionable. Any glue, which would have been animal glue—probably made from hoof trimmings, animal hide or horn[33]—would have been burnt off in the heat of the fire and would have left no trace. It was almost certainly used for the bundles of coloured woods for the intarsia inlays, described below.

Six photographs taken by Creswell included metre sticks (pls 4.19, 4.21-4.22, 4.24-4.25, pl. 4.27), and from these I have attempted an approximation of the overall dimensions: the position of the metre sticks are shown as 'a' on the sketches in figs 4.1 and 4.2. Because there is some distortion in the photographs, it should be stressed that these figures can give only an idea of the size. The pulpit consisted of a triangular frame supporting steps which led up to a seat protected by a canopy under a heavy, *muqarnas* cornice. Double-leaved doors protected the entrance to the steps, and there was also a matching cornice over them (pl. 4.6). The estimated overall length of the base was *ca* 3.40m; the vertical section beneath the seat was *ca* 0.9m across; the height to the beginning of the *muqarnas* cornice at the top of the canopy over the seat was *ca* 4.40m. The length of the triangular frame beneath the balustrade was *ca* 2.50m, while the hypotenuse created by the balustrade to the point at which it met the uprights was equal to the height of the frame from the floor to its top, ignoring the cornice. It is not possible to be sure where the top step fell but there were probably twelve treads.[34]

The form of Nur al-Din's *minbar* had evolved over the centuries. By the 12th century the form was standardized throughout the Islamic world,[35] although there were differences in detail between pulpits in the lands of the western and eastern Mediterranean. The western version, for example, did not support a canopy over the seat, and had open handrails in place of a pierced balustrade, giving a stepped profile believed to reflect the form of the Umayyad *minbar* at the Great Mosque of Medina.[36] In both east and west, the seat at the top of the steps was never used in deference to the memory of the Prophet Muhammad, who had instigated the practice of addressing the faithful from a raised platform. Instead, the *khatib* mounted no higher than the third step from the top to deliver the Friday sermon.

There were undoubted similarities between the Fatimid pulpit now in Hebron and Nur al-Din's *minbar* over and above the fact that both were moved from their place of manufacture. Not only were they alike in appearance, but also in terms of their commission, for there was also an element of

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[30] In an interview in 1990 with Mr Badran, then living in Amman.

[31] Mujir al-Din, 368 quoted by van Berchem in 400, n.1; Mujir added that 'it still exists and an inscription carved in the wood gives the date of its construction, the year 564.'

[32] Following his reading of my earlier treatment of the *minbar* delivered as a lecture in 1993, published 2005

[33] Recipes to prepare these glues are given by the 12th-century monk Theophilus (Chapters 17 and 18, 1979 26-7). Although he was probably German, similar natural glues were in use universally.

[34] A reconstruction of the *minbar* has now been constructed in Amman, based on a model by Mr Isam Awad, Chief Architect to the Administration of Waqfs in Jerusalem, but the dimensions of this are unknown to me

[35] See Diez 1936, 499-500.

[36] Sauvaget 1947; discussed also by Carboni in Bloom *et al.* 1998, 41-65.

Pl. 4.6 View of the front of the *minbar* showing the double doors leading to the steps, the heavy *muqarnas* cornice and the iron grille to the right which blocked the west face. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 44.200.
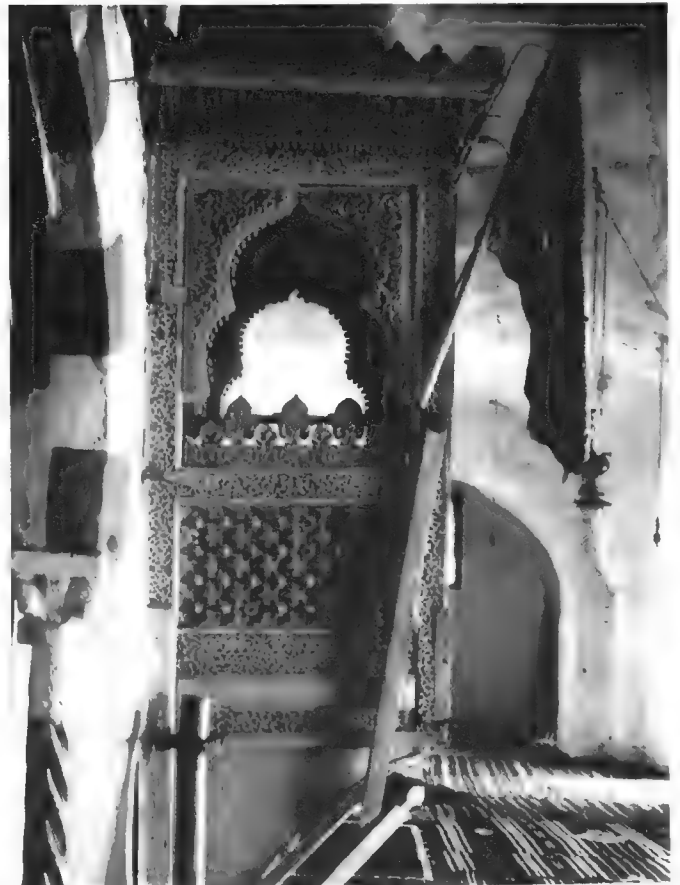
Pl. 4.7 *Minbar* dated 559/1164 previously in the Jamiʿ al-Nuri, Hama, now in Hama Museum. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. EA CA 6079).

pledge against future success in the inscriptions chosen for the Ashqelon/Hebron *minbar*. The main one, in a panel above the doors, contains a Qur'anic reference to an approaching victory (Sura LXI: 13).[37] Van Berchem saw here an optative sense in the use of the word *qarib*. This panel also names the patron (Abu Najm Badr al-Mustansiri) and his master, the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir Billah, and gives the date of the pulpit's manufacture (484/1091-2). Most importantly, it also carries the name of Abu ʿAbdallah al-Husain ibn ʿAli ibn Abi Talib, martyred at Karbala' on ʿAshura' 61/10 October 680. The manifestation or coming to light *(zahara)* of the martyr's head in Ashqelon is recorded in texts framing the doorway and panel;[38] it was this event that gave the impetus to the commission.

Could Nur al-Din or the person responsible for the wording on the al-Aqsa *minbar* have been aware of the one in Ashqelon? Given that there is some question about the location of the Fatimid pulpit during the thirty-five or so years of

Frankish occupation of the town, it is not easy to answer this question. If van Berchem is right in thinking that it must have been taken to Cairo for safe-keeping, then it is just possible that its form and significance were known in Aleppo. But if it remained in Ashqelon, unharmed by the Christians, then it seems less likely, despite the apparent freedom of ʿAli al-Harawi to visit the holy sites in Christian hands, twenty years after the Frankish conquest.[39]

The two pulpits made some seventy-seven years apart were similar in appearance: both had a canopy over the seat surmounted by a heavy *muqarnas* cornice; both had a pierced banister above the hypotenuse of the solid triangular section of the flanks; in both, the staircase was protected by doors; both carried a mix of Qur'anic and valedictory inscriptions with an optative flavour; above all, both were intricately and beautifully inlaid with a mix of geometric plaques adorned with scrolling foliate stems. This type of mosaic decoration, made up of large-scale geometric plaques, each section outlined by grooved straps and forming interlocking star-polygons, was

[37] Van Berchem 1978 (reprinted), 635 Text A '*nasr min allah wa fath qarib*' and 637 n.6.

[38] Vincent, Mackay and Abel 1923, pls XXV and XXVI, van Berchem 1978 (reprinted), 637, Text B.

[39] Translated by Schefer (*Arch.or. lat.* 1, 608) quoted by Vincent, Mackay and Abel 1923, 243 and n.3.

a style developed in the course of the 12th century in Egypt and Syria.[40]

Having drawn out the similarities between the Ashqelon/Hebron and Aleppo/Jerusalem *minbars*, it should be stressed that there were also significant differences. Where the two-leaved doors in Ashqelon are surmounted by a solid frame with the main text, the Aqsa doors had an elegant open section under the cornice, with spandrels cut out in an elaborate ogival form, as were the upper sides of the canopy protecting the seat. Here there was a comparison with the ogival form of the upper section of a *minbar* dated 559/1164 made for the Jami' al-Nuri at Hama (pl. 4.7), although in other respects the two were not particularly alike, especially in details of the decoration. Unfortunately the supporting frame in Hama has been destroyed. The most significant difference between the Fatimid pulpit for Ashqelon/Hebron and the Nurid one for Aleppo/Jerusalem lies in the position and clarity of the inscriptions. As explained above, the position of a *minbar* is always to the right of the *mihrab* facing the *qibla*. In Nur al-Din's pulpit, the long inscription with his name and titles, clearly and beautiful articulated in Ayyubid *naskh* picked out in white to aid legibility, ran round the rectangle of the balustrade on the left (east) face (pl. 4.1)—that is, on the side towards the *mihrab* and thus in clear view of the congregation—while a Qur'anic text occupied a similar position on the west face.[41] The name Nur al-Din appeared immediately below the point at which the *imam* stood weekly to name the ruler in the Friday sermon. In this way, as the eyes of the faithful were fixed on the preacher, the name of the donor would also have been before them. He would thus have enjoyed a weekly blessing. There is a further tiny detail which points to the wish that the text be both legible and comprehensible. The *basmallah* began at the lower corner of the right-hand vertical strut (pl. 4.8); the place in the inscription where the name and titles of Nur al-Din began with the words *amara bi-'amalihi al-'abd* ('has ordered to make this the [poor] slave') is marked by a solid, pentagonal wooden plug similar to those in the centre of the balustrade (fig. 4.3k). Its unadorned state may indicate that it was a replacement; however, those forming a saltire under the name Nur al-Din (pl. 4.2) were certainly original. Tiny inscriptions can just be made out in one of the photographs taken by Creswell (pl. 4.9), although they were not mentioned among those published by van Berchem in 1927. The five small sections taken together made up yet another signature. Although it is difficult to make out the script on the photographs which are the only

surviving evidence, the four irregular pentagons contained the words عمل حميد بن طافر رحمه around the central square which had the word الله. Together, these translate as 'work [of] Humaid ibn Tafir[42] may God have mercy on him'.[43] The position of this additional signature was highly significant. Immediately beneath the name of the donor, the five small plaques broke the symmetry of the *mashrabiyya*, and formed the only solid point in the pierced east flank of the balustrade (pl. 4.1). The position was presumably deliberately chosen by Humaid to be below the name of his donor and the feet of the *imam*.

Description of the methods used for the decoration

Star-polygons made up the predominant decorative motif of the *minbar*. Even when apparently constructed on a square grid, they emanated from a circular one, achieved by determining a central point and from it drawing the arc of the circumference; this could then be cut using a similar method, and the points joined to form the geometric figure.[44] The resulting patterns were constructed using a series of shapes which were arranged into the grid as a kind of wooden mosaic. This is the essential secret of an object like the *minbar* of Nur al-Din. Any number of standardized separate pieces could be made to fit together like a jigsaw puzzle—octagons, hexagons, irregular hexagons, kite- or coffin-shapes and so on (figs 4.3-4.5).

To add impact, a number of irregular pieces were covered in multicoloured inlays. These small highlights included five-pointed stars, half eight-pointed stars, triangles, squares and hexagons. Despite the intrinsic vulnerability of the technique, some of the pieces, mainly from the western face, survived the fire in 1969 and are now held in the Islamic Museum on the Haram al-Sharif (pls 4.10-4.11).[45] It can be seen that the inlaid, veneered sections were also constructed from standard pieces, attached to a basic wooden plaque, which had a chamfered profile to allow it to be held in place by comparatively heavy strapwork frames. Each plaque was then fitted to the supporting structure, probably into prepared recesses, if the basic method of construction in Aleppo resembled that used in Cordoba for the Kutubiyya *minbar*.[46] The inlay was a thin veneer made up of rods of different coloured woods and bone (or ivory) assembled lengthwise into bundles, and then cut across horizontally into thin slices; the design was then finished with thin horizontal

[40] Examples that have survived can be seen in the *minbar* of the Great Mosque of Qus in Upper Egypt ordered by the Fatimid vizier al-Salih Tala'i in 1156, and also in the *mihrabs* of Sayyida Nafisa (1138-46) and Sayyida Ruqayya (1154-60) both now in the Islamic Museum, Cairo. See Bloom in this volume, Ch. 7.

[41] Details of the position and content of the various inscriptions are given in van Berchem 1927, 277-78.

[42] Although van Berchem questioned whether the patronym should be 'Za'fir', this form is not known elsewhere (to my knowledge).

[43] I am grateful to Dr Michael Burgoyne for his help in deciphering the obscure photographic prints.

[44] See El-Said and Parman 1976.

[45] The firebomb had been placed against the east flank.

[46] El Mostafa Hbibi in Bloom *et al.* 1998, 93.
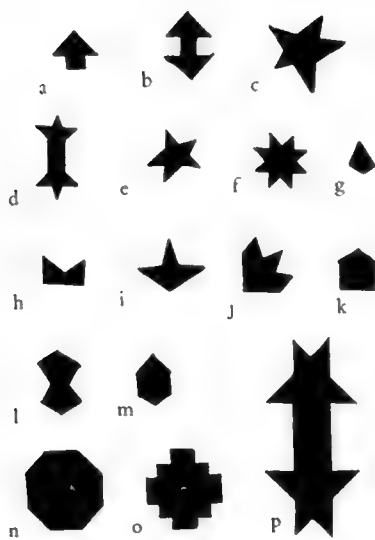
Fig. 4.3 a-p. Sketch drawings of elements of geometric designs of *minbar* of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem 1168-9.
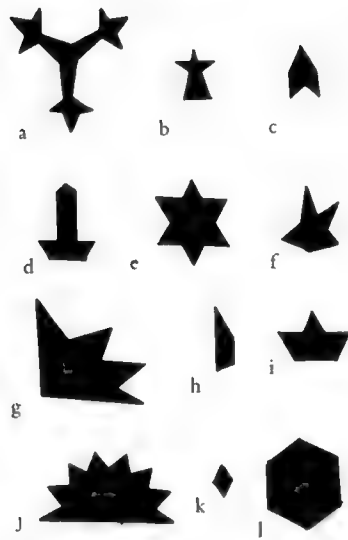
Fig. 4.4 a, c-f, i, j-l. Sketch drawings of elements of geometric design of *minbar* of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem 1168-9; b. *mihrab* of Maqam Ibrahim, Citadel Aleppo 1165 and later; g-h. *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa, Cairo 1146-7.
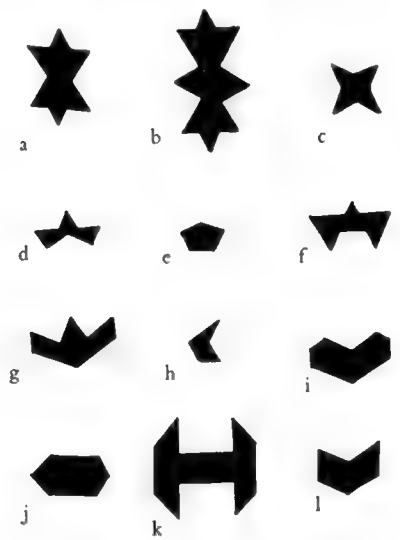
Fig. 4.5 a. Sketch drawing of elements of geometric design found in: *minbar* of Ashqelon/Hebron (1092) also on *minbar* of ʿAmri mosque, Qus (1155-6); b. *mihrab* of Sayyida Rukayya 1154-60; c. *mihrab of* Madrasa al-Halawiyya, Aleppo, 1245-6; d, f. cenotaph of Imam Shafiʿi, Cairo 1178; e, h. cenotaph of al-Husain, Cairo 1154-71; g, j-l. *minbar* of al-Aqsa, Jerusalem 1168-9.

bands of contrasting colours which both helped to hold the veneer in place and to give the sections a structure. The process is well described by Dr Jonathan Bloom[47] and resembles the method used to produce *millefiori* glass. A close examination of pl. 4.10 shows that not only were the tiny hexagonal star-bursts that fill the points of half-stars made in this way, but also the six triangular sections that converge in the centre of the base to form a half eight-pointed star. Although time-consuming, the fact that these details were cut from a prepared bundle ensured some conformity. It can be seen on pl. 4.10, however, that the inner patterning of the irregular five-pointed stars was not uniform. The differences in the pattern corresponded to the arrangement of the rods in individual bundles. In the detail of a section of the west flank it is possible to see that five different patterns of veneer were used for the centre of the inlaid five-pointed stars.

Figs 4.3a-p and 4.4a, c-f, i, j-l and 4.5g, j-l illustrate shapes of plaques used for the *minbar*. It is not known what names were given to these in 12th-century Aleppo, and there are no standard terms today. The variety of shapes on the pulpit exceeded the norm for contemporary work (figs 4.4b, g-h and 4.5 a-f, h). A star polygon was surrounded by irregular hexagons (figs 4.4k, 4.3m) to form the 'rays'. The connection between each star-polygon was treated in a different way to produce a distinct pattern, but always by a succession of standard pieces that would have been made to specification.

Description of the doors

The simplest patterns were reserved for the inner and outer doors of the *minbar* (pls 4.12-4.13), which were signed on the left by Humaid ibn Tafir *(ʿamal Humaid ibn Tafir rahimahu Allah)*, and on the right by Salman ibn Maʿali (*sanʿat Salman ibn Maʿali rahimahu Allah*; pl. 4.13). Details of the motifs differed slightly between the two sides. The outer side of the leaves had a central boss with a six-pointed star (a *khatam sulaiman*, fig. 4e) in polychrome inlay, surrounded by four carved repetitions of fig. 4.4d in a saltire arrangement, two carved repetitions of fig. 4.3k and six small inlaid repetitions of fig. 4.3g. Above and below the central star were two other stars, each six-pointed with a central boss, but these were carved, not inlaid. Between each level there were a small, central inlaid diamond and two triangles. Heavy carved frames served to outline the separate elements of the design but also to hold the individual pieces in place. The panels were surrounded by a carved scrolling stem with six-petalled rosettes, with the signatures appearing in the centre of the upper frame (pl. 4.14).

The inner sides of the doors had essentially the same design, but the six-pointed stars were not inlaid. Instead of a complex hammer-shaped element (fig. 4.4d) between each element of the design, there were simpler irregular hexagons (fig. 4.3k). To the bases of these, small, conjoined inlaid triangles (reminiscent of a *qursi* for a Qurʾan; fig. 4.3h) were attached, and small inlaid kite shapes (fig. 4.3g) between the interstices marked the outer limits of each overall hexagonal device.

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[47] Bloom 1998, 21-2.

Pl. 4.8   Detail of the beginning of the inscription naming Nur al-Din, at the lower right-hand corner of the balustrade on the east face. The start of the section naming the patron is marked by a plain irregular hexagonal plug. Courtesy of Van Berchem Foundation, Geneva, no. 2099/NC14.
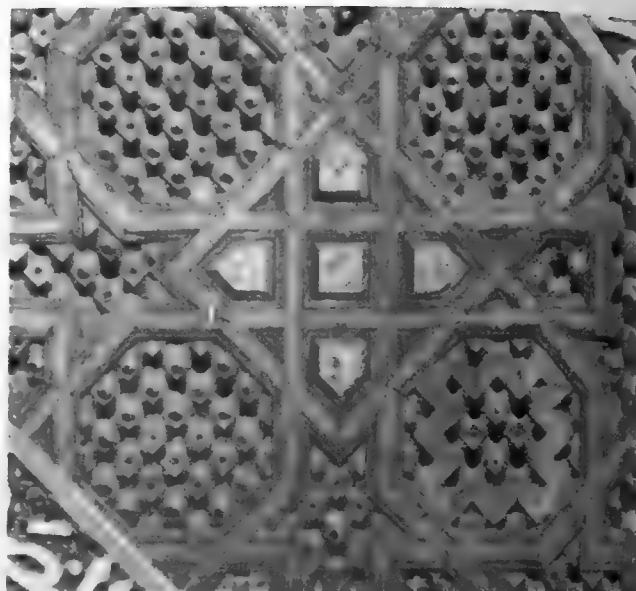
Pl. 4.9   Detail of the newly identified elements of the signature of Humaid ibn Ta'fir. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. EA.CA.5006 [detail])
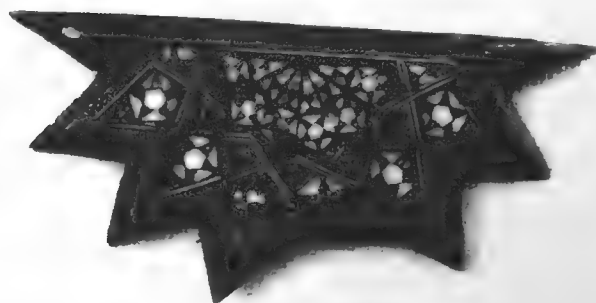
Pl. 4.10   Surviving remnant of inlaid work from the *minbar*, now in the Islamic Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. © Author; courtesy of the Islamic Museum.

Pl. 4.11   Surviving remnant of inlaid work from the *minbar*, now in the Islamic Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem. © Author; courtesy of the Islamic Museum.

The frame of the door was again carved, but here with an intertwined and knotted stem with a deep central groove. Fragments of these outer and inner frames have survived and are displayed in the Islamic Museum on Haram al-Sharif (pl. 4.15, the inner stem on the left, no. 15, and the outer on the right, no. 14, shown with the drawings by the team headed by Mr Jamal Badran). The different carving techniques are clearly visible from these fragments. Both the interlacing stems and the use of a central groove are similar to work on some of the more finely carved panels used for the balustrade round the rock in the Sakhra (see Auld and Burgoyne Chapter 5 in this volume).

The clarity of design on the doors, the delight in polychromy and the basic technique are all reminiscent of contemporary woodwork, and can be compared, for example, to two fragments shown in Paris (*l'Orient de Saladin*, cat. nos 231, 232), the outer frame of the *mihrab* of the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo (fig. 4.12a), made by the father of Salman, and the slightly earlier *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa (fig. 4.7), Cairo, dated 1146-7.[48]

The doors were fitted into a broad, carved outer frame. Above them was a carved panel with an intricate, ogival profile, also carved. This carried the heavy *muqarnas* cornice, each niche of which was filled by carved interlacing stems. The cornice was completed by an *ajouré* summit, with fourteen cut-away triangles recalling the ogee opening below. The top was serrated and the interstices between the openings were also carved (pls 4.3, 4.5, 4.6).

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[48] Both illustrated in this volume, Bloom, Chapter 7, pls 7.3 and 12.
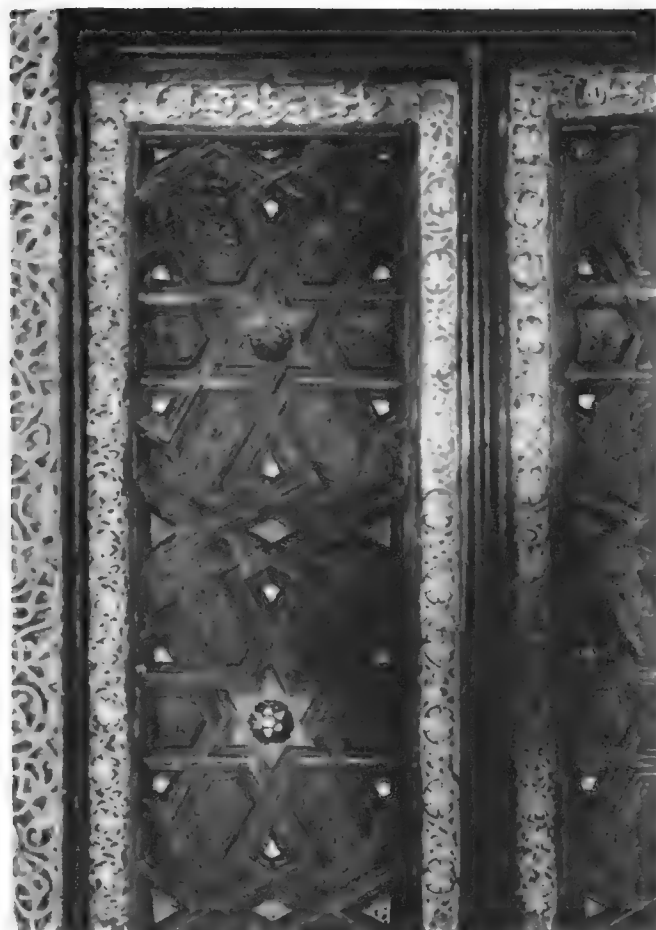
Pl. 4.12 Outside leaves of the closed doors of the *minbar*, showing the position of the signatures of Humaid ibn Ta'fir and Salman ibn Ma'ali, and details of the inlay. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.560.

Pl. 4.13 Detail of the inner left door. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 44.312.

East face

The main supporting structure of the pulpit was completely clad in carved and inlaid motifs (pl. 4.1). The east flank, that is the face towards the *mihrab*, carried a *mashrabiyya* panel flanking the steps, which was framed by the prominent inscription with the date, titulature and names of Nur al-Din set against a carved, scrolling ground (pls 4.1, 4.2).[49] The stems were cut with a deep central groove; this can be seen on pl. 4.18 and also on the charred fragments which survived, now housed in the Islamic Museum on the Haram al-Sharif (pls 4.15–4.17). The design of the pierced panel consisted of three tiers of octagons (fig. 4.3n). The octagons were connected by horizontal and vertical bars of joined elements (figs 4.3p and 4.3k). In the central tier, two

octagons contained a stepped cross (fig. 4.3o). Set immediately beneath the name of Nur al-Din four small rhombs (fig. 4.4k) around a central square contained the previously unrecorded elements of Humaid ibn Ta'fir's signature discussed above, the position of which is marked as 'b' on fig. 4.1. This was the only area here to be inlaid. The outer frame along the west and south sides of the balustrade comprised carved zigzags with a small central rhomb. The frame of the main section, however, was covered in carved scrolling stems, which formed a series of interlocking concentric circles (pls 4.2, 4.18).

The inside of the pierced balustrade differed from the outside. Its triangular lower section (pl. 4.19) consisted of a series of octagons joined by small square bobbins, similar—but not identical—to a section of the balustrade surrounding the rock of the Sakhra (see pl. 5.29–5.32). A carved frame separated this from the main section, which had a broad zig-zag inner frame around a pierced network of pentagons (fig. 4.3k), arranged in vertical and horizontal rows. The treads were plain except for an outer unadorned frame. The space between inner and outer panels was filled by a narrow carved panel set horizontally, which acted as a handrail.

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[49] Van Berchem 1927, 393–4 no. 277; translated by Professor C Hillenbrand (1999, 152) it reads. 'Its construction has been ordered by the slave, the one needful of His mercy, the one thankful for His grace, the fighter of *jihad* in His path, the one who defends [the frontiers] against the enemies of His religion, the just king, Nur al-Din, the pillar of Islam and the Muslims, the dispenser of justice to those who are oppressed in the face of the oppressors, Abu'l-Qasim Mahmud ibn Zengi ibn Aqsunqur, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful'. On the titulature see Elisséeff, 1952–4

Pl. 4.14 Detail of the signatures at the top of the doors of the *minbar*, Humaid ibn Tafir on the left, Salman ibn Maʿali on the right. Courtesy of Van Berchem Foundation, Geneva, no. 2702/15.

On the exterior, the main triangle of the flank continued the theme of octagons (pl. 4.20), but here inlaid accents were introduced—in kite-shaped points (fig. 4.3g) and small hexagons containing a central six-pointed star and triangle, in the connecting pieces (fig. 4.3d). There was also inlay in one larger, more complex eight-pointed star in the centre of an octagon in the seventh tier, in the left-most position (visible on pl. 4.20). Three star-polygons formed part of the design. These were reminiscent of the arrangement of octagons and star-polygons on the frame of the wooden *mihrab* fashioned by Maʿali ibn Salim for the Maqam Ibrahim at the Aleppan Citadel (pl. 4.4). On the *minbar*, each star-polygon had a central boss surrounded by eight points with a central inlay of white material and then eight irregular hexagons whose points filled the interstices between the kite-shaped points (fig. 4.3m). The design also incorporated rhombs (visible on pl. 4.1), which echoed the arrangement used for Husain's signature in the balustrade, but here they were turned so that the elements were in the shape of a saltire set within a square. In order to fit these into the overall scheme, an irregular five-pointed star acted as an intermediary (fig. 4.3e). A thin line of white, probably bone, was introduced into the octagons and irregular hexagons, which acted both as an outline and to draw attention to the circularity of the motif. They were set immediately against the heavy grooved frames which held them in place (pl. 4.18). Although some fragments have survived of both octagons and kite-shaped points (figs 4.3m and 3n; pls 4.16, 4.17), recorded by Mr Jamal Badran and his team, the details on the reconstruction drawings are not entirely accurate, as can be seen from the plates; it is probable that these remnants were from the west flank as the fire-bomb was placed against the east face.

To the left of the triangular section, the vertical column of the frame acted as a support to the seat at the top of the steps. Its decorative scheme was divided into three rectangular panels, whose proportions were carefully calculated to diminish upwards. The lowest of them, seen partially in pl. 4.1, had a six-pointed star at the centre with a central hexagon and inlaid points (fig. 4.4e). Strapwork frames around this enclosed figs 4.4d and 4.3g. This design too was close to one used in the semi-circular niche of the *mihrab* in the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo (pl. 4.4, fig. 4.12b). The middle section of the vertical support under the seat centred on a square (pl. 4.21). A frame in white and with intricately inlaid irregular hexagons and points (figs 4.3k and 4.5j) surrounded the central eight-pointed star (fig. 4.3f). The irregular hexagons (fig. 4.3k) were filled with an inlay of 'y'-interlace (which is based on a hexagon) reminiscent of metalwork, and the points had vertical parallel stripes of dark and light materials, giving an almost heraldic impression. The frame here consisted of an inlaid angular guilloche, its purpose being to add emphasis to the centre of the panel. Interestingly, it was on a line with the octagon picked out with the most intricate central inlay described above, but the reason behind this detail—if any—eludes me. A grid of similar squares surrounded the central highlight in four tiers. Each star had a small boss; certain of the points were inlaid with stripes (as in the centre) or with tiny four-pointed stars, but others were carved. There seems to have been no logic behind the arrangement and perhaps the carved ones were replacements.

Between this section and the uppermost one, a panel with yet another signature of Humaid ibn Tafir (*sanʿat Humaid ibn Tafir al-Halabi rahimahu Allah*, this one already recorded), was set into a frame of scrolling stems (pls 4.21, 4.22). The rectangular panel above had a central inlaid roundel with a six-pointed star of dark and light materials, with ten points emerging from it, also inlaid. Ten irregular hexagons (fig. 4.3m) formed a large star-polygon and parts of three others filled the four corners, connected by tiny inlaid five-pointed stars. Two examples of fig. 4.3d, cut at the bottom, completed the design. Above the frame, immediately beneath the *mashrabiyya* with the word *Allah* outlined against the pierced panel, was a narrow strip of two carved interwoven stems. The work was coarse and out of keeping with the majority of carving so may have been a repair at some point. Surrounding the pierced balustrade (pl. 4.22) protecting the seat—and thus also the name of God—was a Qur'anic inscription (Surah

Pl. 4.15 Surviving remnants of the carved frames of the doors, with accompanying drawings, now in the Islamic Museum, Haram al-Sharif, Jerusalem © Author; courtesy of the Islamic Museum.

Pl. 4.16 Surviving fragment of a carved octagonal piece and kite-shaped point with drawings by the team led by Jamal Badran; now in the Islamic Museum, Haram al-Sharif. Note the central groove. © Author; courtesy of the Islamic Museum.

XXIV: 36–part 37)[50] in the same beautiful, clear script as the one naming Nur al-Din. The spandrels of the enclosure were cut in an ogee similar to, but simpler than, the doors, with a carved boss in each corner. The *minbar* in Jami‘ al-Nuri, Hama (now in the Hama museum) dated 1164 (pl. 4.7), has a similar arrangement of balustrade and cut-away spandrels. However, it does not have bosses or inscription around the supporting *mashrabiyya* section, which has no word in reserve, and consists merely of tiers of pierced octagons. The ogival spandrels here are curiously reminiscent of textiles, with a series of what can only be described as wooden bobbles running round the edge. The carving is coarser than at Jerusalem and there is no inlay or *muqarnas* cornice. Details like these help to explain Ibn Jubayr's enthusiasm for the al-Aqsa pulpit.

West side

The motifs of the west side of the *minbar* (pl. 4.23) echoed but subtly altered many of those found on the east. In a similar way, the individual panels were framed by scrolling stems, and were situated in pendant positions, although those on the vertical support under the seat on the east and west faces were of different proportions. The balustrade on the west, a balance to the long one naming Nur al-Din, was framed in an inscription taken from the Qur'an, Sura XVI:92–part 95 (pl. 4.23).[51] The relevance of the Qur'anic passages was discussed by van Berchem and further explored by Tabbaa (1986) and Auld (2005). The passage here concerns the Day of Resurrection

[50] Van Berchem 1927, 397–8; part of the Sura of Light, which may be a pun on the name of Nur al-Din (Light of the Faith); the passage is also found on the slightly earlier *minbar* for the Jami‘ al-Nuri, Hama.

[51] Van Berchem 1927, 397.

and the necessity to keep faith with God by not breaking an oath. Fragments of the inscription survived the fire and are conserved in the Islamic Museum.

The pierced section of the balustrade was created by a series of square motifs made up of linked hexagons. In the centre of each was a small inlaid square embellished with a hexagon. From it, arranged in cruciform fashion, were four pierced points (fig. 4.3k) with a fig. 4.5k emerging from each side. These formed a series of triangles in reserve where they met the frame, a sort of zig-zag rhythm that was taken up by the solid band between the *mashrabiyya* section and the triangular support. Because of its coarser nature it is possible that this area may have been a replacement. This is further suggested by what was a much finer section of frame running vertically from the right-hand corner adjacent to the seat (pl. 4.24). The angle between the diagonal and vertical framing bands contained a small plug with an additional signature by Salman ibn Ma'ali (*'amal Salman ibn Ma'ali*; discussed above. The position is shown as 'b' on fig. 4.2).

As on the east, the inner design of the balustrade was not the same as the outer. The triangle at the bottom of the steps (pl. 4.25) had one large carved octagon extended with kite-shaped points which fitted into the angles. The octagon, which reflected the use of the grid of small ones opposite on the east inner face, centred on an eight-pointed star with eight small hexagons around it. The long panel lining the *mashrabiyya* balustrade contained solid 'v'-shaped sections (fig. 4.5l) organised around a rhomb (fig. 4.4k) and surrounded by a zig-zag frame.

The main triangular west face (pl. 4.23) was, as before, framed by a fine border of carved stems. Once again, the design featured octagons (fig. 4.3n), but the eye focused on eight-pointed stars inlaid in light materials (fig. 4.3f), each with an intricate central accent (pl. 4.26). Eight irregular hexagons (fig. 4.5j) were placed between the points, and in turn, between them, were irregular five-pointed stars (fig. 4.3c) leading to a further set of eight oblong hexagons (fig. 4.5j). As the stars were also inlaid with light materials, they formed a ring reminiscent of a star-burst of heavenly bodies. There were three complete motifs with half-motifs at the borders, and a quarter-motif at the lower right angle. Compared to the east side, although essentially the same design, the overall impression given by the west panel is that the design was less random; the horizontal, vertical and diagonal subdivisions were more obvious, which helped to disguise the awkward irregular five-point stars (fig. 4.3e) at the crossing point of the diagonal links made up of irregular hexagons (fig. 4.5j).

The panels on the vertical support below the seat on the west were also more complex than their opposite number. The lowest section contained two vertical panels (pl. 4.27). Each was framed by a narrow border of running stems. The frame on the right appears to have been original, while that on

the left may have been a replacement because of the coarseness in the carving. The central panels were identical, both with two devices set one above the other consisting of a central six-pointed star (*khatam sulaiman*; fig. 4.4e) surrounded by six regular hexagons (fig. 4.4l) and half-stars (fig. 4.4i). A small rhomb (fig. 4.4k) marked the central point. The next panel above (pl. 4.27, centre) was, in my opinion, the most striking design used for the *minbar*. Essentially it consisted of sections of twelve-pointed star-polygons. One half-star was in the middle at the bottom, and two quarter-stars were at the top left- and right-hand corners. These were magnificently inlaid, as can be seen in the remnants that have survived and in the photograph (pls 4.10, 4.11). Around them were placed irregular hexagons (fig. 4.3m) and three-point links (fig. 4.3i) but the eye was drawn to an unusual three-legged figure with three points at the end of its legs (fig. 4.4a). This was also inlaid. To either side of the central panel ran a broad vertical border of irregular hexagons, half-octagons and half-stars. A panel containing the signatures of Fada'il and Abu'l-Hasan, sons of Yahya al-Halabi (*san'at Fada'il wa Abu 'l-Hasan waladai Yahya al-Halabi rahimahu Allah*) ran across the breadth of the panel.[52] Above it was another panel with an unusual design. In the centre there was a carved octagon with a central knob. The octagon was not inlaid, but a narrow fillet of white material, probably bone, gave it prominence. As the figure was so arranged that it stood on one point, it looked skewed. The frame surrounding the panel consisted of carved interlaced stems with a deep central groove and carried no leaf or bud. This differed from the stems in the majority of the frames. Eight small triangular points surrounded the octagon and four irregular hexagons (a variation on fig. 4.3m) filled the corners of the square frame. To either side of this central square were two small eight-pointed stars (fig. 4.3f) with an inlaid four-pointed star in their centres (fig. 4.5c), each with a small knob. Four points (fig. 4.3k) converged on the centre arranged in cruciform fashion, and these were interspersed with elongated similar shapes to give a saltire. The basic octagonal form of the overall device was completed by four bars with triangular points at each end (fig. 4.3b) laid across the straight arms of the cross. These also had five small knobs, although one, the lower example on the left, did not and was probably a replacement. This is borne out by the fact that the truncated bars, with a single point (fig. 4.3a) at the vertical sides of the panels, also had small knobs. The rhomboid grid, formed by the converging irregular hexagons, and the central focus of a square referred to the design of the central panel opposite on the east face.

The larger panel above also echoed the one opposite on the east face, for it too had a large eight-pointed star-polygon with smaller irregular five-pointed stars picked out

[52] Van Berchem 1927, 397 no. 279E. See too Mayer 1958, 63.
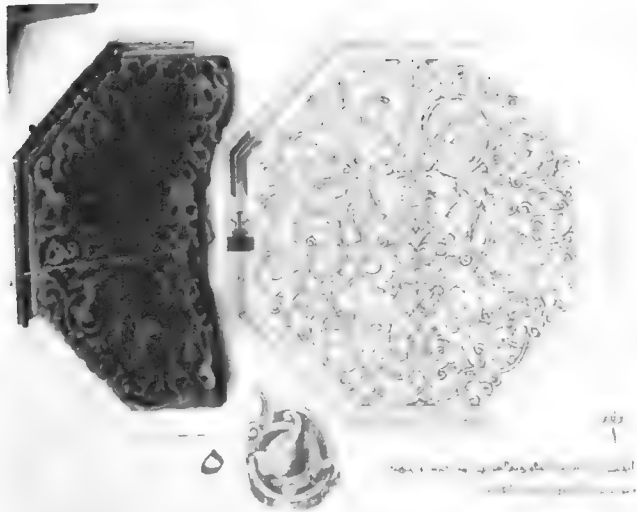
Pl. 4.17 Surviving fragment of an octagon with part of its frame and a drawing by the team led by Mr Jamal Badran, now in the Islamic Museum, Haram al-Sharif. © Author; courtesy of the Islamic Museum.

by inlay. There were variations between the two, however. The west-face panel had a prominent central boss surrounded by ten inlaid and conjoined flat points. From this, ten inlaid kite-shaped points (fig. 4.3g) splayed out to form a starburst. Ten irregular and carved hexagons (fig. 4.3m) completed the motif, which had a small five-pointed inlaid star at top and bottom, and half-stars at the four corners (fig. 4.3i). Quarter star-polygons were set at the four corners of the panel and the interstices were filled with three points on a splayed leg (fig.4.4b) to each side of an irregular hexagon with a central boss. These details can be seen on pl. 4.24.

The *mashrabiyya* balustrade protecting the seat also referred to the one opposite in that its ground was formed by a series of small joined bobbins (pl. 4.24) which surrounded a word in reserved outline. The top left-hand corner was of coarser work and had probably been repaired at some time; it may therefore be wise to ignore the diagonal line descending from the top left-hand corner and the additional short diagonal and vertical strokes which meet the final letter. The inscription should thus be read as a further incidence of Allah though it is not straightforward, and it did not correspond stylistically to its pendant. The two *lām alifs*, one at the beginning of the word and one before the final *hā*, were crossed in a style known from the 11th century; a Qur'anic band around the minaret at Tirmidh dating to 423/1031-32 can be cited as a comparator.[53] The central hexagonal flourish, which at its centre had a smaller inlaid hexagon embellished by an eight-pointed star (fig. 4.3f), is probably purely ornamental. Although the shape of it was different, in function it corresponded to the flourishes in two examples of the word Allah written in floriated Kufic

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[53] Blair 1992, fig. 61.
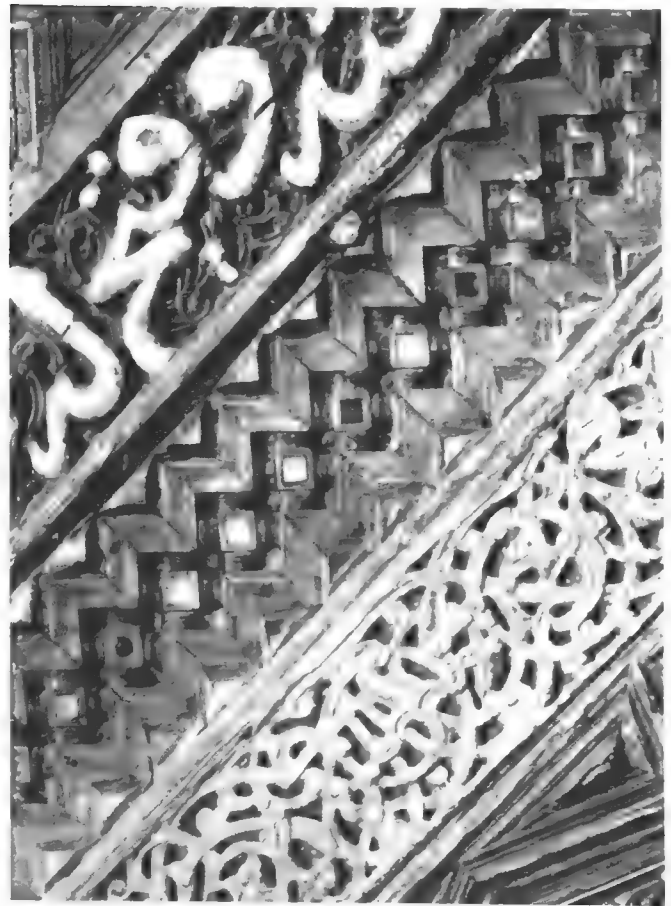
Pl. 4.18 Detail of east face of the *minbar*, showing the carved frames of the balustrade. © Library of Congress, Washington DC, no. 40 12293 Lc M32-2937.

in the mosque at Nayin.[54] As with the octagon in the narrow panel below, the hexagon stood on one point. Around ran a Qur'anic inscription, here the whole of Surah IX:18, which refers to the error of worshippers of idols, which can 'neither harm nor help them'.

Seat

On the back wall, above the seat under the canopy, was the last signature, once again that of Humaid ibn Tafir *(san'at Humaid ibn Tafir rahimahu Allah)*, just visible in pl. 4.3. Unfortunately this only surviving photograph of the section is not very clear, but it can be seen that the decoration centred on a carved hexagon with a central knob, reminiscent of the one in the centre of the *'ain* in reserve in the *mashrabiyya* balustrade flanking the seat on the west, because it too stood on one point. A six-pointed star made up of six small triangular points surrounded this with six examples of fig. 4.5g followed by six pairs of pentagons

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[54] Viollet 1921. I am grateful to Leonard Harrow and Dr Michael Burgoyne for their opinions, and to Professor Robert Hillenbrand for his help in providing stylistic comparisons.
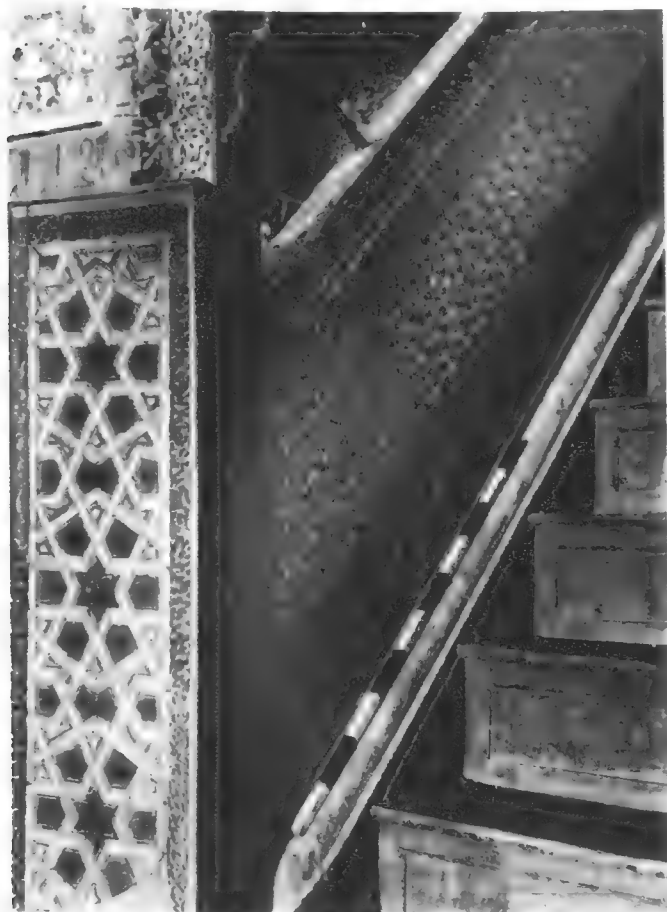
Pl. 4.19 View of the inside of the balustrade on the east face, with the open door to the left, showing the steps and a metre stick. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.563.

Pl. 4.20 Detail of the decoration of the main section of the east face (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. C.5009)

(fig. 4.5e) on each side of a small rhomb (fig. 4.4k). The panel above was partly pierced within octagons and intermediary stepped crosses (fig. 4.3o).

The front of the canopy carried the statement that the *minbar* was 'finished' (or appropriated) by al-Salih Isma'il b. Mahmud b. Zangi; this was written in a less elegant script than the other inscriptions on the pulpit. It began with the *basmallah* and continued *tammamahu fi ayyam waladihi al-malik al-'alim al-'adil al-Salih Isma'il ibn Mahmud ibn Zangi ibn Aqsunqur*.[55] As the *minbar* must have been complete before it was installed in Aleppo, van Berchem suggested that Isma'il appropriated rather than completed it sometime around 570/1174–75. This is discussed above. The spandrels flanking the opening below were also totally different in style from the rest of the work on the pulpit and may have been Ottoman, perhaps work done at the same time as the pyramidal summit plainly visible in the photograph taken by van Berchem (pl. 4.5). The summit still exists and is now in the Islamic Museum on the Haram al-Sharif as already explained above. The canopy over the seat was finished by a heavy *muqarnas* cornice to match the one

over the entrance doors. The heavy final trefoils also seem to have been out of character with the Ayyubid structure.

Comparisons

The method of constructing a pattern from individual pieces was commonplace, as Jonathan Bloom demonstrates in his chapter in this volume. Figs 4.6–4.15 are sketches of the individual shapes assembled in their final arrangement in contemporary woodwork, but without their frames. All the furniture that has survived was for a religious setting but undoubtedly high-grade domestic woodwork was constructed in a similar way. Did the wide use of star-polygons as a decorative motif have a specific significance? Dr Jane Jakeman, in her doctoral thesis,[56] suggested that sun and star designs were considered appropriate for entrances, where they were talismanic in function. It could be argued that star-polygons found on a cenotaph or *minbar* fall outside this function.

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[55] Van Berchem 1927, 395 no. 278.

[56] 1993, unpublished, for the University of Oxford
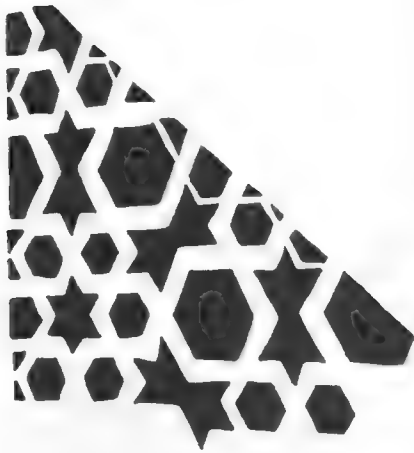
Fig. 4.6 Sketch design of west face of *minbar* of Badr al-Jamali for shrine of al-Husain, Ashqelon, 1091-2, now in Great Mosque, Hebron.

Fig. 4.7 Sketch design of central panel above niche on outer face of *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa, Cairo 1146-7.
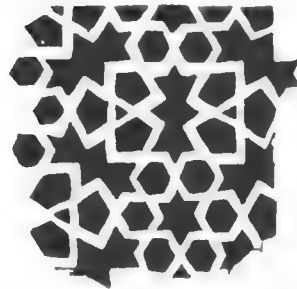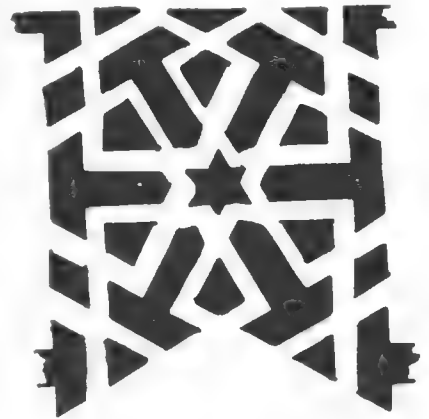
Fig. 4.9 Sketch design of upper section above niche of *mihrab* of Sayyida Ruqayya, Cairo 1154-60.
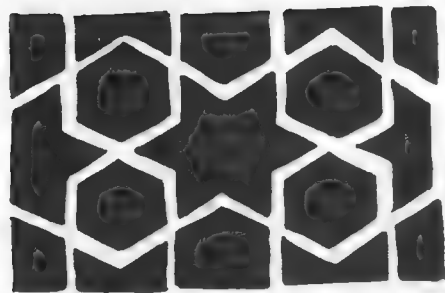
Fig. 4.8 Sketch of design of panel on upper part of inner door of Maristan Nuri, Damascus 1154.
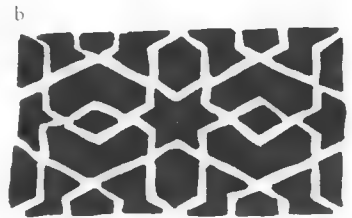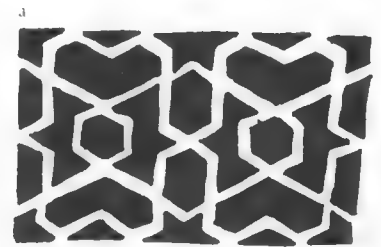
Fig. 4.10 a. Sketch design of central lower panel of cenotaph of al-Husain, Cairo 1154-71. b. Sketch design of side lower panels of cenotaph of al-Husain, Cairo 1154-71.
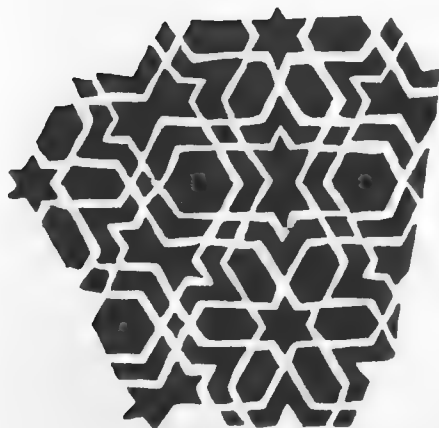
Fig. 4.11 Sketch design of west face of *minbar* of 'Amri Mosque at Qus ordered by al-Salih Tala'i' 1155-6.
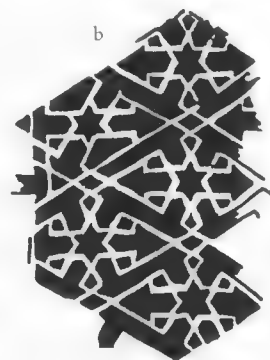
Fig. 4.12 a. Sketch design of side panel flanking niche of *mihrab* of Maqam Ibrahim, citadel of Aleppo, completed 1167, signed by Ma'ali b. Salim. b. Sketch design of back panel of niche, *mihrab* of Maqam Ibrahim, citadel of Aleppo, completed 1167.
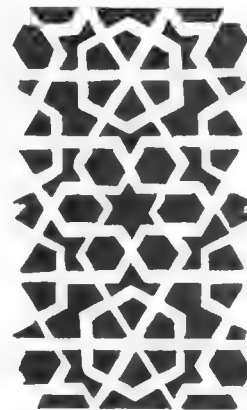
Fig. 4.13 Sketch of one panel of design of cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo 1178, signed by 'Ubaid 'known as ibn Ma'ali', probably the brother of Salman, one of those who signed the *minbar* of al-Aqsa.

Fig. 4.14 Sketch of central design of cenotaph of mother of al-Kamil in mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo 1211.
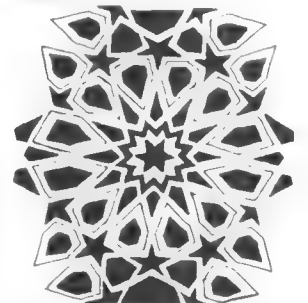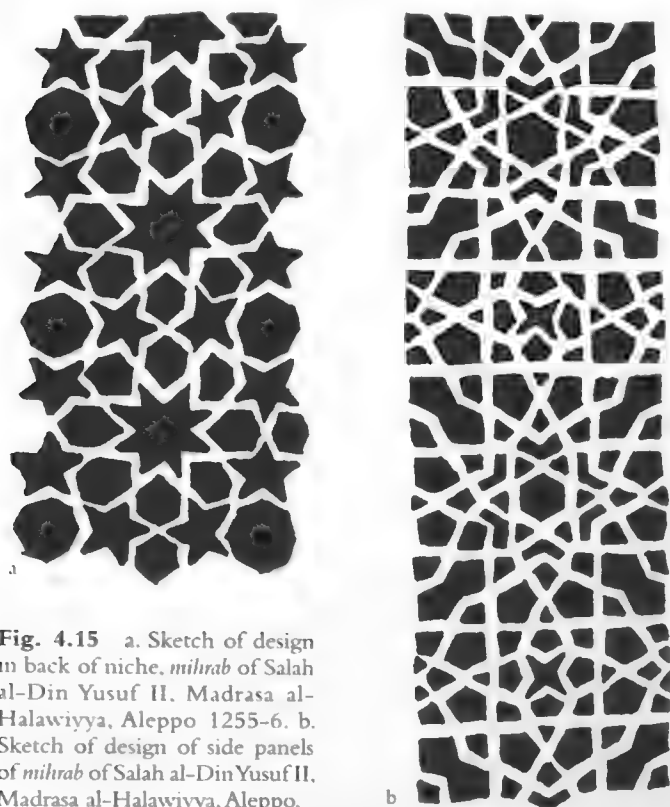
Fig. 4.15 a. Sketch of design in back of niche, *mihrab* of Salah al-Din Yusuf II, Madrasa al-Halawiyya, Aleppo 1255-6. b. Sketch of design of side panels of *mihrab* of Salah al-Din Yusuf II, Madrasa al-Halawiyya, Aleppo.

Pl. 4.21 Detail of the decoration of the central section under the seat on the east face, with the signature of Humaid ibn Tafir al-Halabi. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.569.

However, they were clearly considered appropriate for the opening pages of a Qur'an—an 'entrance' to the revealed word of God. It is possible, then, that they were considered equally appropriate for a *minbar* from which that word was preached, or a cenotaph with its promise of an afterlife in paradise. This must remain conjectural. What is more concrete is that the designs created for Qur'ans and for *minbars* in the Muslim east and Muslim west were different from each other. Thus, in the west of North Africa, the designs tended to be strictly arranged on a 'square' grid (actually based on linked octagons). This can be seen in the Kutubiyya *minbar*, referred to above. The stress on a square grid, reflecting the stepped profile of the flank of a *minbar* or the shape of a folio, is thought to have been derived from the earliest period. Its use can be seen, for example, on the pulpit of the Great Mosque of Kairouan (862-63) and in its *mihrab* niche, as well as on the pulpits of the Mosque of the Andalusians, Fez (980-5), the Great Mosque of Algiers (1097), the Qarawiyyin Mosque, Fez (completed in 1144), and the Qasba Mosque, Marrakesh (1189-95). The same taste is found in contemporary frontispieces of Qur'ans from this region, where either a single square was used,[57] or a division

into four parts.[58] The impression given by these designs is one of completeness; there is no sense of the pattern continuing beyond the confines of the margin. This is not the case in work from the eastern Mediterranean where, from an early period, the taste seems to have been for more fluid designs which imply continuation beyond the confines of a margin or frame. Thus a *mihrab* in al-Juyushi Mosque, Cairo, of 1085 has a vegetal theme, similar to the prayer niche in the 'Amri Mosque, Qus, of some thirty years earlier, which centres on star-polygons embellished with scrolling stems with half- or quarter-motifs at the edges.

This is also true of the design for the *minbar* of the 'Amri Mosque at Qus (fig. 4.11), which was commissioned by the Fatimid vizier al-Salih Tala'i in 1155-56.[59] Dr Jonathan

57 For example for the frontispiece and endpiece of a Qur'an written by Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Artus, Valencia, 1182-3 now in the University Library, Istanbul A.6754 ff.iv and 131v; and a frontispiece to a single-volume Qur'an from Valencia, 1199-1200 (The Nasser D Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, Qur318).

58 On the final illuminated pages of a Qur'an, probably from Granada, 1303, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris no. 385, ff.129v-130r.

59 For details, see Bloom in this volume, Chapter 7, p. 141, cat. no. 12

Pl. 4.22 Detail of the upper section under the seat and the *mashrabiyya* panel with the word *Allah* on the east face. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.570.

Bloom considers that it was too fine to be the work of local artists, and was perhaps made in Cairo. In analysis, it can be seen that the design consisted of a hexagon (fig. 4.4l), an angled 'v'-filler and an elongated, irregular hexagon (fig. 4.5j), all of them features shared with designs on the *minbar* of al-Aqsa. The irregular six-pointed stars (fig. 4.5a) used as a connecting

device between hexagons had been employed earlier, on a Fatimid *minbar* of 1092, commissioned by the vizier Badr al-Jamali for the shrine of al-Husain at Ashqelon (fig. 4.6).[60] It may be that the influence of this type of design extended over a considerable stretch of time. Precisely the same shapes were used to create the magnificent star-polygon frontispieces of early Mamluk Qur'ans. The double frontispiece created by Sandal for Baibars al-Jashnagir in 1304-6, for example, used a central ten-pointed star surrounded by variations of figs 4.5a, 4.5e and 4.3g, with part-motifs at the corners.[61] These are different from the patterns introduced into Cairo by the advent of Qur'ans from further east, in particular Timurid examples from Iran, which became the 'classical' format.[62] Other designs of contemporary woodwork are shown in figs 4.7–4.10, 4.12-4.13, and it can be seen that all share the same method of construction. They are variations on a single theme.

It is a measure of the complexity of the *minbar* of al-Aqsa that these almost standard individual shapes were used to create such a rich diversity of pattern. It stood alone too in its use of touches of inlay, which was applied in a completely different way from, say, the pulpit of the Kutubiyya Mosque. In the Moroccan *minbar*, the veneer of inlay covers the entire surface. In al-Aqsa, the inlay was used to highlight certain key elements—a circle of stars, a star-burst, the centre of a square—as has been described. Moreover, instead of keeping to a single arrangement of woods of different colour to create a web of repeating designs, the arrangement changed to create different and complex patterns that demanded careful scrutiny to appreciate them. The same love of complexity was evident in the carved details. Since writing this account, a recreation of the *minbar* has been prepared. Like the original, it has travelled from where it was made (in this case Amman) to its final destination in Jerusalem to stand, protected behind glass, in the place of its predecessor, to the right of the *mihrab*. It is a measure of the importance to Islam of the *minbar* of Nur al-Din that so much trouble and expense have been expended on providing a replacement.

[60] Bloom, Chapter 7, p. 137, cat. no. 1
[61] James 1988, figs 25, 230 cat. no. 1; British Library, London Add.22406-13, frontispiece to vol. 7, 1v-2r.
[62] James 1988, 74-155, especially cats 45, 46, 98.
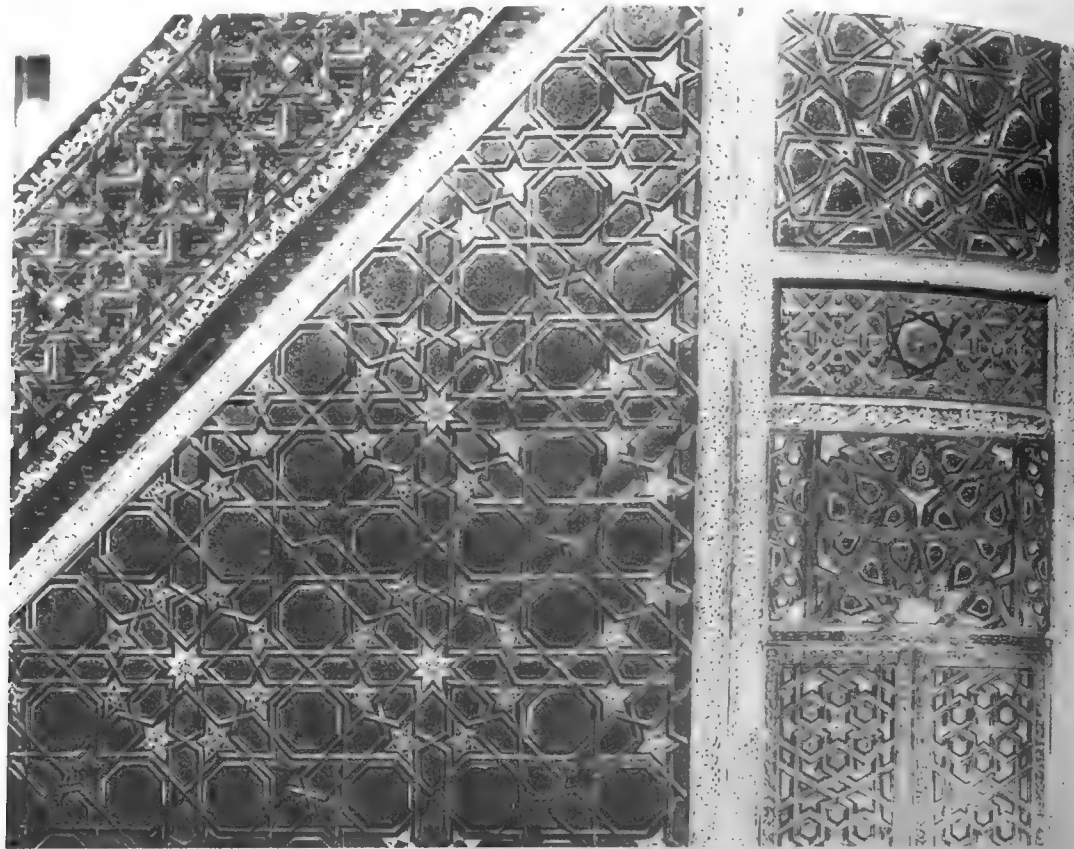
Pl. 4.23   West face of the *minbar*, overall view. © Library of Congress, Washington DC, no. 402293 Lc M32-7096A.
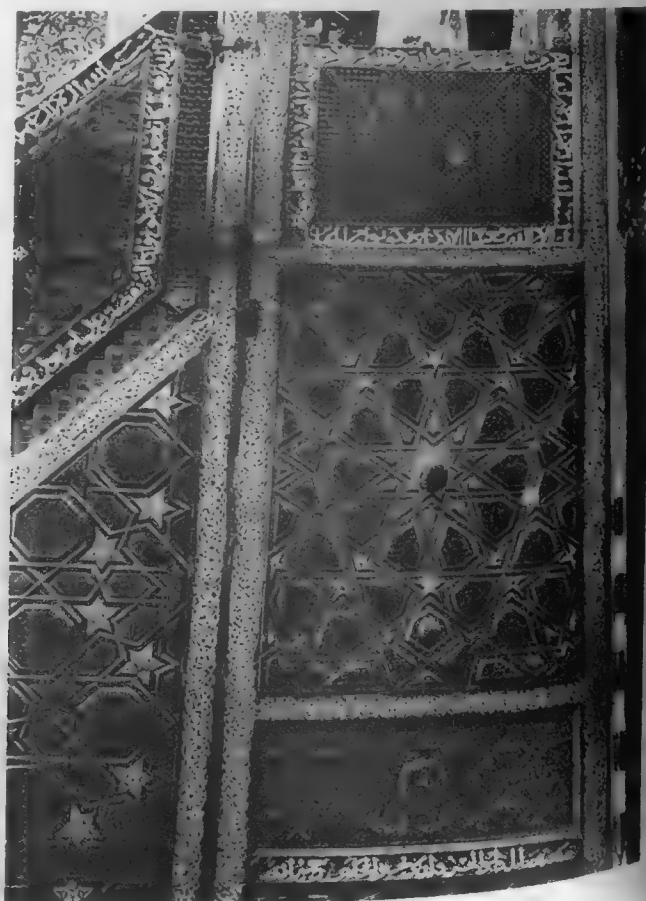
Pl. 4.24   Detail of the west face, showing the change in texture in the vertical section of frame next to the seat and plug with the signature of Salman ibn Ma'ali. Note the inscription in reserve in the *mashrabiyya* protecting the seat and Qur'anic frame, as on the east face, and the metre stick at lower right. Note too the signature of Salman b. Ma'ali in the angle at the base of the upright support of the balustrade. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem no. 29.568.
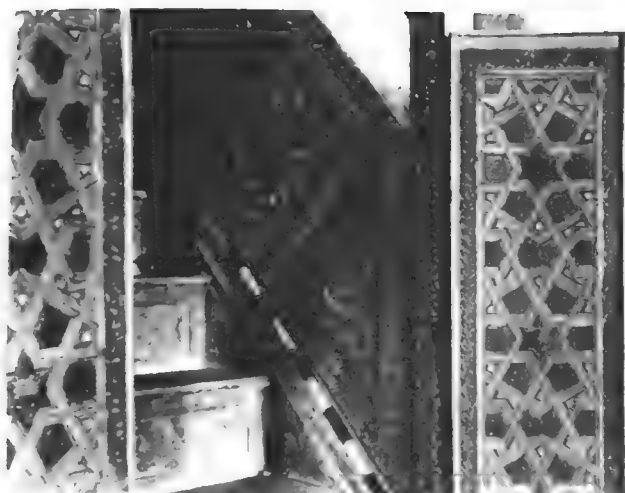
Pl. 4.25 Detail of the inside of the *mashrabiyya* balustrade on the west face, with the right-hand door shown open to the right. Note the metre stick. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.563.
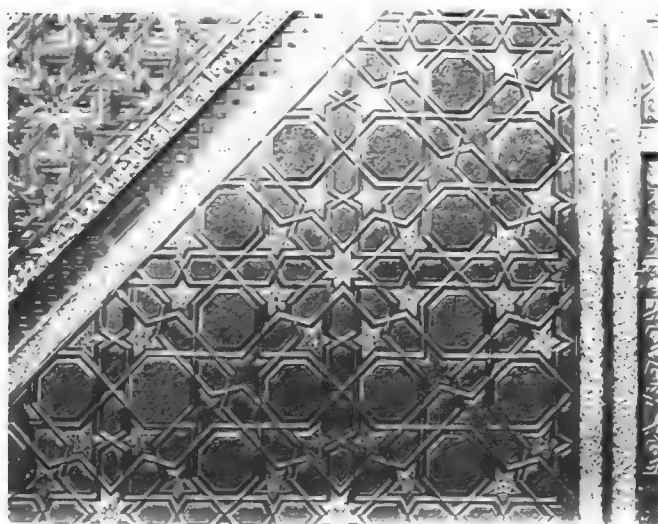
Pl. 4.26 Detail of the main triangular support on the west face. Note the different inlay patterns in the irregular five-pointed stars. © Library of Congress, Washington DC, no. 402293 Lc M32-7096E.
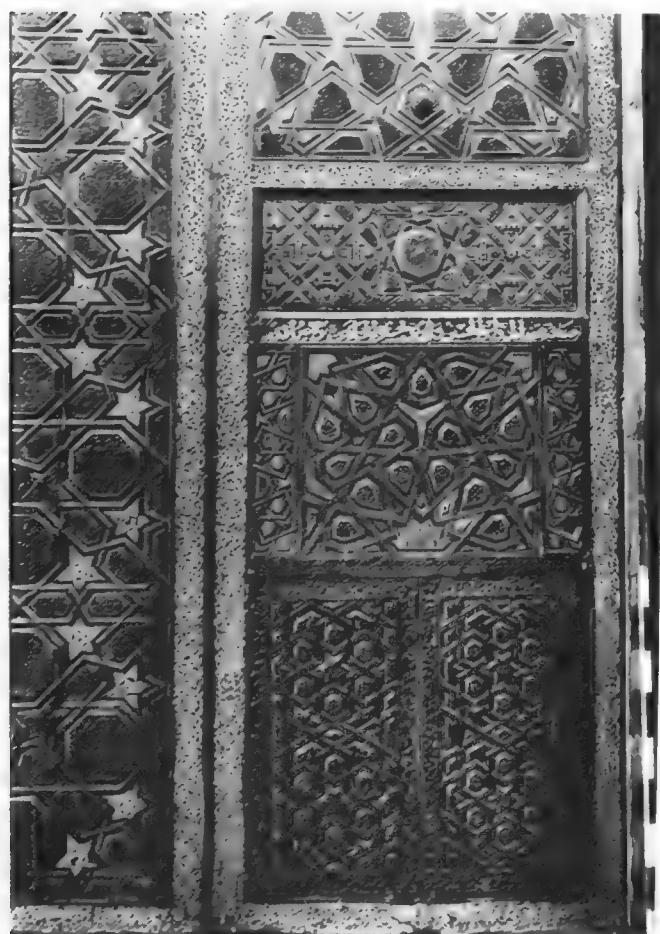
Pl. 4.27 Detail of the lower panels below the seat on the west face. © Israel Antiquities Authority, Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem, no. 29.567.
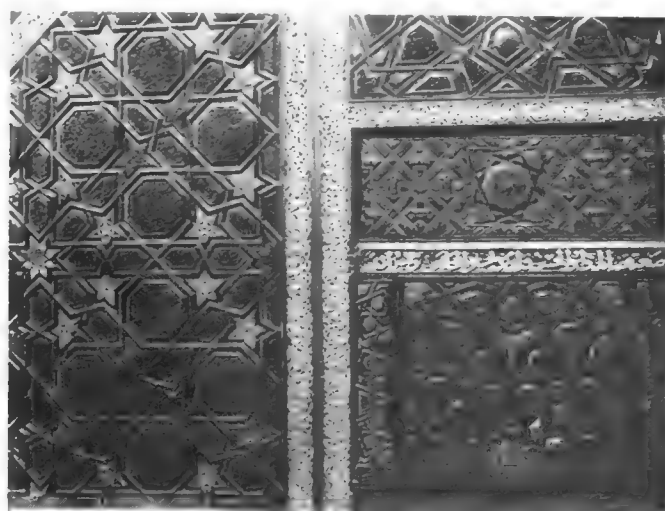
Pl. 4.28 Detail of the central panels below the seat on the west face, showing the signatures of Fada'il and Abu 'l Hasan, sons of Yahya al-Halabi © Library of Congress, Washington DC, no. 404493 Lc M32- 7095.

Chapter 5
THE WOODEN BALUSTRADE IN THE SAKHRA[1]

Sylvia Auld

Within the Sakhra, surrounding the eponymous rocky summit of Mount Moriah directly beneath the Dome, there runs a wooden balustrade made up of twenty-three sections. Each section consists of a series of units; they are not identical, although the components are closely related, arranged in different configurations. During the recording of the balustrade, each change of direction or corner of the balustrade was given a number, and an identifying letter was subsequently assigned to each section and individual component (fig. 5.1); a schematic configuration of each section is given in Appendix 1.[2] A number of individual components of interest were photographed, as well as each section (where possible) (pls 5.1-5.24). Particular attention was paid to details which did not conform to the norm, listed below the schematic analyses in Appendix 1 and further discussed below, to two inscriptions (one previously unrecorded—see Appendix 2; and pls 5.3, 5.24, 5.42, 5.43, 5.44, 5.46, VI, XII), and to finely executed work; more run-of-the-mill components were also photographed (pls 5.27-5.41) as a paradigm against which to set the exceptions. Shortage of time and a wish to minimise disturbance to the worshippers made it impossible to measure the whole length but sections were sketched and measured by Michael Burgoyne (figs 5.2-5.4). Richmond (1924) photographed the balustrade from above (his figure 15), and his plan (figure 1) of the balustrade provided the basis for our fig. 5.1. One immediately discernible change has occurred since Richmond's time and that is between Sections 15 and 16; Richmond indicated a slight change in direction, but now there is none. This may have a bearing on the dating of the refurbishment of the present structure.

An undated panel with an inscription in well-formed Ayyubid *naskh* gives the names of the craftsmen: Abu'l-Khair b. Abu b. Rahma, and Abu Bakr and his brother ʿUthman, sons of Hajj Musa (pl. 5.3, 5.42, VI). It appears in sections 3-4: C, immediately to the south-west of the stairs leading to the lower level of the rockface.[3] The panel is so placed that it is clearly legible to people within the main space of the Sakhra. A further and almost identical inscribed panel states that the work was done under the rule of al-Malik al-ʿAziz Abu'l-Fath ʿUthman b. al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf b. Ayyub.[4] Van Berchem describes Panel A (pl. 5.43*l/r*) as *'dos à dos contre B et tourné à vers le sud-ouest'*. It has been relocated and is now to be found in Section 4-5: D, facing the steps leading underground (the position given for Panel B—*'face à l'escalier souterrain'*). Mayer, in his publication of 1958 when he was probably using photographs taken earlier during the period of the Mandate, shows the original position of the two panels. His Plate IV shows the Panel B facing the steps while Plate V shows Panel A facing outwards into the Sakhra. In other words, there appears to have been a reversal in the position of the two panels since 1958. Saladin's son ruled Jerusalem from Shaʿban 592/July 1196, according to Maqrizi dying at the end of 595/October 1199. Van Berchem pointed out that although the balustrade was constructed during the prince's lifetime, as the inscription records *fi ayyam*, 'in the days of', the inscription panel itself can only have been carved after his death because it contains the words *qaddasa allāh rūḥahu*, a form used for the deceased. Van Berchem added that this would not be surprising as a panel naming the patron and craftsmen

[2] After Richmond 1924, fig. 1.

[3] Mayer 1958, 26; van Berchem 1927 2/2, 301-3, 369, no. 228 (with bibliography). Although Rosen-Ayalon (1990, 305-14) was of the opinion that the wooden screen 'bears the date 592-5/1196-9' this is not the case; the dates are only deduced from the reign of the named patron.

[4] ʿImad al-Din makes no mention of works undertaken by this prince, only recording that he left his arsenal of arms to Jerusalem when he returned to Egypt: ʿImad al-Din's long list finishes with the words 'The city was reinforced with this arsenal and its defences made secure.' Gabrieli 1969, 173.
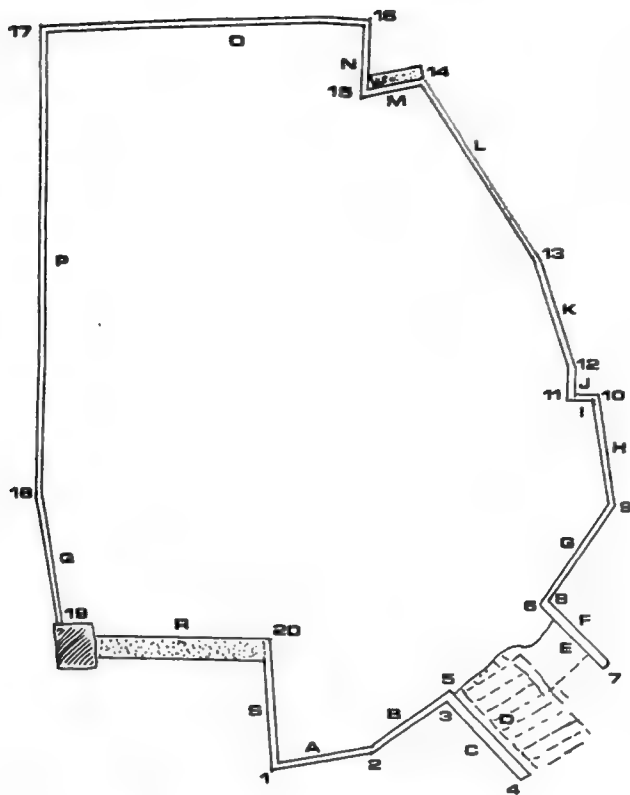
Fig. 5.1 Sakhra (Dome of the Rock). Sketch of the balustrade, showing the position of the sections. After Richmond 1924, Fig. 1.

would have been carved once work was completed.[5] Although in the time of van Berchem the panel was painted, the names of the craftsmen were clear to him and he regretted the fact that their place of origin was not given. The carpentry *(nijara)* was done by Abu'l-Khair, while the two brothers designed it *(naqashahu)*. Van Berchem translated '*naqasha*' by '*gravée*' (incised or engraved), but the root letters *n q sh* are widely used in other contexts such as metalwork, and I have suggested the more usual translation. The full text reads:

Panel A

عُمل فى أيام الملك العزيز أبى الفتح عثمان ابن الملك الناصر
يوسف بن أيّوب قدّس الله روحه

Panel B

وهو بنجارة أبو [sic] الخير ابن أبى علىّ بن رحمة ويرجوا
به عفو الله ونقشه أبو بكر وأخوه عثمان أولاد الحجّ موسى
رحمهم الله

Stylistically, as Jonathan Bloom points out in Chapter 7 of this volume, the balustrade is conventional. The *mashrabiyya* looks back to a long tradition of woodwork employed in both domestic and religious settings. Clearly the structure has been dismantled, or rebuilt, at some time. Heads of screws and modern nails are visible under the varnish (pls 5.25, 5.30, for

example); some panels have been replaced by inferior copies (Section 16-17: O3, pl. 5.17 top left for example), others have been cut down and some have been inserted upside down (Section 18-19: Q, pl. 5.22).[6] While the backs of the majority of carved panels have chamfered edges, less well executed examples have flat backs. In addition there appears to be a difference in the woods; this, however, remains an impression of the eye because of the thick coating of varnish throughout. Photography of the backs of all the panels was impossible because of the difficulty of access.

After the conquest of Jerusalem and the initial celebrations in al-Aqsa, Saladin ordered the refurbishment of both the *jami* or 'mosque' and the Sakhra.[7] Although contemporary chroniclers speak of Saladin erecting a surround of iron *(haddad)* to protect the rock,[8] no mention is known of a wooden balustrade. A metal grille *in situ* can be seen in Richmond figs 6 and 7 and was also photographed by Creswell (pl. 5.45 Creswell EA.CA.4990); sections of this grille, believed to be Crusader and first mentioned in Western sources by an Icelandic pilgrim in *ca* 1150, are now conserved in the Islamic Museum. The decision to enclose the rock by a balustrade must have been one of safety.[9] Saladin ordered the removal of marble slabs covering the rock at the same time as the dismantling of an altar erected by the Crusaders. Although the rock was behind a metal surround, presumably it was still considered unsafe to allow close access to the area. But in addition, the wooden balustrade, by separating the rock from the worshippers within the main space, acts as a kind of *maqsura*, elevating the rock to a position of authority. In this context, the similarity in construction to the Damascus *maqsura* described by Professor Jonathan Bloom in Chapter 7 of this volume, which also consists of rectangular carved panels set into a frame, with sections of supported posts and *mashrabiyya*, is significant. Although the Ayyubid clergy did not yet hold that the rock was the site of the Prophet's ascension into Heaven, it was popularly believed that the site was the point at which God ascended following the completion of the Creation. It was considered to be the *umbilicus mundi*. Unlike the metal grille, however, the balustrade—although it is pierced—does not allow an unimpeded view of the rockface because of its height (approximately 1.55 m).

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[5] Van Berchem 1927 2/2, 302. For the original position of the two panels, see Mayer 1958 pls IV and V.

[6] Details are included in Appendix 1 under each Section.

[7] Ibn al-Athir XI, 361-6 in Gabrieli 1969, 139: '... the Franks had set slabs of marble over the Rock, concealing it from sight, and Saladin had them removed. It had been covered with the marble because priests had sold a good part of it to the Franks who came from abroad on pilgrimages and bought pieces for their weight in gold in the hope of benefiting from its health-giving influences.'

[8] Ibn Wasil Vol. II 1955, 229. See Hawari in this volume, note 11.

[9] 'Imad al-Din, quoted by Gabrieli 1969, 168-71, also described damage to the rock by Crusaders, who had broken pieces off as souvenirs. Removal of the marble blocks allowed the rock to be 'brought to light again for visitors and revealed to observers, stripped of its covering and brought forward like a young bride.'

Pl.5.1 Sakhra. Balustrade, Section 1-2: A. (Photo © Joe Rock)

An important discovery of the recent survey is a previously unpublished inscription described and photographed by Michael Burgoyne, who was the first to identify it (pls 5.24, 5.46-5.47; details in Appendix 2). The word 'discovery' is here used with intention because the panel is tucked away, close to ground level, on a section of balustrade near the entrance to the underground chamber at the level of the rock face, thus near to the panel naming the craftsmen. Because of its incongruous position (Section 20-1: S), it seems unlikely that this was the original site, although that section is marked out from the normal configuration by the vase-shaped supports of the single spindle-shaped posts. These vase-shaped supports are reminiscent of supports on the Damascus *maqsura* which also support spindle-shaped posts, but with a carved surface.[10] Change to this section of the Sakhra balustrade has obviously occurred because panel Aa to the right of the top tier has been inserted upside down, unlike the majority of similar panels. The carving of the script is sharp and carefully executed. As Burgoyne indicates, it has traces of either paint or gesso. The date of the paint is unknown. Other panels also show traces of gesso with signs of having once been lighter in tone than the present dark brown, and this hypothesis is borne out by early photographs, for example Pl.VII nos 1 and 2 in Bagatti (n.d. pl. VII.1 and 2) and Richmond (1924, figs 6 and 15).[11] The varnish that now exists may have been applied over the earlier lighter shade. Analysis of wood and paint or varnish has yet to be undertaken. An impression of the effect of original colouring may be hypothesised from a painted hexagonal table, the legs of which support hexagonal turned-wood sections reminiscent in design to the balustrade. The table is believed to date from the 11th or 12th century and to be from Afghanistan.[12] It is clear that painted wood was used in buildings on the Haram al-Sharif from an early period: painted panels were photographed by Creswell and some still exist in the Islamic Museum (pls LXXVI, LXXVII, LXXX and LXXXI, discussed in detail by Professor Hillenbrand in Chapter 14).

In addition to the inscriptions, other components show considerable skill in the way they have been executed. One panel of arabesques (Hb) in the middle tier of Section 16-17: O2 is pierced so as to allow a view through the section, which faces south across the rockface. The internal structure of the arabesques is reminiscent of fragments from the cenotaph of Amir Fakhr al-Din Isma'il in Cairo dating to 613/1216, as is the method of enclosing rectangles of carved ornament within a framework.[13] In particular, the square panels A are close in design to a panel with a heart-shaped stem on the cenotaph.[14] In detail, however, the methods of carving vary. The crisp inner groove to the interlaced stems on the balustrade is closer to the carved insets on the *minbar* ordered by Nur al-Din, which was executed in Aleppo (see Chapter 4 in this volume). The details of the way split-palmette tendrils are treated are also similar, with short parallel cuts and curved terminals to trefoils (see pls 5.27, 5.28, 5.29). In both the cenotaph and *minbar* the

See Jonathan Bloom in this volume, Chapter 7, cat. no. 2, pl. 3.
[11] I am grateful to Dr Joe Rock for his opinion on the tonality of early photographs

[12] David Collection, Copenhagen inv.no. 33/1997. Von Folsach 2001, no. 42.
[13] Compare three fragments in Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, inv.nos 437-13 illustrated in *L'Orient du Saladin* 2001, 214 nos 228-230.
[14] Illustrated in David-Weill 1931, no. 437 pl. XXVIII

Pl. 5.2   Balustrade, Section 2-3: B. (Photo © Joe Rock)
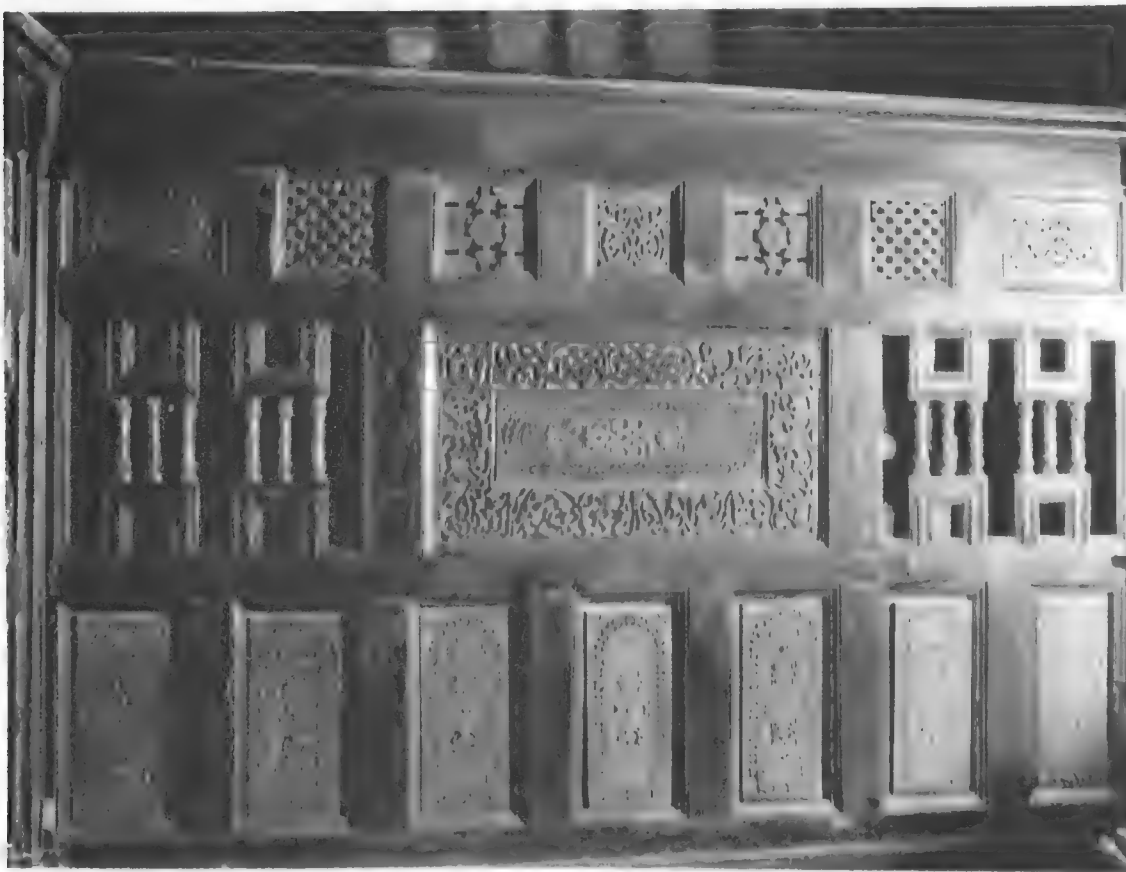
Pl. 5.3   Balustrade, Section 3-4: C1 with van Berchem's panel A. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.4   Balustrade, Section 3-4, C2 (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.6   Balustrade, Section 8-9: G. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.5   Balustrade, Section 7-8: F *(left and right)*. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.7   Balustrade, Section 8-9: G from the back. (Photo © Joe Rock)
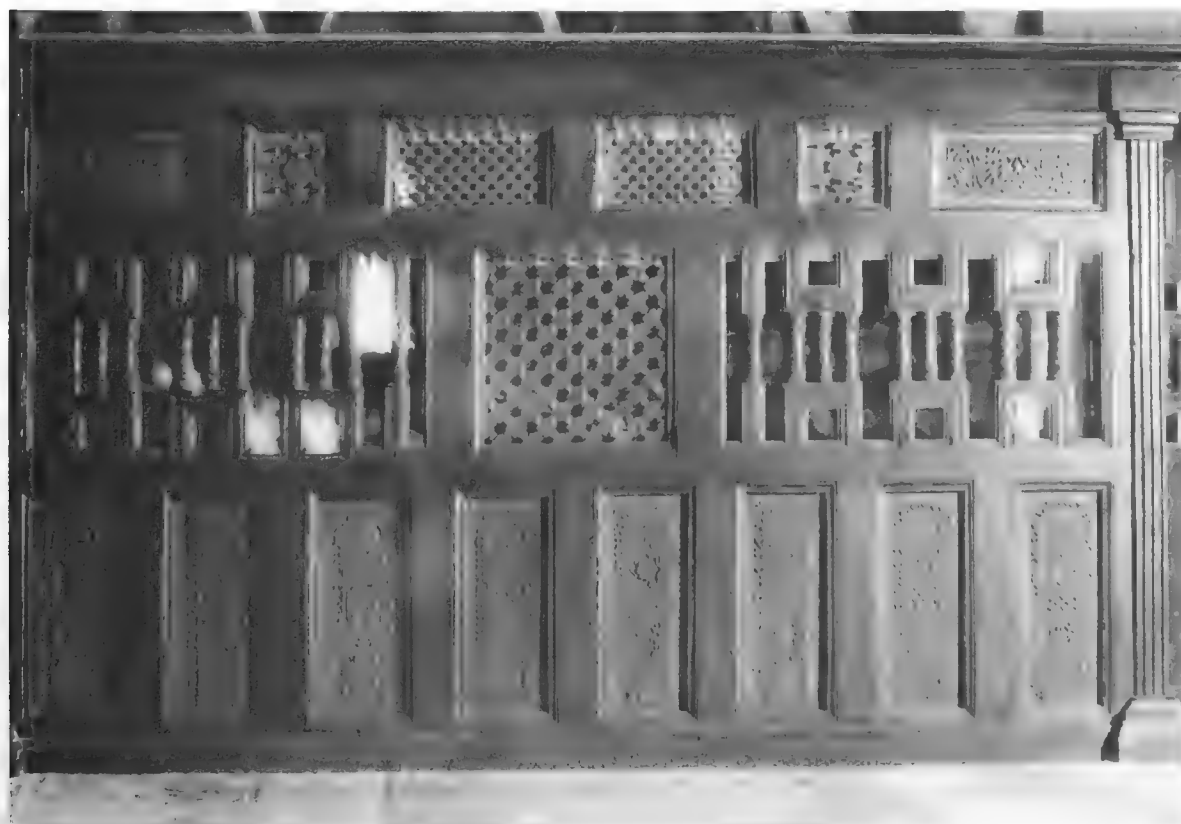
Pl. 5.8   Balustrade, Section 9-10: H. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.9 Balustrade, Section 10-11: I. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.10 Balustrade, Section 11-12: J. (Photo © Joe Rock)

stems are arranged in a controlled symmetry that is missing from other panels of inferior workmanship, which are therefore assumed here to be replacements. The arabesque panels A, Aa and Ab are very different from panels C (details in pl. 5.34 a-d). These universally have an inner arched frame that echoes the epigraphic one of the doxology described in Appendix 2. The carving is coarser and varies from one panel to another. One type has a central rhomb created by straight intersecting lines (pl. 5.34 a). Another is similar, but the central rhomb has been altered into a small four-petalled flower (pl. 5.34 b); yet another type has a central interlaced knot which extends with four loops (pl. 5.34 d). Most commonly, an eight-petalled rosette within an eight-pointed star is at the top while a trefoil in a similar star is at the bottom of the panel; these motifs are frequently reversed. Within the overall frame of parallel fillets, the design terminates in an ogee (pl. 5.34a), a semicircle (pl. 5.5) or is lobed (pl. 5.34d). In two sections, all the C panels have a more elaborate trefoil as the central motif within the eight-pointed star and no rosette (Section 17-18: P1 and P4; 18-19: Q, pls 5.18, 5.21 and 5.22-5.23). In another, it is a rosette which is placed in the centre with no trefoil (Section 16-17 O3, pl. 5.17). The form of the inner frame, especially the type with an arched apex, is reminiscent of the design of a number of Umayyad wooden panels originally in al-Aqsa, although here the 'arch' is supported on carved columns.[15]

A similar form, but with a lobed arch, is found on the small marble *mihrab* in the grotto beneath the rock, also considered to be Umayyad.[16] As Michael Burgoyne suggests in Appendix 2, the echo of earlier work may point to a re-assertion of the first Muslim conquest of Jerusalem. The spandrels of the panels C most frequently contain a triangular frame with an internal trefoil (pl. 5.33b); sometimes the frame is omitted (pl. 5.33c); sometimes the spandrel is left undecorated (pl. 5.33a). A similar design, but with two arched terminals to the inner frame, is used as the central panel to the back-to-back inscriptions naming the craftsmen (pls 5.42-43), although whether this is original is uncertain; the woods and method of carving appear different but only wood analysis would provide a definitive answer. A similar panel occurs in Sections 7-8:F (pl. 5.5) and 10-11: I (pl. 5.9). It is these C panels which bear clearest witness to change: replaced upside down (for example, Section 18-19: Q, pls 5.22-23), or cut down at top and bottom to fit a new location (pl. 5.9, right). The method of carving C panels is markedly different from the inscriptions. The doxology is one piece of wood, the ground chiselled away and left rough, which might indicate that gesso and colour were intended from its inception (pl. 5.46). The same method is used for the inscriptions naming the craftsmen (pls 5.42-5.44), where the toolmarks are clearly visible in the scraped-out ground; the surface of the script is also scratched. The differences in wood

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[15] Marguerite van Berchem and Ory 1982, pls p. 83, left.

[16] *Ibid.*, 61. Hillenbrand 1999.
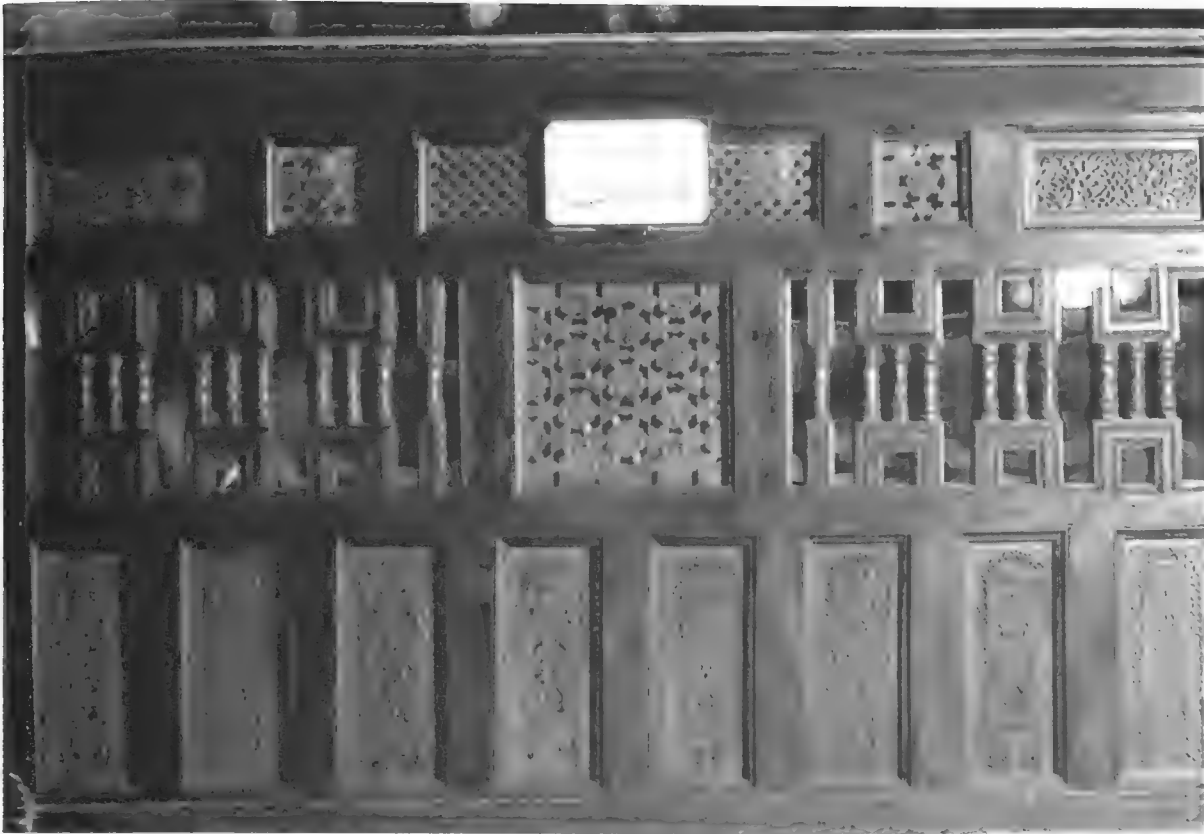
Pl. 5.11 Balustrade, Section 12-13: K. (Photo © Joe Rock)
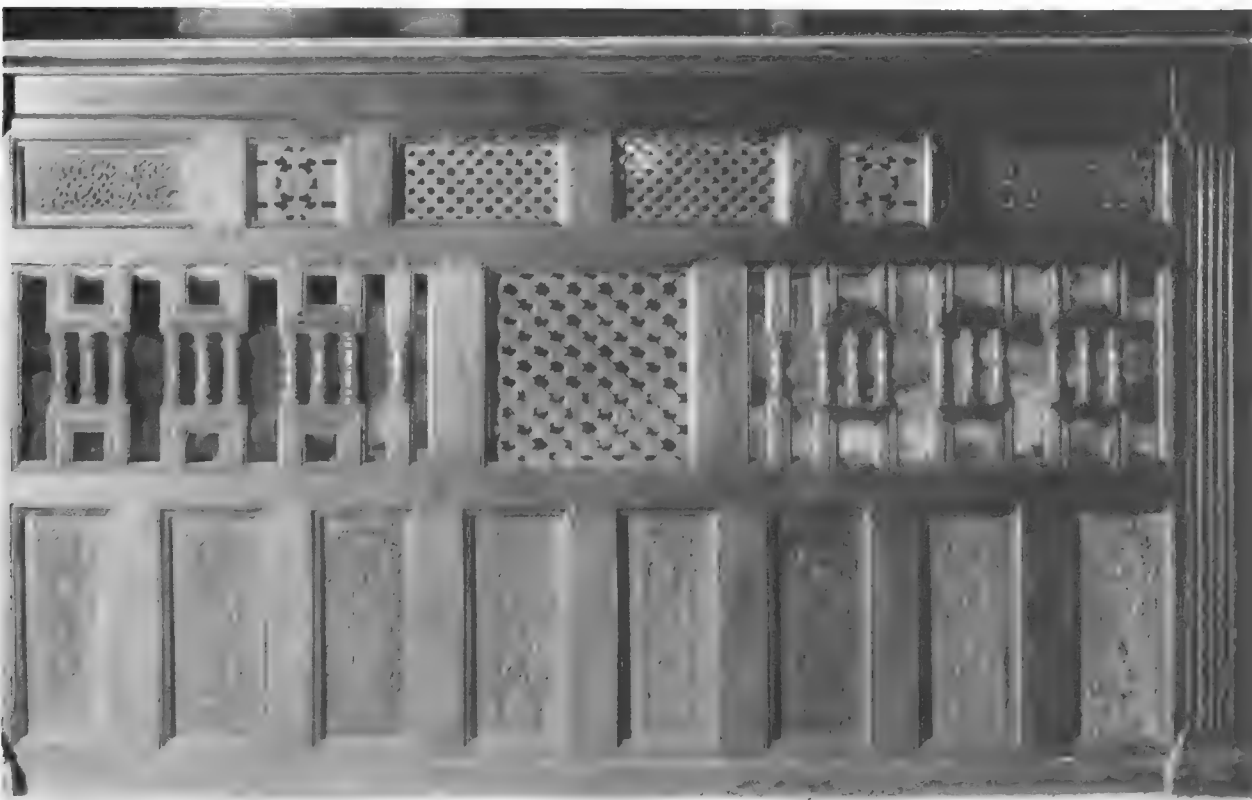
Pl. 5.12 Balustrade, Section 13-14: L1. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.13 Balustrade. Section 13-14: L2. (Photo © Joe Rock)
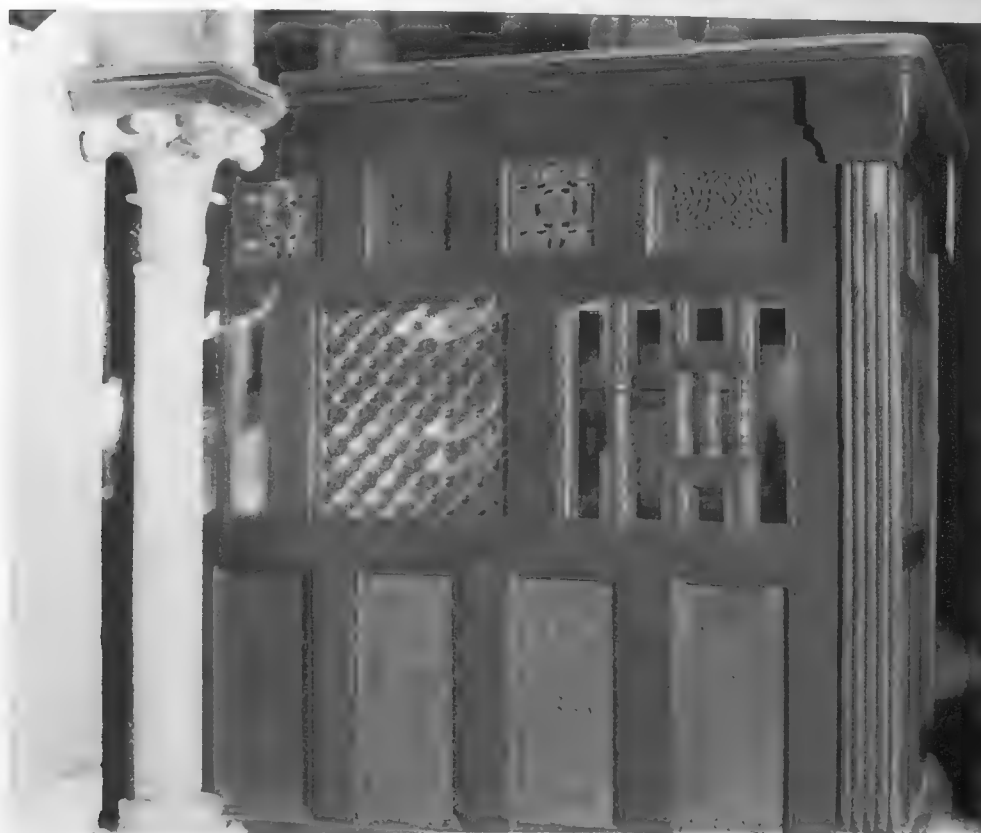
Pl. 5.14 Balustrade. Section 15-16: N. (Photo © Joe Rock)
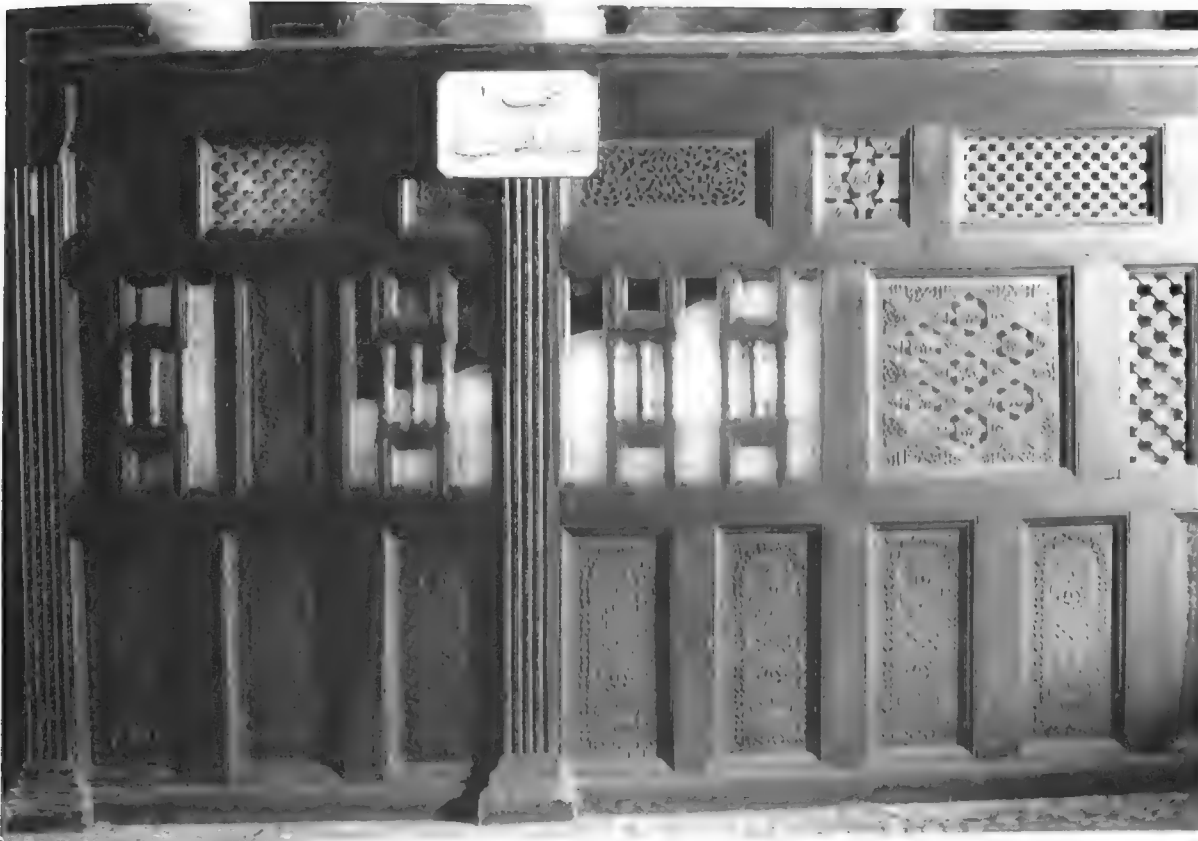
Pl. 5.15 Balustrade, Section 16-17: O1. (Photo © Joe Rock)
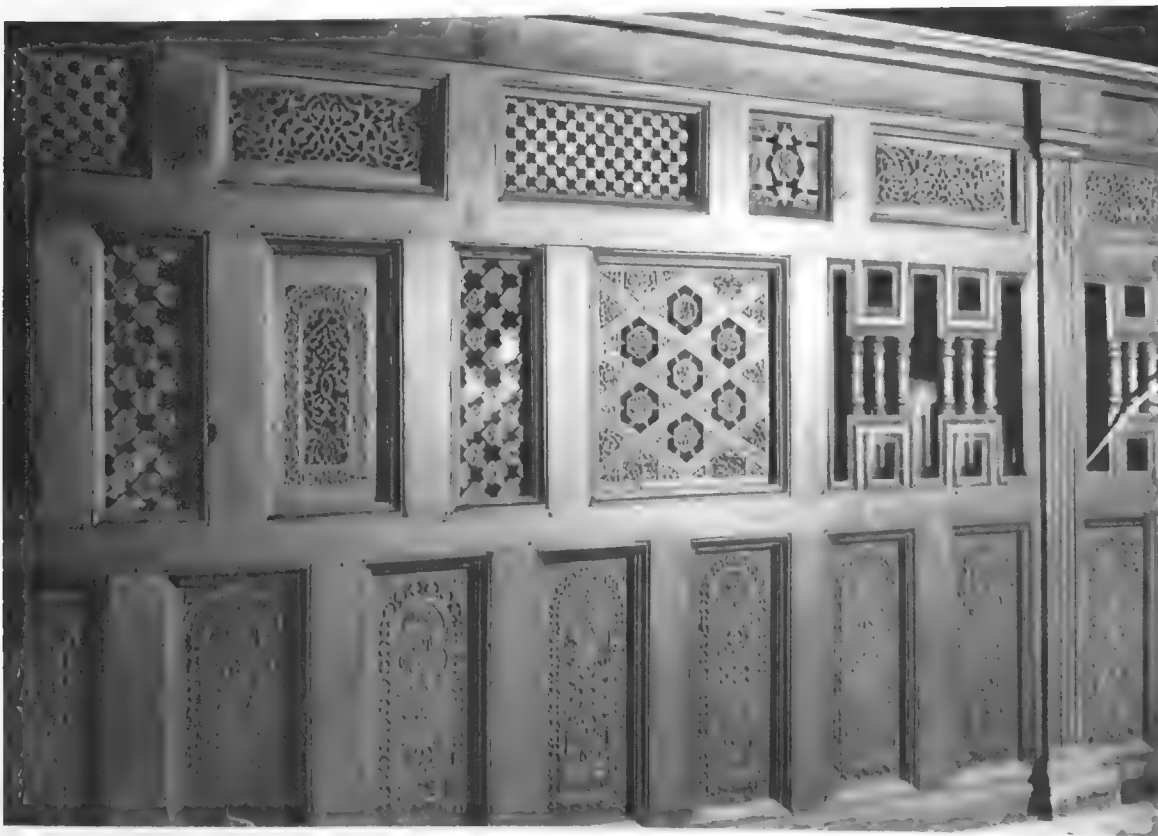
Pl. 5.16 Balustrade, Section 16-17: O2. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.17   Balustrade, Section 16–17: O3. (Photo © Joe Rock)
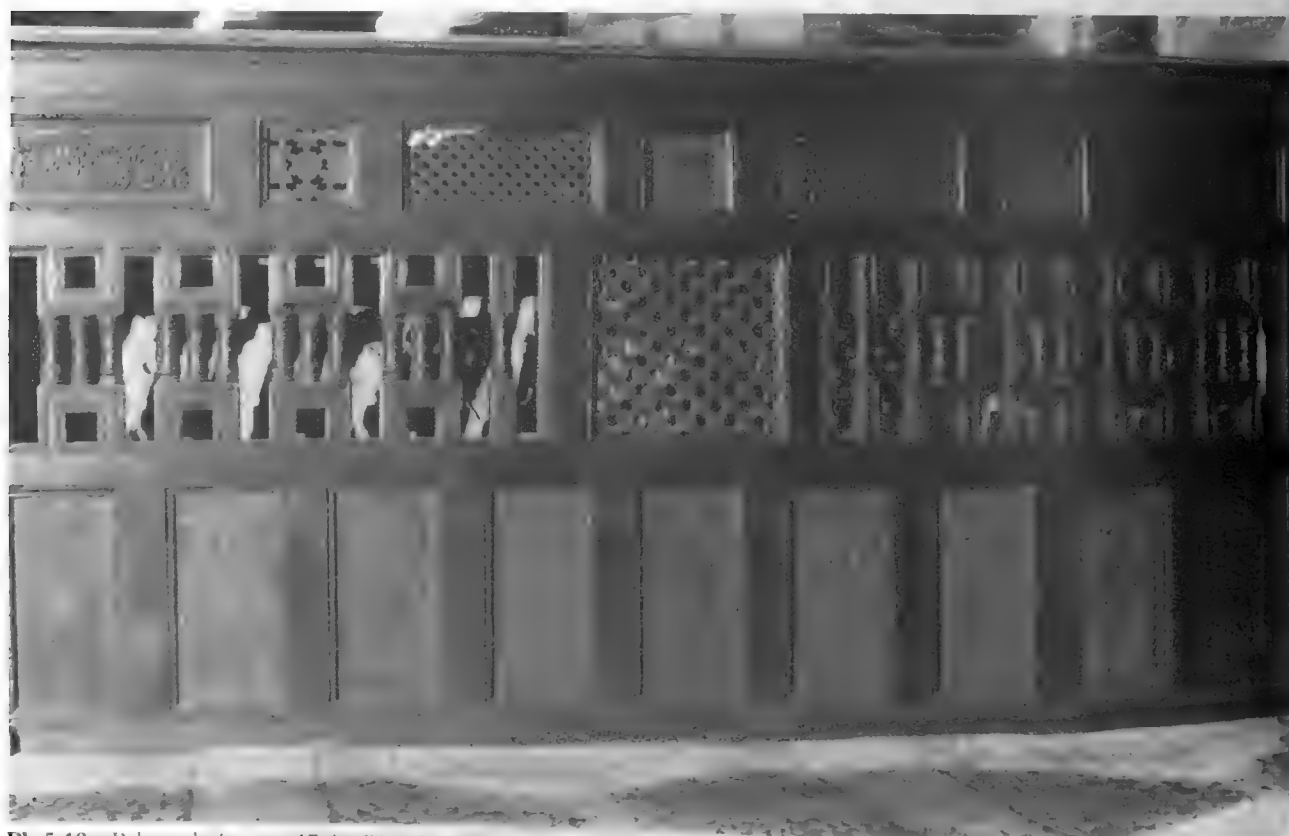
Pl. 5.18   Balustrade, Section 17–18: P1. (Photo © Joe Rock)
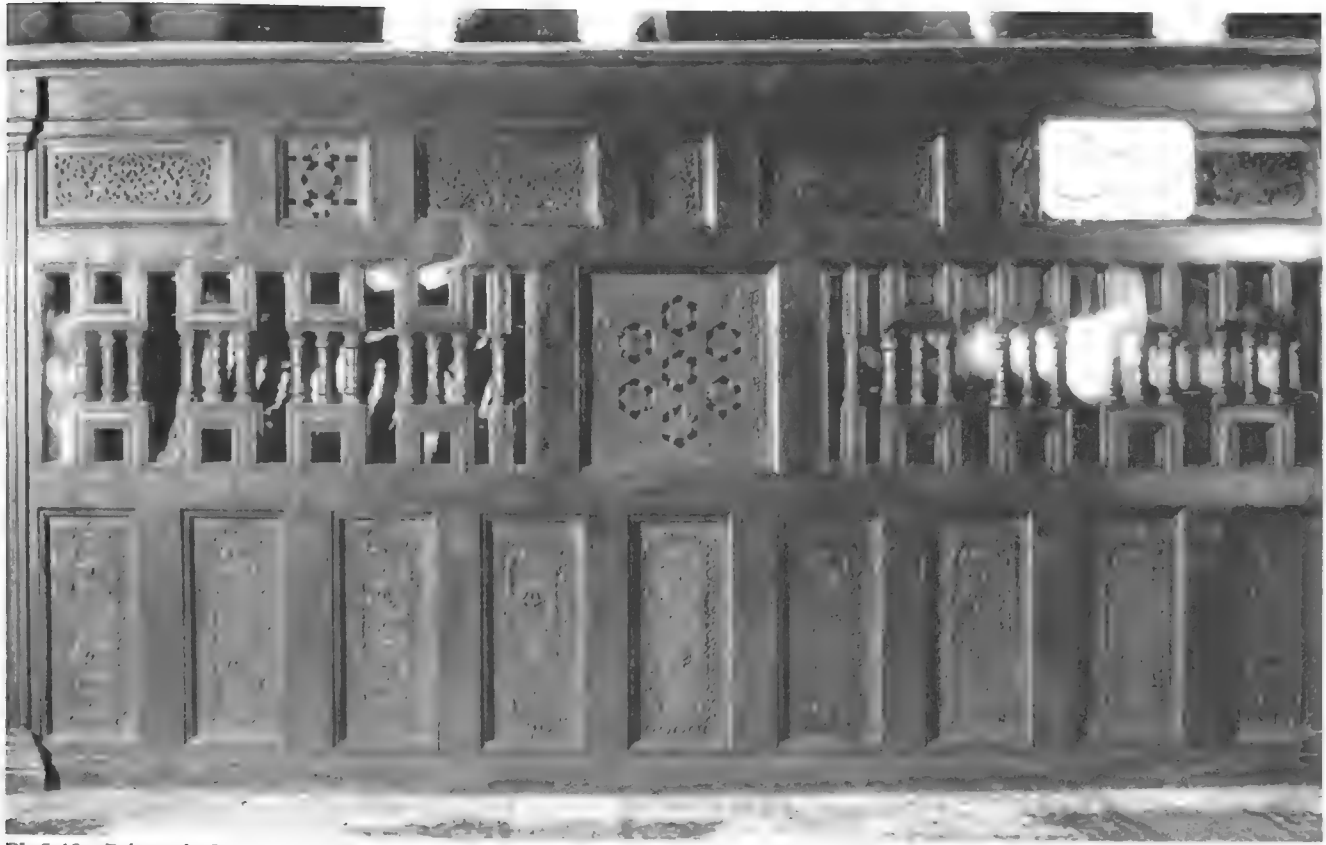
Pl. 5.19 Balustrade, Section 17-18: P2. (Photo © Joe Rock)
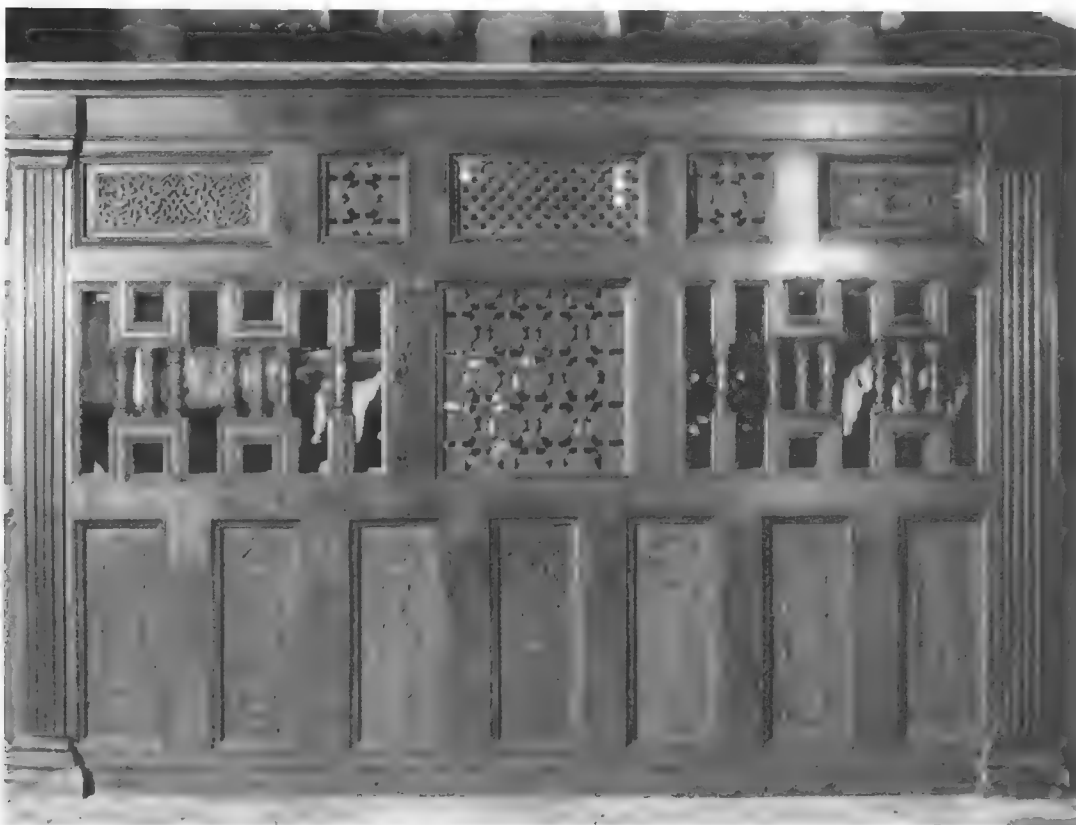
Pl. 5.20 Balustrade, Section 17-18: P3. (Photo © Joe Rock)
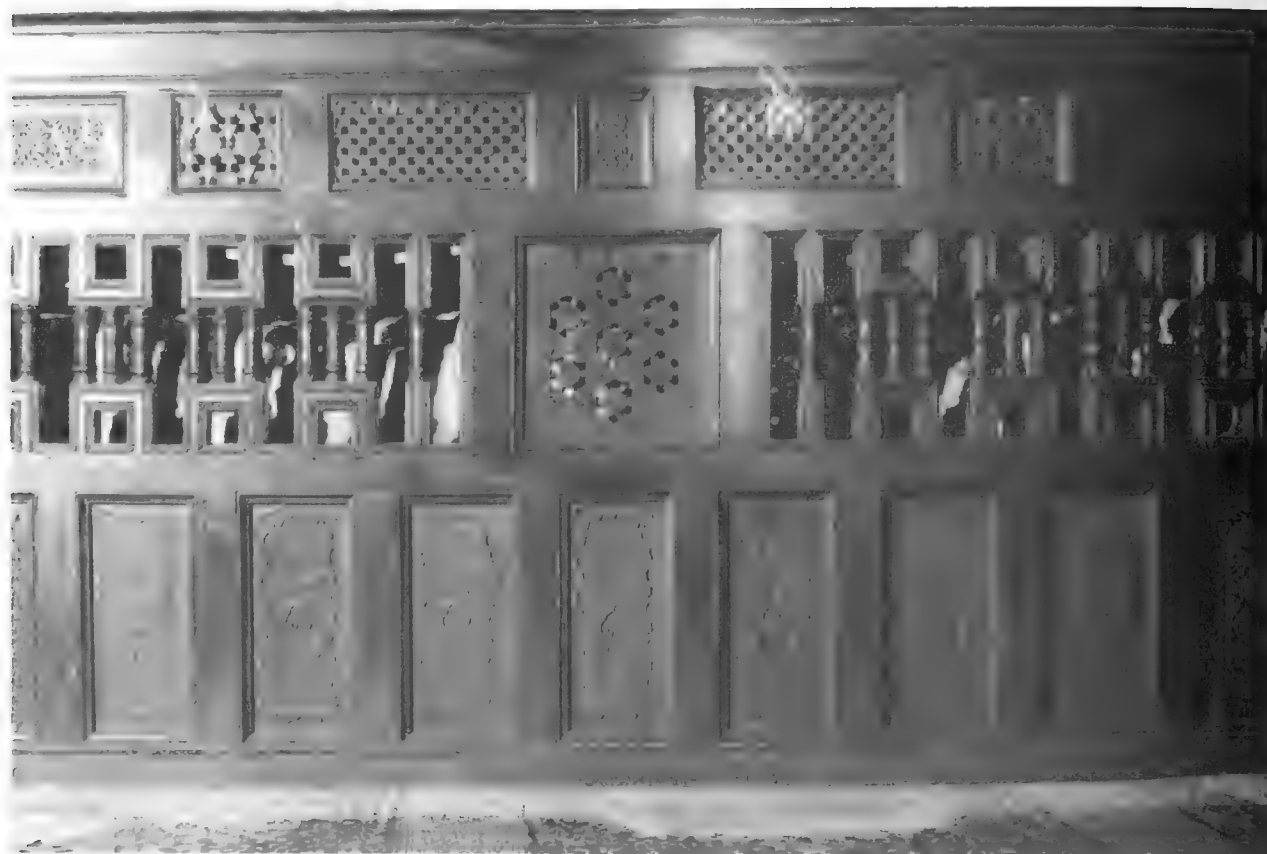
Pl. 5.21 Balustrade, Section 17–18: P4. (Photo © Joe Rock)
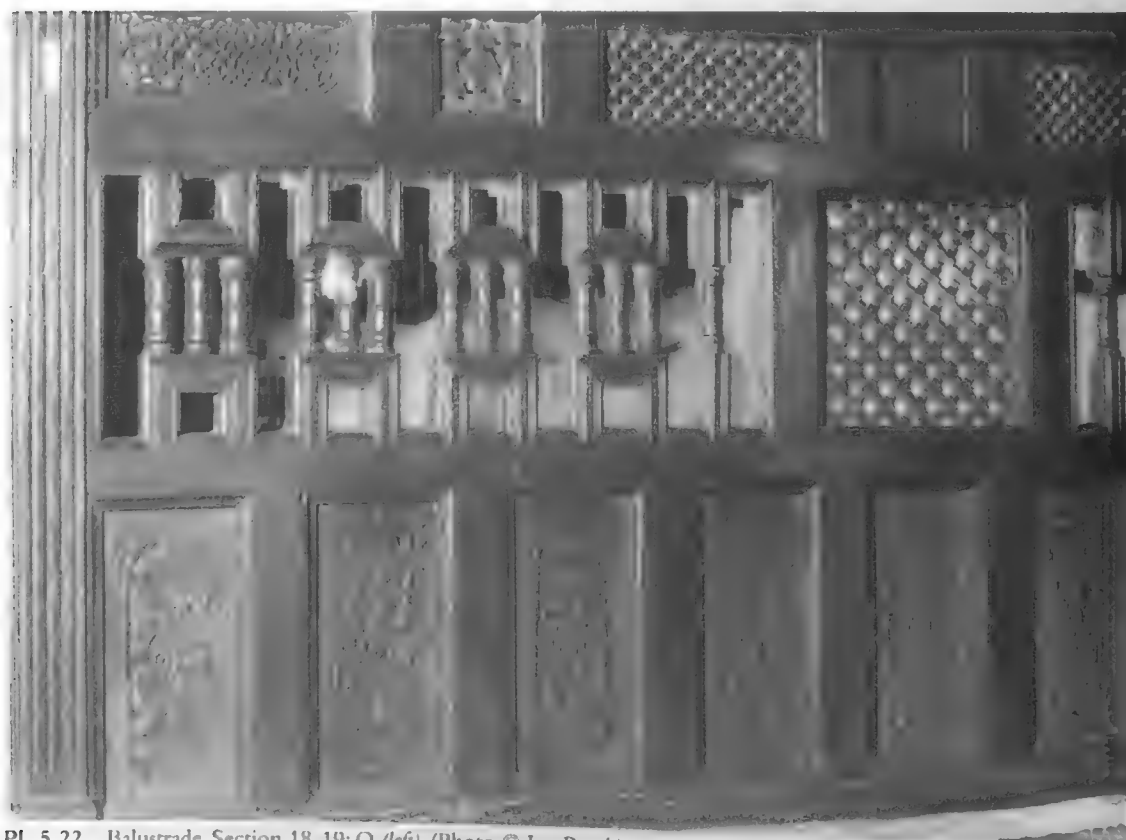
Pl. 5.22 Balustrade, Section 18–19: Q *(left)*. (Photo © Joe Rock)
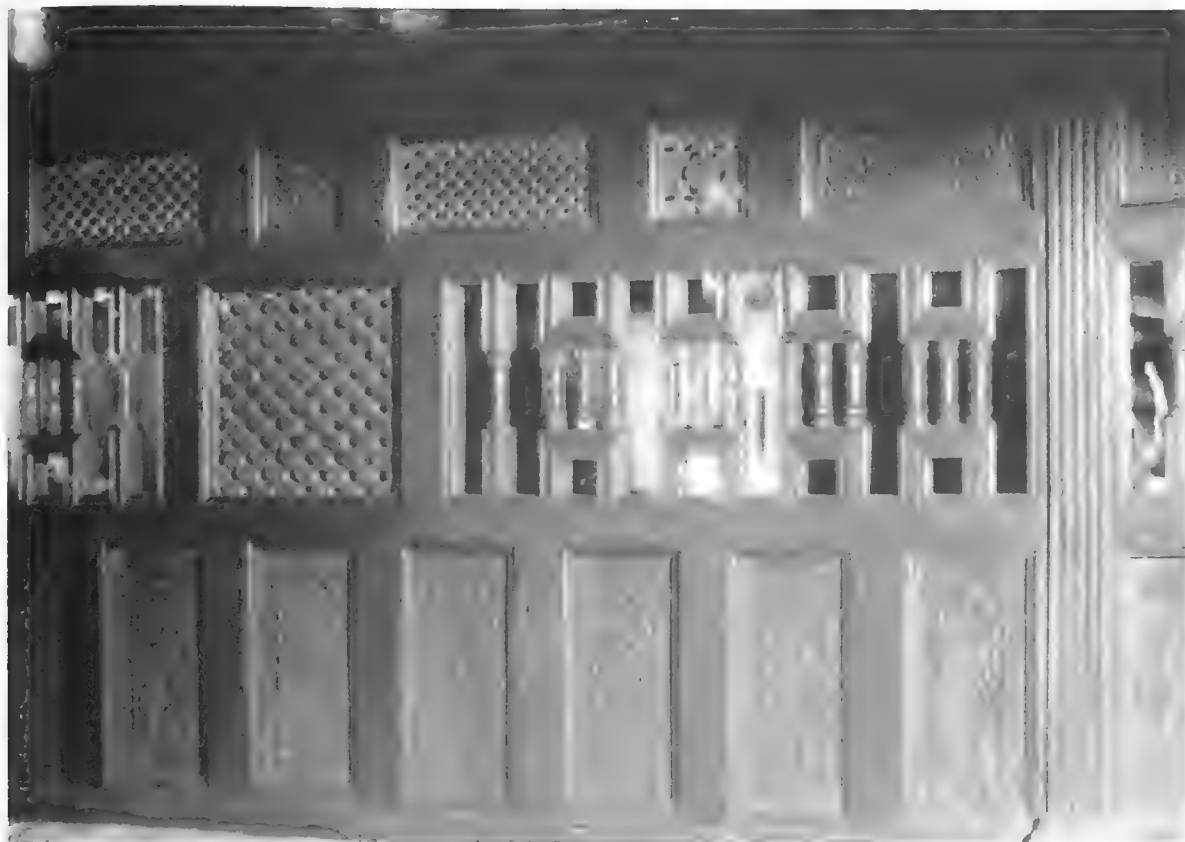
Pl. 5.23 Balustrade, Section 18–19: Q *(right)*. (Photo © Joe Rock)
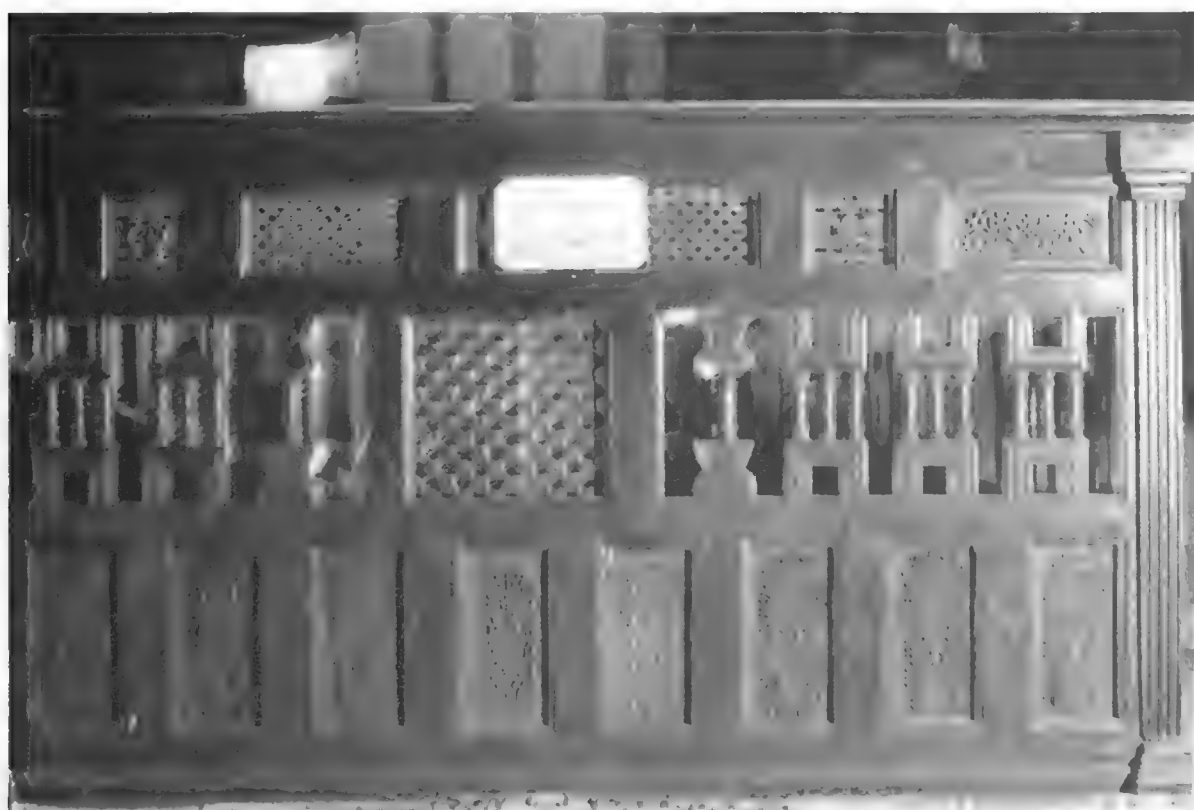
Pl. 5.24 Balustrade, Section 20–1: S. (Photo © Joe Rock)

and in technique between the inner Ca panel and the outer inscription band are well illustrated here in pl. 5.44.

Conclusion

The problem is to date the balustrade. As van Berchem points out, if the balustrade was made during the lifetime of al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthman, the panel was carved after his death in 1199. There have been a succession of changes and repairs, as already noted. One possible early repair is reported to have been undertaken by al-Malik Mu'azzam 'Isa at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. According to van Berchem, Sauvaire left an unpublished note which read 'On the balustrade which surrounds the Sakhra: "[it] was renewed during the period of our master the sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam/Sharaf al-din 'Isa"' *(Sur la balustrade qui entoure le Ṣakhra: 'A été renouvelé dans les jours de notre maître le sultan al-Malik al-Mu'azzam/Sharaf al-din 'Isa')* (no. 179).[17] In the opinion of van Berchem, however, the formula was too brief to be authentic, lacking the anticipated '*Sharaf al-dunya wa'l-din*'. He surmised that the inscription might have been a pastiche, or transported from elsewhere.[18] There is no certainty that either inscription still embedded in the balustrade is in its original position, or even originally intended for the Sakhra. A barrier of some kind was necessary, perhaps initially supplied by Saladin's metal surround. The only certainty is that there was a wooden balustrade in place when van Berchem photographed the inscription in the early 20th century. In design, its square and rectangular panels set above what Professor Jonathan Bloom describes as 'spoolwork balusters' is a descendant of the type of *maqsura* previously in the Musalla al-'Idain in Damascus, dated by inscription to 497/1103-04. Here too individual components have been assembled within a plain framework. It is interesting to note that the Damascus *maqsura*, despite the rectilinear form of its panels, has geometric elements surrounded by an inscription frame,[19] a concept developed in the *minbar* of Nur al-Din.[20] The similarity of construction, especially of the Section 20-1: S with its vase-shaped supports to the posts, points to an Ayyubid date for the balustrade. Perhaps it should be viewed in the same spirit as 'grandfather's axe'—an object much changed and with sections replaced over its long history, but remaining in essence in its original form and function.

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[17] Van Berchem 1925, 1927, 'Sakhra', 305 no. 230.

[18] Van Berchem, 305 no. 230.

[19] Bloom, Chapter 7, No. 2, pl. 3.

[20] Detailed in Auld, Chapter 4 in this volume.

Appendix 1
Analysis of the Sakhra Balustrade

Individual components

A—*arabesque. Intertwined stems emanating from central point with an internal ogival framework.* Nearly square panel (pl. 5.25).
  Aa—*as above.* Horizontal panel (pl. 5.26).
  Ab—*as above.* Rectangular horizontal panel with part ogees at the edges (pl. 5.27).
  Ac—*as above.* Narrow vertical panel (pl. 5.28, bottom right).
  Ad—*as above.* Small panel set on its side (pl. 5.28 top left).

B—*mashrabiyya*—*horizontal screen of square blocks, connected by short spindle-shaped posts, either undecorated, or with carved detailing* (pl. 5.29).
  Ba—*as above.* Elongated horizontal panel (pls 5.30, VII).
  Bb—*as above.* Small square panel (pl. 5.31).
  Bc—*as above.* Narrow vertical panel (pl. 5.15, central band right).
  Bd—*as above.* Large square panel, frequently in centre of section (pl. 5.32).

C—*vertical panel with central eight-pointed stars filled with a rosette or a trefoil, framed by a scrolling stem with trefoils* (pl. IV). Variations include a central knot in place of a rhomb (pl. 5.33d), trefoils in the spandrels within triangular frame (pl. 5.33b) or without a frame (pl. 5.33c), and undecorated spandrels (pl. 5.33a).
  Ca—*horizontal panel as above but with arched terminals at both ends* (see pl. 5.42, as the centre of the inscription panel *I*, and pl. 5.9 top).
  Cb—*short panel with arched inner frame, plaited motif in centre* (see pl. 5.10 bottom).

D—*large central square panel with* mashrabiyya *of seven hexagons decorated with scrolling stems connected by short spindle-shaped posts and triangles to form hexagonal star pattern* (pls 5.34, X).
  Da—*large central square panel with* mashrabiyya *as above with seven hexagons set on their points, but solid at the corners and borders, highly decorated* (pl. 5.35).

E—*set of three spindle-shaped posts joined top and bottom to square frame* (pls 5.36, XIII).
  Ea—*single spindle-shaped post, as above, joined to frame by solid spar* (see pl. 5.2 in doors); variation with a baluster-shaped post (see pl. 5.9).
  Eb—*central spindle-shaped post* between vase-shaped supports (see pl. 5.24).

F—*small square* mashrabiyya *panel with single central hexagon* (pls 5.37, VIII).
  Fa—*small square* mashrabiyya *panel with two conjoined hexagons* (pl. 5.38).

G—*inscription* (doxology; pls 5.45, 5.46, XII).

H—*solid vertical carved arabesque panel* (pl. 5.39).
  Ha—*solid vertical arabesque panel* with an arched frame of scrolling stems (pl. 5.40).
  Hb—*as H*, but with the ground behind the arabesque cut away to allow a view through (pl. 5.41).

I—*inscription* (naming craftsmen; pls 5.42, 5.43, VI-IX).

Pl. 5.25 Detail of the balustrade: Component *A*, showing use of modern nails and screws. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.27 Detail of the balustrade: Component *Ab* (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.26 Detail of the balustrade: Component *Aa*. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.28 Detail of the balustrade: Components *Ac* (bottom right), *Ad* (top left) and *B*. (Photo © Joe Rock)
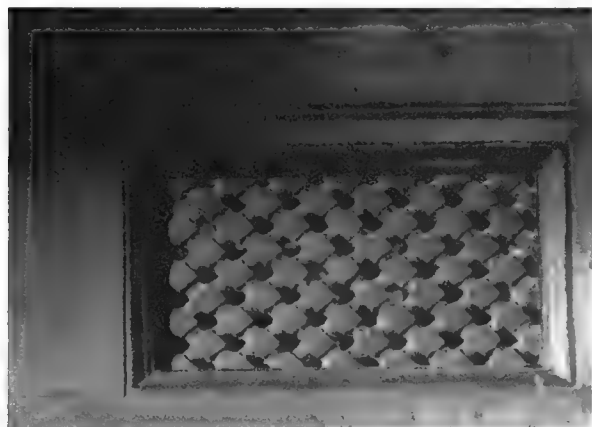
Pl. 5.29 Detail of the balustrade: Component *B*. (Photo © Joe Rock)
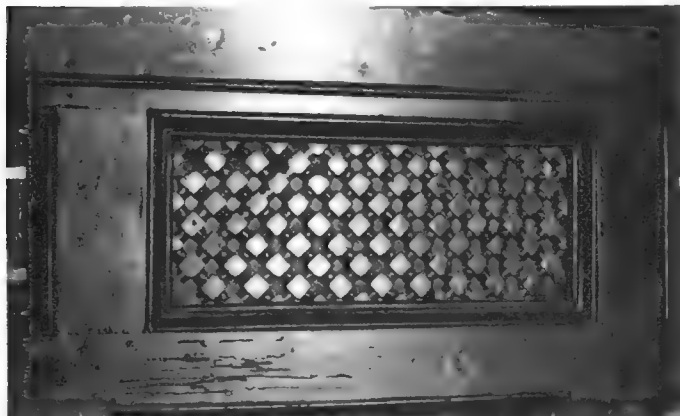
Pl. 5.30 Detail of the balustrade: Component *Ba*. (Photo © Joe Rock)
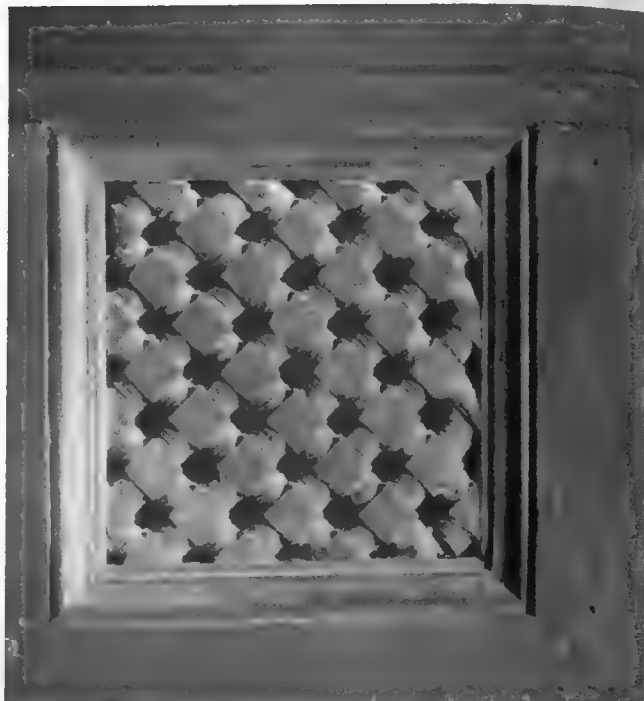
Pl. 5.31 Detail of the balustrade: Component *Bb*. (Photo © Joe Rock).
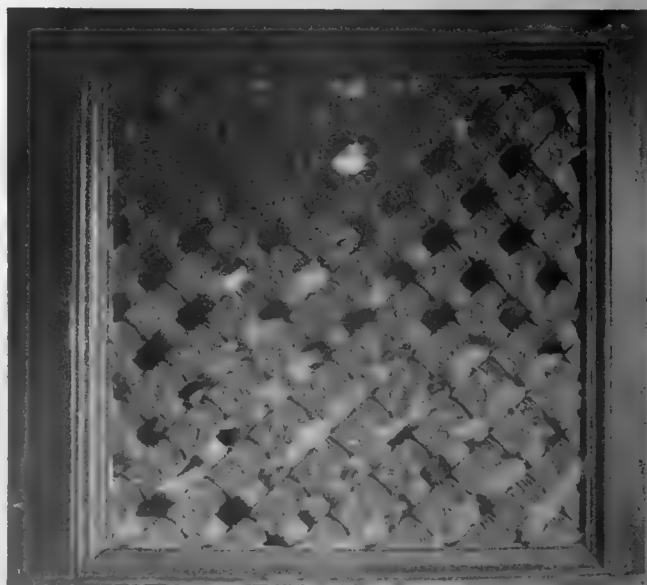
Pl. 5.32 Detail of the balustrade: Component *Bd*. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.33a–d Sakhra (Dome of the Rock). Details of the balustrade: Variations of Component C. (Photo © Joe Rock)
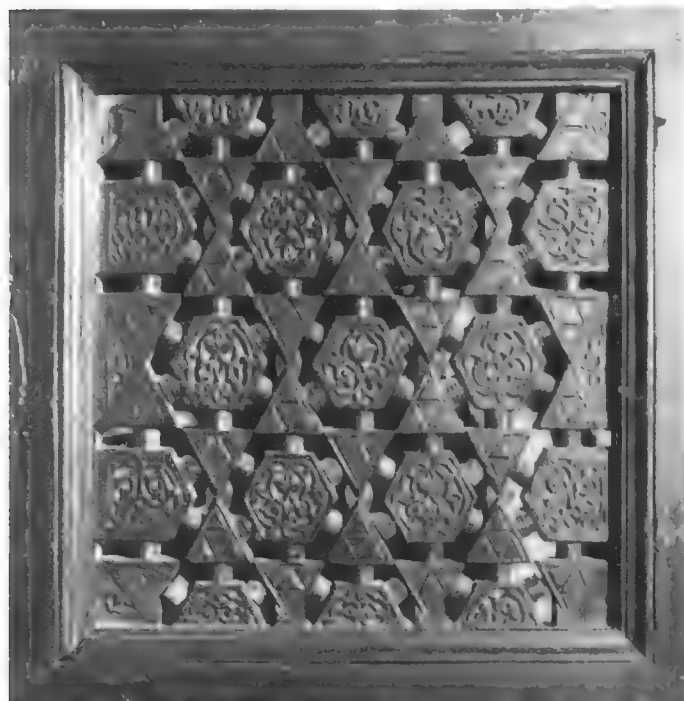
Pl. 5.34 Detail of the balustrade: Component **D**. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.35 Detail of the balustrade: Component **Da** (centre of the lower tier). (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.36 Detail of the balustrade: Component **E**. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.37 Detail of the balustrade: Component **F**. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.38 Detail of the balustrade: Component **Fa**. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 5.39 Detail of the balustrade Component **H**. (Photo © Joe Rock). Solid vertical panel of arabesque

Pl. 5.40 Detail of the balustrade: Component **Ha**. (Photo © Joe Rock) Solid vertical panel of arabesque with an arched frame of scrolling stems.

Pl. 5.41 Detail of the balustrade: Component **Hb**. (Photo © Joe Rock) As Ha but the ground has been cut away to allow a view through the panel.

Pl. 5.44 Detail of the inscription **I** (see pl. 5.42), showing method of carving.

Pl. 5.42 Balustrade, Section 3–4: C, detail of inscription naming **I** the craftsmen (van Berchem's Panel A). (Photo © Joe Rock)
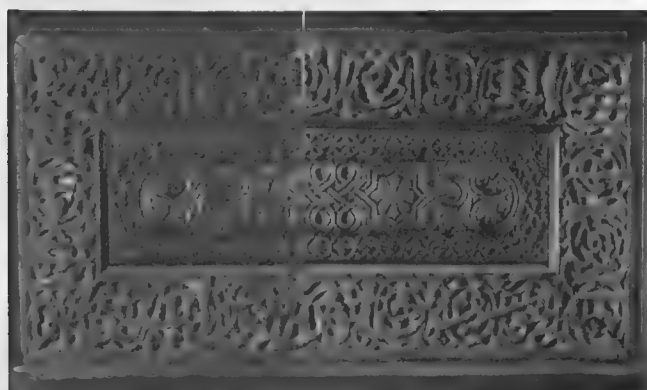
Pl. 5.43/r Balustrade, Section 4–5: D, detail of the inscription with the name of al-Malik al-'Aziz Abu'l-Fath 'Uthman b. al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf b. Ayyub (van Berchem's Panel B). (Photo © Joe Rock)
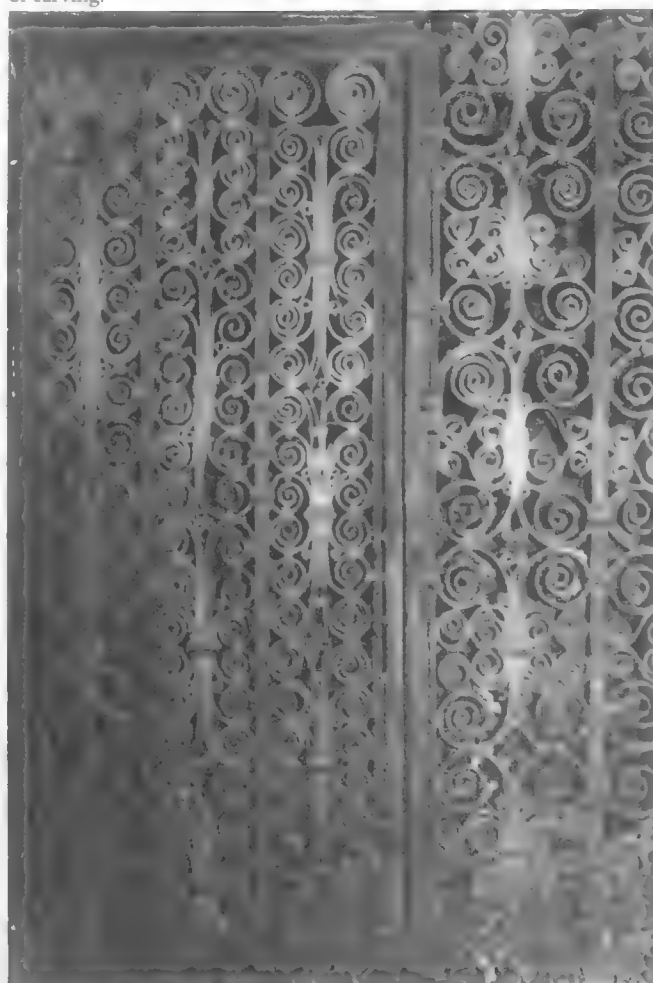
Pl. 5.45 Detail of metal grille. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.EA.CA 4990)

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Section analysis using code of panels

The numbering runs from left corner to right corner, following the accompanying schematic plan (fig. 5.1). Points to note are listed below each section.

No. 1-2: A (pl. 5.1)

A	F	B	F	B	F	A
E	E	E	B*d*	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The central *mashrabiyya* panel has a decorated surface. The panel *C2*, second from the left, is without carving in the spandrels (compare pl. 33a). The trefoils in the spandrels of panel *C7* to the right are without a triangular frame (compare pl. 33c).

No. 2-3: B (Doorway; pl. 5.2)

A	A*a*	(door)	A*a*	A
E	E	E*a* E*a*	E	E
		C C		
C	C		C	C

The panels *C* set into the doorway have rosettes below trefoils, unlike those to either side.

No. 3-4: C1 (pls 5.3, VI, IX, XI)

A*a*	B	F	A	F	B	A*a*
E		E	*I and Ca*	E		E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The inscription (*I*) in the centre of the second tier names the craftsmen Abu'l-Khair b. Abi ʿAli, Abu Bakr and ʿUthman b. Hajj Musa (detail pl. 5.42). Panel *Ca* is in the centre of the inscription, which forms a frame around it.

No. 3-4: C2 (pl. 5.4 left)

B*b*	B*b*
E	E
C	C

Both panels *C* have been cut at top and bottom removing part of the framework (pl. 5.33d). The spindle-shaped posts (*E*) appear to be machine-made and are longer and thinner than the hand-made originals.

No. 4-5: D (reverse of C) (detail of inscription, pl. 5.43)

No. 6-7: E (reverse of Panel F, see pl. 5.5—no plate)

No. 7-8 F (pl. 5.5)

A*a*	B*b*	F	B*b*	A*a*
E	E	C*a*	E	E
C C	C	C	C	C C

The central panel *Ca* is set within a plain frame; it has two rosettes in place of a rosette and trefoil in the same way as the panel in the centre of inscription *I* in section 3-4: C1 (pl. 5.42).

No. 8-9: G (pls 5.6 and 5.7)

A*b*	F	B*b*	A	B*b*	F	A*b*
E	E	E	E	B*d* E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C C	C	C	C	C

The front face of this section was concealed by piled boxes (pl. 5.6); however, it was possible to photograph the back, across the rockface. It can be seen the solid panels *Ab* and *A* have chamfered edges, which may indicate that they are originals. Although photography proved impossible,

panels elsewhere are not chamfered; this equally may indicate they are replacements. A metal brace extends to the angled joint between sections into the eponymous rock.

No. 9-10: H (pl. 5.8)

A*b*	F		B*b*	B*b*		F	A*b*
E	E	E E*a*		B*d*	E*a* E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The large central *mashrabiyya* panel *Bd* has a carved surface. Panel *C7*, second from the right, has reversed motifs, with the trefoil at the top. Panels *C3*, *C5* and *C6* have central rhombs in place of plaited knots (compare pls 5.33a-c to pl. 5.33d).

No. 10-11: I (pls 5.9, III)

	C*a*
E*a*	E*a*
C	C

Panel *Ca* has a trefoil within eight-pointed stars in place of rosettes. The single posts have baluster stems in place of spindles. Panel *C2* to the right is badly worn and has been cut down; it has no lower frame. The rosette is placed below the trefoil motif.

No. 11-12: J (pl. 5.10; fig. 5.2)

A		A
E*a*	E	E*a*
C*b*		C*b*

The short panels *Cb* are crisply carved, and set into a lower framework that is higher than normal. The section may be taken from a different locality and possibly once served as a door.

No. 12-13: K (pls 5.11, V; fig. 5.3)

A*b*	F	B*a*	B*a*	F	A*b*		
E	E	E	E*a*	D	E*a*	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The central panel *D* has well-defined carved motifs within the hexagons. Panels *C1*, *C3*, *C4*, *C5* and *C7* have a rounded inner frame at the apex above rosettes within an eight-pointed star frame. Panels *C1*, *C2*, *C3*, *C4*, *C6* and *C8* have plaited knots at the centre; *C7* has a rhomb, while *C5* has a curious hexagonal knot with loops at the changes of angle. Panels *C6* and *C8* have reversed motifs, that is with the rosette below the trefoil.

No. 13-14: L1 (pls 5.12, V)

A*b*	F	B*b*	B*b*	F	A*b*	
E E E	E*a*	B*d*	E*a*	E	E	E
C C	C	C	C	C C	C

As in section 12-13: K, there are minor variations in the *C* panels, largely in the size of the motifs: for example compare the size of the rosettes in *C1* and *C3*. Panels *C3* and *C6* are crisply carved with a larger than average rosette and a well-defined eight-pointed star frame to the trefoils in the lower half. This may indicate that they were carved by the same hand.

No. 13-14: L2 (pls 5.13, V)

A*a*	A	B*b*	F	B*b*	A	A*a*
E	E	E	E*a*	B*d*	E*a*	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The central *mashrabiyya* panel *Bd* has a carved surface. Panel *C1* has a reversed trefoil, that is it is pointing down instead of up which is the norm. Panels *C4*, *C5* and *C8* have rosettes in the lower half. Only panels *C1* and *C6* have rhombs at the centre.

No. 14-15: M (no plate)

?A	Bb	?A
E	Bd?	E
?C	?C	?C

This section is concealed behind a marble structure and could be viewed only from the rear.

No. 15-16: N (pl. 5.14)

Aa	F	A	F	Aa
E	Ea	Bd	Ea	E
C	C	C	C	C

Panel C3 has a reversed trefoil in the lower half, and C5 has a rosette in this position.

No. 16-17: O1 (pl. 5.15 left)

Ad	Bb	Ad
E	H	E
C	C	C

The three panels C match precisely, which is unusual. The central panel H is a narrow, horizontal strip of arabesque, apparently designed specifically for the area as the underlying geometry is symmetrical. This is not the case with the smaller arabesque panels above, Ad, both of which have been inserted on their side.

No. 16-17: O2 (pl. 5.15 right and pl. 5.16)

Ab	F	Bb	Ab	Bb	F	Ab
E	E	Da Bc	Ha	Bc	Da E	E
C	C	C C	C C	C	C C	C

This section is unusual in that it has two large *mashrabiyya* panels Da, both beautifully carved. It also has a vertical arabesque panel set within an arched scrolling stem frame (Ha), reminiscent of the appearance of the inscription in Section 20-21: S (G) (see Michael H Burgoyne, Appendix 2 and pls 5.45, 5.46). Both the narrow panels of *mashrabiyya* (Bc) have decorated surfaces while the longer panels Bb in the upper tier have not. Panel C7 has a knotted hexagon in the centre, similar to the one described above under Section 12-13: K (C5). Panels C4, C8 and C9 have rosettes in the lower half.

No. 16-17: O3 (pl. 5.17)

Ab	F	Bb	Ab	Bb	F	Ab
E	E	D Bc	Hb	Bc	D	E	E
C	C	C C	C C	C	C	C	C

This section contains one of the most finely carved panels (Hb) of the balustrade, placed in the middle of the central tier, and two arabesques which are illogical. They have no internal geometric form. Panel Hb (pl. 5.41) consists of an arabesque, the background of which has been cut away to allow a view through onto the rock, surrounded by a solid arched frame of intertwined stems. In this way it matches the vertical arabesque panel Ha in the preceding section. Perhaps the explanation for this inconsistency in the skill of the work lies in panels Ab being replacements, or the panels H being brought from elsewhere. Panel C1 in the lowest tier is also inconsistent: it has a central rosette, a detail unknown elsewhere.

No. 17-18: P1 (pl. 5.18)

Ab	F	Bb	A	Bb	F	Ab
E	E	E	E	Ea	Bd	Ea	E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The central panel Bd has a decorated surface. The nine panels C of the lower tier are unusual in that they have no rosette motif; trefoils are placed in eight-pointed stars at top and bottom, with a plaited knot in the central position.

No. 17-18: P2 (pl. 5.19)

Ab	F	Aa	Ac	Aa	F	Ab
E	E	E	E	Ea	Da	Ea	E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C C		C	C	C

The two arabesque panels Aa, to either side of the central vertical panel Ac, are without an internal framework, appearing as an interlace of apparently random scrollwork, but carved with a crisp central groove. Panels C3, C4, C7 and C9 have rosettes in the lower half.

No. 17-18: P3 (pl. 5.20)

Ab	F	Ba		F	Ab
E	E	Ea	D	Ea	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C

Panel Ab to the right of the section is shorter than its counterpart to the left. It is worn and without the customary central groove to the interlacing stems. The lower panels to the right (C6 and C7) are also worn. Panels C3 and C5 have rosettes in the lower half.

No. 17-18: P4 (pl. 5.21)

Aa	Fa	Ba	Ac	Ba	Fa	Aa
E	E	E	E	Ea	Da	Ea	E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

In the upper tier, the two panels Fa are not found elsewhere. They consist of two hexagons instead of the single device of panel F. The nine panels C in this section break the usual pattern. Each has a central trefoil, set in an angled eight-sided strapwork frame, which twists above and below, in place of the customary plaited knot. The surrounding frame of running stems has split-trefoil buds in place of trefoils.

No. 18-19: Q (pls 5.22, 5.23)

Ab	F	Bb	A	Bh	F	Ab
E	E	E	Ea	Bd	Ea	E	E	E	E
C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C

The panels C contain a central trefoil, as in Section 17-18: P4, but here within an either-pointed star. Two panels, C2 and C6, have been inserted upside down, so that the arch of the inner frame is at the bottom.

No. 19-20: R (marble)

No. 20-1: S (pls 5.24, 5.46, XII; fig. 5.4)

A	F	Ba	F	Ba	F	Aa
E	E	Eb	Bd	Eb	E	E	E
C	C	C	G	C	C	C	C

It is in this section that the inscription described in Appendix 2 (G) occurs, centrally placed below the decorated *mashrabiyya* panel Bd. To either side of the panel Bd are single posts, supported by vase-shaped terminals. These do not appear elsewhere in the balustrade. Perhaps their purpose is to draw attention to the inscription panel. Panel Aa to the right has been inserted upside down, while panel A to the left has been cut down. Note that the section is asymmetrical, which is unique.

Appendix 2
A new Inscription from the Wooden Balustrade in the Dome of the Rock
Michael Hamilton Burgoyne

Location

The inscription is in the central panel of pale yellowish wood (species not identified), located inconspicuously in the lowest register of section 20-1 of the timber screen around the rock (pls 5.46, XII; fig. 5.4).

Description

Set in a round-arched frame, it consists of a single line, enclosing arabesque ornament. Traces of white paint and a spot of vermilion over white paint exist on one letter at the apex of the inscription. There are traces of maroon colour in the arabesque spandrels of the arch head.

Dimensions

The measurements of the exposed surface of the panel are: height 375mm, width 165mm; max height of the inscription band, 26mm; maximum height of the letters, 23mm; maximum depth of the relief, 2mm.

Style

The script is finely cut, a rounded Ayyubid *naskh*. There are no diacritical marks or vocalization signs. The letters are regular in size except for the extended shaft of the *ba'* and elongated tail of the *sin* of *bismillah*.

Date

No date is given. The style of carving is less elaborate than that of the double-sided inscription panel (above, pls 5.42–44) but it seems likely that it was cut by the same craftsmen at the end of the 6th / 12th century. It reads:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك

محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و على آله و سلم

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. There is no god but God alone. He has no partner (Sura 6:163). Muhammad is the Prophet of God, God bless him and his family and invoke peace upon him.

Following the *bismillah*, the text consists of a declaration of God's unity and prayers for Muhammad, His Prophet. It is reminiscent of the Umayyad inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock—the construction text[a] in glass mosaic that encircles the inner and outer sides of the wall above the arcade separating the inner and outer ambulatories, and the one[b] in repoussé copper formerly over the north door, both of which contain similar statements. The otherwise rare occurrence of Qur'an Sura 6:163 in building inscriptions[c] suggests that the Ayyubids were conscious of these Umayyad inscriptions (which, being written in antique *kufic* script with few diacritical marks and no vocalization signs, are not easy to read) and, moreover, saw themselves in an analogous position, (re-)asserting Islam in former Christian territory.

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[a] Van Berchem 1927, 25

[b] Van Berchem 1927, 217

The only other known examples are two from the 7th/13th and 9th/15th-Delhi, according to Erica Cruikshank Dodd and Sheeren Khairallah 1981 Vol. 2, 40

Pl. 5.46 Balustrade, Section 20-1: S; detail of inscription G (Photo © Joe Rock)
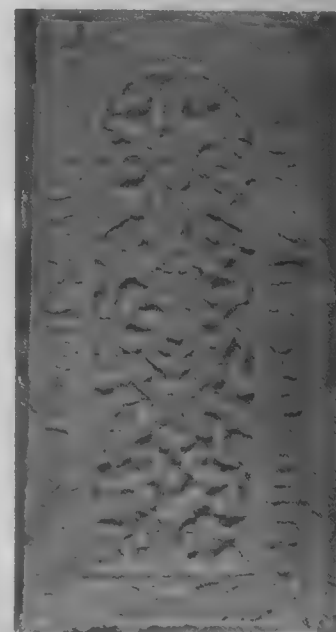
Pl. 5.47 Sakhra (Dome of the Rock). Squeeze (reversed) of the inscription in Section 20-1: S, (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)
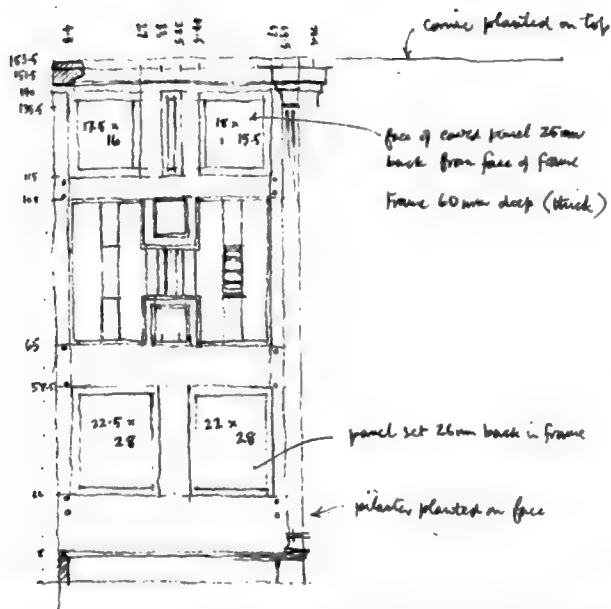
Fig. 5.2 Partly measured survey sketch of section 11-12 of the wooden balustrade. Michael H Burgoyne.
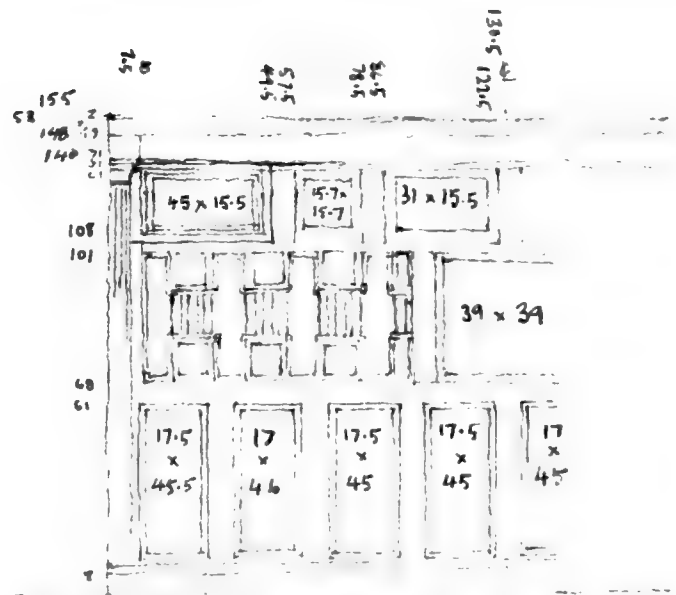
Fig. 5.3 Partly measured sketch of part section 12-13 of the wooden balustrade.
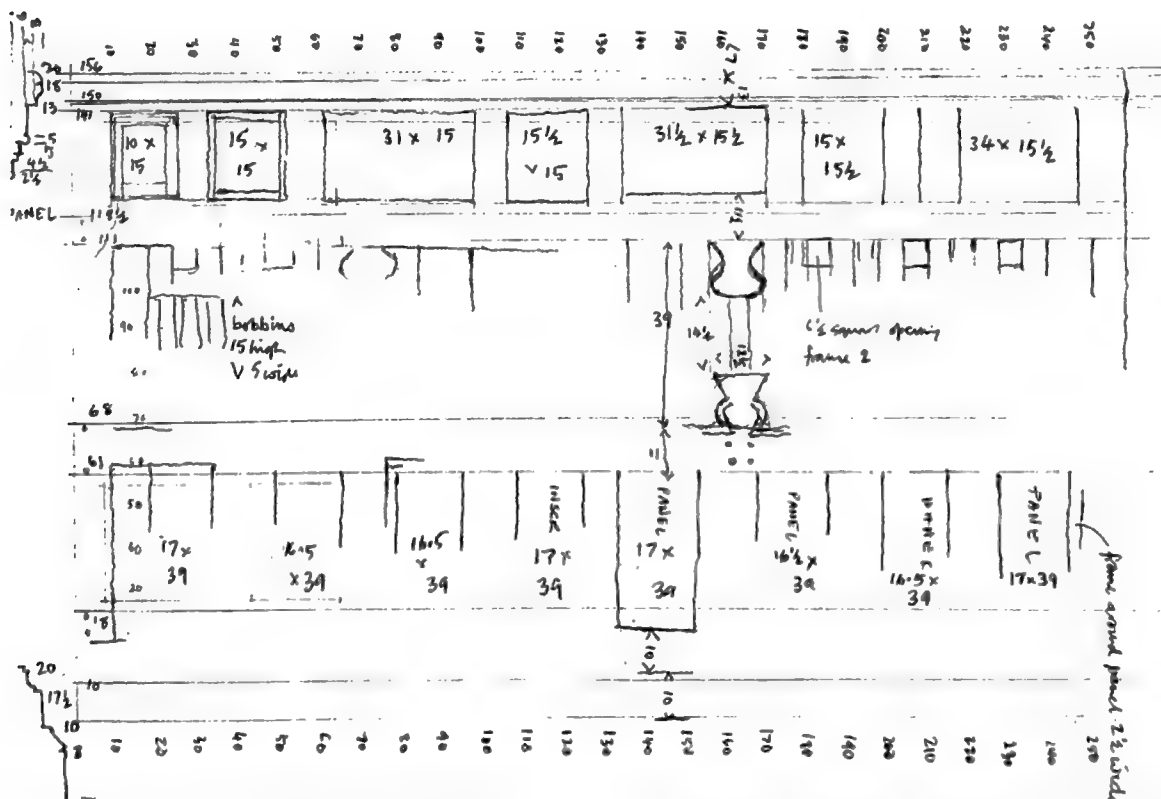
Fig. 5.4 Partly measured survey sketch of section 20-1 of the wooden balustrade, showing the position of the inscription. Michael H Burgoyne.

Chapter 6
THE POWER OF THE WORD: AYYUBID INSCRIPTIONS IN JERUSALEM

Sheila S Blair

Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem on 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187 is generally reckoned a major watershed marking the return of the city to Muslim hands. The many inscriptions set up there by the Ayyubids in the following seven decades show how the new rulers deliberately manipulated epigraphy to project this message. Monumental epigraphy was a key mechanism in re-islamicising Jerusalem, and both the content and the style of the inscriptions reveal how these texts were meant to be seen and read as part of the programme of resanctification of the third holiest city of Islam.

The corpus of inscriptions from Ayyubid Jerusalem comprises at least forty-two texts (see Appendix 1). Twenty-nine were published in the 1920s as part of the magisterial three-volume corpus on the inscriptions of Jerusalem compiled by Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum* (hereafter *MCIA*). During two decades of research, van Berchem collected and recorded three hundred Arabic inscriptions relating to the city, and their publication, finalised by Gaston Wiet after van Berchem's death in 1920, remains the fundamental work on the city, its history, and its inscriptions. The work includes ten Ayyubid inscriptions in the city, eleven in the Haram al-Sharif, six in the Dome of the Rock, and two in the Aqsa Mosque.[1]

A checklist incorporating eleven new inscriptions dating from the Ayyubid period was compiled fifty years later, as part of the work associated with the British School

of Archaeology in Jerusalem. The checklist was put together by Archibald Walls, an architect associated with the school's architectural survey of the city, and Amal Abul-Hajj (1980), curator of the Islamic Museum there. The checklist maintained the numbering and division into city, Haram, Dome of the Rock, and Aqsa Mosque that van Berchem had used, and added the new inscriptions at the end with Roman numerals.[2]

Befitting the dual interests and expertise of the compilers of the checklist, these new inscriptions were culled from both architectural/archeological surveys and museums and storerooms. Many of the texts had been uncovered as part of the Jerusalem project of the then British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem; others were lapidary inscriptions stored in the museum and elsewhere on the Haram. Most of the new texts had been analysed in a 1979 article on twenty-four new inscriptions from medieval Jerusalem written by Michael Burgoyne, another architect associated with the British School's survey of Jerusalem, and Abul-Hajj.

The checklist also included a few inscriptions known from other sources such as texts and local excavations. The most important was no. XXIII, a large foundation text dated 609/1212 excavated in the 1970s next to the southern wall of Jerusalem between Zion Gate (Bab Da'ud) and Burj Kibrit (figs. 1 and 2). It had been published in 1977 by Moshe Sharon, Professor of History at the Hebrew University and himself the compiler of a new volume of the *MCIA* on the inscriptions of Palestine (*CIAP* 1997, 1999).[3] Sharon, who had studied epigraphy with Gaston Wiet, published the inscription in a *Festschrift* dedicated to his former teacher,[4] who in turn had been a student of van Berchem.

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[1] Ayyubid inscriptions published in the *MCIA Jerusalem* comprise nos 35-36, 38-43, 55, and 58 (city); nos 150, 152, 154-155, 157, 161-64, 168 and 169 (Haram al-Sharif); nos 225-30 (Dome of the Rock); and nos 280-81 (Aqsa Mosque). I have not included the inscriptions from the tomb of Barakat Khan (nos 59-62), son of the last Khwarazmian shah who died in 679/1280. Van Berchem thought the tomb might well have been erected after Barakat Khan's death, and, following Walls' detailed study of the architecture (1974), Michael Burgoyne (1987, 109-16, no. 2), concluded that the tomb was erected sometime between 661/1263 and 679/1280, the dates when his two sons died. Many of these inscriptions are also included in Combe, Sauvaget, and Wiet (1931).

[2] The new Ayyubid inscriptions comprise nos XIV-XXIV of the checklist. No. XIII, the epitaph of Badr al-Din 'Abdallah ibn Badr al-Hajji, who died in Ramadan 586, is surely to be equated with *MCIA Jerusalem* no. 226, an epitaph partially published by van Berchem from a fragmentary text copied by Sauvaire of one Irza[?] ibn 'Abdallah who died in the same month.

[3] Sharon 1997 and 1999.

[4] Sharon 1977.

Pl. 6.1 Right (beginning) of inscription no. XXIII, a foundation text dated 609/1212 excavated in the 1970s next to the southern wall of Jerusalem. A re-used piece of Herodian ashlar masonry, it is the largest Ayyubid inscription to survive (after Sharon 1977, pl. XII).
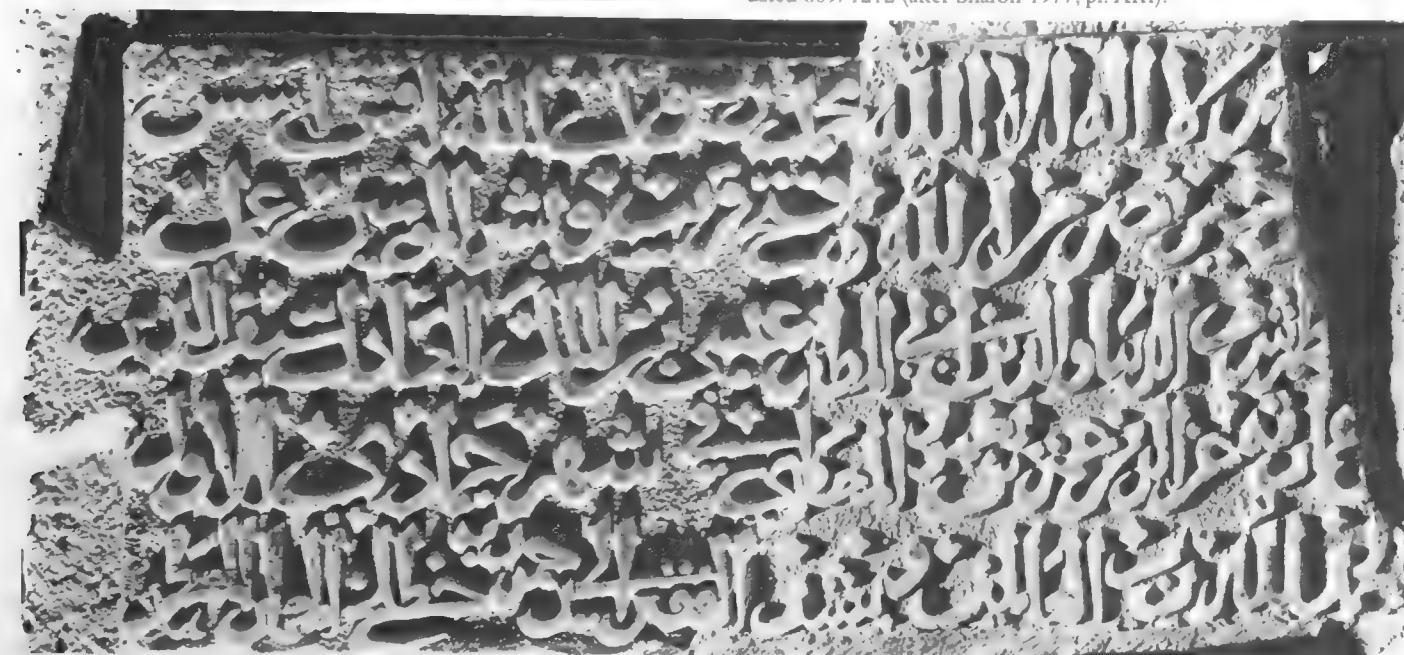
Pl. 6.2 Centre and left (continuation) of no. XXIII, a foundation text dated 609/1212 (after Sharon 1977, pl. XIII).

In his 1977 article Sharon also mentioned two more inscriptions from Ayyubid Jerusalem that he planned to publish as part of the forthcoming volume of the *CIAP*.[5] One dated 599/1202-3 (pl. 6.3) had been found near the western city wall in the late 1970s by Megen Broshi of the Department of Antiquities and Museums.[6] The second, a damaged stone dated 14 Safar 600/23 October 1203, which is now in the Rockefeller Museum (R366, no. 42.264), probably marked similar work on the walls.

Appendix I gives a chronological list of the forty-two inscriptions from Ayyubid Jerusalem, combining the numbering systems developed by van Berchem (Arabic numbers) and Walls and Abul-Hajj (Roman numerals) with the two new texts to be published by Sharon (designated as Sharon 1 and 2). Although excavations, surveys, and publication of museum collections and storerooms may bring to light a few more inscriptions, these forty-two give us a good idea of the complete epigraphic record. They span the period. The earliest (pl. 6.4)—an inscription recording Saladin's restorations to the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280)—dates to 583/1187-88, the year that he conquered Jerusalem. The latest (pl. 6.5)—a text recording Malik Salih Ayyub's construction of the Qubbat Musa on the Haram in 647/1249-50 (no. 169)—dates to just three years before the Mamluks overthrew the Ayyubids in Egypt. This last building, however, is the exception, rather than the rule. It is the only inscription dating from the forty-odd years of chaotic rule at the end of the period. All the other inscriptions in Jerusalem date from the first thirty-five years of Ayyubid rule. They are concentrated in two periods—a flurry of activity during the

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[5] They will appear in the *CIAP* as an Appendix to a rewritten version of his article (1977) on the Ayyubid walls of Jerusalem. I thank him for his generosity in sharing his unpublished work with me.

[6] It was first published by Megen Broshi in Hebrew in 1987 and corrected by Sharon.

six years between Saladin's conquest of the city in 583/1187 and his death in 589/1193, and another spurt of prosperity at the beginning of the 7th/13th century when his nephew al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa was governor of Syria.

The inscriptions from the whole period encompass many types of construction. The most common commemorate the construction or restoration of religious works. These include small mosques of the type known simply as *masjid* (nos 36 and XX) as well as parts of the larger Aqsa Mosque, such as the *mihrab* (no. 280; pl. 6.4) and portico or *riwaq* (no. 281). Institutions for learning included several *madrasa*s (nos 35, 42, 55, and 58) and a Qur'an school or *maktab* (no. 39). Much of the building activity was concentrated in or around the Haram. Work there included the construction of two domed ædicules of the type known as *qubba* (nos XXI and 152; pl. 6.6),[7] the restoration of the southeast colonnade or *qanatir* (no. 161) and the northern portico or *riwaq* (no. 162), and the addition of wooden leaves to two gates *(bab)* on the north (nos 154 and 168). The supply of water for visitors to the Haram was also a matter of concern, and inscriptions mark the donation of a basin or *siqaya* (no. 38) and two cisterns *(sarij;* nos 157 and 164) near gates on the west. The Haram was such a focus of activity that it was surveyed, and a marble slab giving its dimensions was installed (no. 163). Along with these forthrightly charitable foundations, there were also a few funerary constructions in and around the city. One inscription records the building of a tomb or *turba* (no. 41) along with a handful of tombstones marking a grave or *qabr* (nos 226/XIII, XIV, XVII, XXII, and 227). Most of these types of buildings are well known, and the vocabulary used for them is standard, although the inscriptions do help in pinpointing the exact meaning of architectural elements such as colonnades or porticoes.

There has been some discussion as to whether the Ayyubids built or rebuilt the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, but, based on the unsystematic arrangement of capitals of different types, Michael Burgoyne (1987, 47-8) has argued, persuasively to my mind, that it is indeed an Ayyubid construction composed mainly of Crusader spolia and that the inscription (no. 152; pl. 6.6) marks its construction, not its rebuilding.
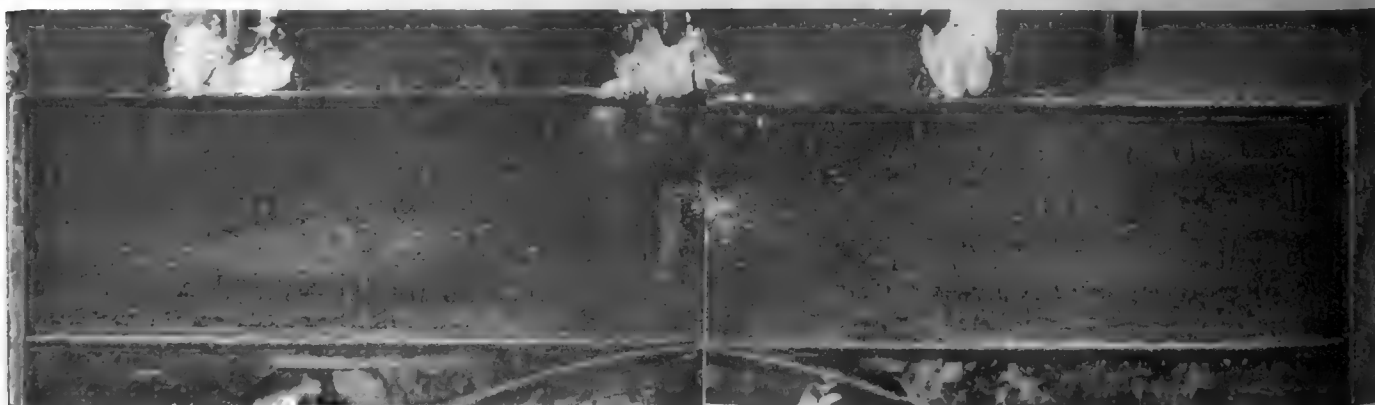
Pl. 6.3 Sharon 1, inscription dated 599/1202-3 found near the western city wall in the late 1970s (courtesy Moshe Sharon).

The inscriptions show that together with their pious foundations, the Ayyubids undertook much defensive work. Nearly one-quarter of the inscriptions (nos 150, XV, XVI, 40, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, and 43 and the two new texts, Sharon 1 and 2, pls 1-3 and 7-8) mark the construction or restoration of fortifications, including the city walls and the citadel. Since the walls were dismantled in 616/1219 and further destroyed in 624/1227 to prevent the Crusaders from using them, these inscriptions are not *in situ*, and many were only recently uncovered in the course of surveys and excavations. Although most of the work is indicated only by the generic word for building *('imara)*, at least two inscriptions (nos XVI and 43; pls 6.7-8) mention a tower *(burj)* and another one (no. 150; pl. 6.9) mentions the digging of a ditch *(khandaq)*.

These inscriptions from the Ayyubid walls of Jerusalem are particularly important, as contemporary chroniclers are relatively silent about the work, mentioning only that Saladin and his immediate successors paid attention to fortifying the city and strengthening its walls, but giving few details. In lieu of actual remains, we can get an idea of the type of work involved in Jerusalem by looking at one of the many walled cities in the area that were restored during this period of conflict—Diyarbakr in south-eastern Anatolia, where forty-four inscriptions record the expansion and reconstruction of the walls between the 3rd/10th century and 9th/16th.[8] Saladin

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[8] Van Berchem 1910; Flury 1920; Blair 2000, 488–529.

Pl. 6.4 No. 280, an inscription recording Saladin's restorations to the Aqsa Mosque in 583/1187-88, the earliest Ayyubid inscription in Jerusalem (© J Bloom and S S Blair)

Pl. 6.5 Van Berchem's squeeze of no. 169, the latest Ayyubid inscription in Jeruslam marking the construction of the Qubbat Musa in 647/1249-50 (after *MCIA Jerusalem*, pl. XXXVIII).

took Diyarbakr in 579/1183, the same year that he conquered Jerusalem, and then gave it to his vassals, the Turcoman family of Artuqids who set up eleven inscriptions over the next twenty-five years. The Ayyubids added two more after they retook the city in 630/1232. The work comprised the reconstruction of the citadel, walls, and gates and the addition of large towers, the same type of work that was done at Jerusalem but which has not survived.

Although the two types of inscriptions found at Jerusalem often differ in overall intent (piety or defence) and location (*in situ* or re-used), they share the same basic form and content. The corpus of forty-two inscriptions therefore allows us to establish a standard Ayyubid text and to set an individual inscription in its historical, if not its physical, context. Knowing the standard makes it possible to fill in fragmentary texts, as Walls and Abul-Hajj did with several of the fragmentary lapidary inscriptions from the city walls (e.g., nos XV and XVI), or to compare slight changes over time and space, as Sharon did with two texts from the walls (nos XXIII and 43; pls 6.1-2 and 7-8). Establishing the standard also allows us to see unusual variants.

Pl. 6.6 No 152, inscription on the lintel marking the construction of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj in 597/1200-01 (after *MCIA Jerusalem*, pl. XXXIII, top).

Pl. 6.7 No. 43, limestone inscription recording the restoration of the city walls by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 609/1212 as seen by van Berchem in the early 20th century, when it was inserted in the eastern wall of the mosque on the citadel (after *MCIA Jerusalem*, pl. XLI).
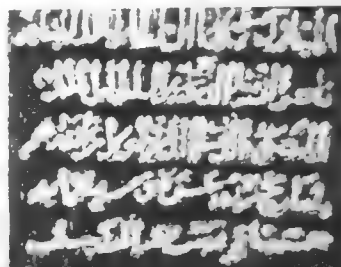
Pl. 6.8 No. 43, limestone inscription recording the restoration of the city walls by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 609/1212 as repainted by the 1970s (after Sharon 1977, pl. XI).
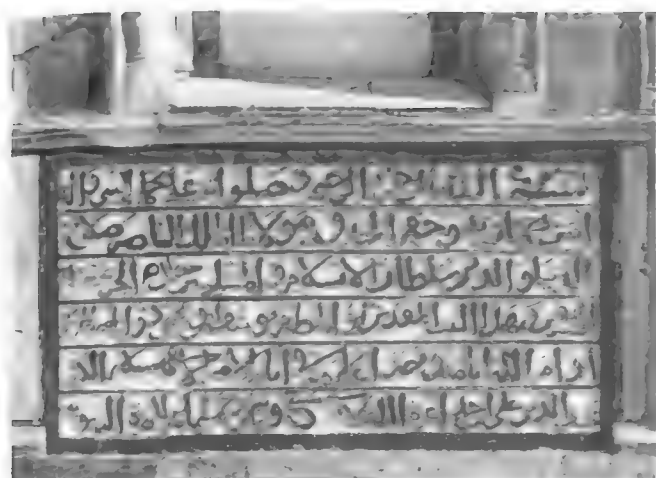
Pl. 6.9 No. 150, limestone slab commemorating Saladin's work (on the city walls?) and the digging of a ditch in 587/1191, re-used in the Qubbat Yusuf (after *MCIA Jerusalem*, pl. XXXIII, bottom).

The standard Ayyubid inscription is a horizontal stone slab (either limestone or marble), typically carved in relief with up to ten lines of round script.[9] The inscriptions were set prominently on walls and the façades of buildings, on or above doorways, sometimes curved at the top to fit the arched tympanum of a *qubba* (nos 155 and 169). One inscription measuring over two metres was even used as a lintel in the Qubbat al-Miʿraj (no. 152; pl. 6.6). The largest inscription (no. XXIII; pls 6.1-2), a re-used piece of Herodian ashlar masonry, measured a colossal 2.7 metres. Other inscriptions were nearly as broad. Some inscribed blocks from the walls measure (or measured) nearly two metres across (nos 150, XV, XVI, and 43; pls 6.7-8), as did the foundation texts for several madrasas (eg, nos 35 and 55).

Size was not the only criterion; so was visibility. To heighten the visual impact, the raised letters were set in frames or a *tabula ansata* (no. XXIII; figs 1-2) and divided by lines that emphasized the horizontality of the text. Sometimes the letters were painted. The inscription on the north portico of the Aqsa Mosque (no. 281) is painted black, as are a few of the inscriptions from the walls (eg, nos 150 and XV; pl. 6.9), whose black paint might have been added when these stones were re-used around the Haram and elsewhere.[10] But the desire for coloured texts existed already in medieval times. The monolithic lintel of the Qubbat al-Miʿraj (no. 152; pl. 6.6) is painted gold on a green ground, and an Andalusian judge who visited Jerusalem on pilgrimage in the late 1330s described the text around the Qubbat al-Silsila (no. XXI) in similar colours as being gold on a grass-green ground.[11] Designers and craftsmen,

then, deliberately exploited size, technique, layout, and colour to enhance the meaning of the message, which trumpets the triumph of Islam.

Script too makes the inscriptions easily readable. The typical Ayyubid inscription is written in the type of round script known as *naskh*. It is readily legible. Strokes are thick and firm. There is a small separation between words, which are written on a slight slope. The word *fi* is written with a final *ya'* that trails backwards under the *fa* and a tail that darts upwards from bottom left to upper right (as in the middle of the penultimate line of the inscription on the Qubbat Yusuf, no. 150; pl. 6.9). The most distinctive letter is *kaf*, which is often written without the upper stroke, particularly in the word *al-malik* (third word from the end of line two in the same inscription). Over the course of the period, letters became squatter with thicker terminals, and the latest inscription, that recording the foundation of the Qubbat Musa in 647/1249-50 (no. 169; pl. 6.5), foreshadows the thick and somewhat crowded *naskh* used under the Ayyubids' successors, the Mamluks.

Such size, visibility, and readability were essential, for in several cases, particularly those activities carried out just after Saladin's conquest of the city, the work did not involve actual construction, but rather the transformation of older buildings through the addition of an inscription. Bold inscriptions served to re-islamicise older monuments, such as the Qubbat al-Silsila (no. XXI) and the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4). More importantly, large inscription plaques were used to convert Christian buildings into Muslim ones. A large marble plaque installed over the doorway on the façade of the Church of St Anne, for example, proclaimed it a Shafiʿite *madrasa* (no. 35), and a similar plaque installed on the *qibla* wall of the sanctuary of the Latin hospital opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre announced that it was the mosque of al-Afdal (no. 36). Similar plaques probably once adorned the *khanqah* that Saladin established in the former residence of the Latin patriarch in 585/1189[12] and the Maimuniyya Madrasa converted from the Church of St Mary Magdalen in 593/1197,[13] although these inscriptions have not survived. Epigraphy was also used to mark off the Haram as a Muslim area. According to Michael the Syrian, Saladin posted an inscription on the Haram that prohibited Christians from entering on penalty of death.[14] In addition to the new texts, crosses were removed, *mihrabs* added, minbars installed, and bells replaced by *muʾadhdhins*. Structural changes to the buildings were limited, as words and actions were quicker (and cheaper) methods to denote changes in religion and function.

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9   There are also several wooden inscriptions, recording repairs to the Dome of the Rock (nos 225, 228 and 230) and leaves to gates (nos 154 and 168).

10 No. 43, still affixed on the interior southeast corner of the mosque on the citadel where van Berchem saw it, was apparently painted in the last century; compare the version he published in 1920 (pl. 6.7) with the one published by Sharon in 1977 (pl. 6.8).

11 Tritton 1957, 537-39.

12 Van Berchem 1920 *Jerusalem*, 87-91.

13 Burgoyne 1978, 48 and note 128.

14 Van Berchem 1920 Jerusalem, 2, 88, n. 3. Van Berchem pointed out that the inscription was reminiscent of the Herodian prohibition of Gentiles in the Temple.

The content of the inscriptions reinforces their proselytising role. The Islamicising tenor is clear from the very beginning of the texts. They open with the *basmala*, not only given in full form, but also extended so that it sometimes fills half of the first line of text (pl. 6.5) and is adorned with a floral motif above the elongated *sin* in *bism* (pls 6. 6 and 6.9).[15] The *basmala* is often followed by a Qur'anic excerpt, aptly chosen to promulgate the faith. For example, the foundation text of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj (no. 152; pl. 6.6) opens with Qur'an 2: 197 and 99:7 and the Madrasa Nahwiyya (no. 155) with Qur'an 25: 10, all about doing pious works *(khair)*.[16] Qur'an 16: 53, about God's blessing or grace *(ni'ma)*, is found on both the Madrasa Salahiyya (no. 35) and the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4), which also has Qur'an 16: 128 about those who do good. Qur'an 9: 109, a verse mentioning a mosque whose foundation is laid on piety, was inscribed on the city walls (nos XXIII and 43; figs 1-2 and 7-8) and on an actual mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4).

The choice of text often leads to a metaphorical comparison with incidents or buildings mentioned in the Qur'an. Thus, the Dome of the Chain (no. XXI) was inscribed with Qur'an 21: 78, a text about the judgment of Solomon; one text marking the rebuilding of the city walls (no. XV) opens with 2: 127 about Ibrahim building the foundations of the Ka'ba; and the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4) is inscribed with Qur'an 17: 1 about the Further Mosque (al-masjid al-aqsa). Qur'an 9: 18, the text about building God's mosques that is commonly found on mosques throughout the Islamic lands, is included not only on the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4) and the Jami' al-Saghir (no. XX), but also in an inscription recording reconstructions to the Dome of the Rock (no. 229), which was sometimes identified by the term *masjid*. The inscription on the Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa (no. 55) opens with Qur'an 24: 36-37 about houses in which God's name is glorified.

Other appropriate texts and references are sprinkled throughout the inscriptions. The endowment text for a Qur'an school (no. 39), for example, includes Qur'an 2: 181 about the inviolability of endowments. Invocations calling for God's mercy or pardon for a deceased person, called by van Berchem *'eulogies à report'*, are sometimes included in foundation texts, as with Badr al-Din al-Hakkari, founder of the Badriyya Madrasa (no. 42), and in the foundation of a Qur'an school, presumably funded by Saladin (no. 39). Such eulogies are standard on tombstones, whose texts also invoke God's justice on the Day of Judgment (Qur'an 18: 47 on no. 226/XIII), His dominion (Qur'an 2: 255 on no. 227) and His mercy (Qur'an 55: 27 on

nos XVII , XXII, and 41). The inscriptions show us that the Muslims in Ayyubid Jerusalem cited the Qur'an regularly as part of their daily life, for the texts are sometimes truncated and occasionally contain mistakes, as in no. 43 (pls 6.7-8), in which the word *min* is missing.[17]

The Qur'anic texts not only reaffirm the faith in general, but testify specifically to the concept of *jihad* and the victory of Islam over Christianity. The largest inscriptions from the city walls (nos XXIII, Sharon 1 and 43; pls 6.1-3 and 7-8) contain Qur'an 61: 13, the well-known verse calling for God's victory and imminent conquest (literally 'clearing up') as well as good tidings to the believers *(nasr min allah wa fath gharib wa bashshir al-mu'minin)*. The same verse was used on the 'Urfa Gate, the first repair carried out by the Artuqids at Diyarbakr in the year that Saladin conquered the city.[18] Contemporary commentators interpreted this verse to mean that God will provide this help and quick victory to those believers who undertake *jihad*.[19] This choice of texts from the Holy Book to underscore the policy of islamicisation in Jerusalem was not new. Such specifically selected verses had already been used by the Umayyads to decorate the Dome of the Rock.[20]

The fervent tenor of orthodoxy and islamicisation highlighted in the Qur'anic verses continues in the rest of the texts, most of which are filled with the names and titles of the patrons and rulers. These too are often expanded and adapted to underscore the notion of *jihad* and the triumph of Islam over Christianity. This is particularly the case with Saladin, who not only is the victorious ruler *(al-malik al-nasir)* and sultan of Islam and the Muslims, but also bears rhyming epithets such as (no. XV) unifier of the word of the faith *(jami' kalamat al-iman)* and vanquisher of the servants of the crosses *(qami' 'ibad al-sulban)*. The titles also highlight the role of Jerusalem as the third holiest city in Islam. Saladin is the servant of the two noble sanctuaries [i.e., Mecca and Medina] (nos 150 and XV) and this Holy House [i.e., Jerusalem]; the *amir* al-Afdal 'Ali is the servant of the blessed house of God *(bait allah al-muqaddas)* (no. 36), another reference to Jerusalem.

The sanctity of Jerusalem and its prime position in the holy war against Christians is also evident from the names and identities of the local people mentioned in the inscriptions. The person who founded and endowed a mosque in 595/1199 (no. XX), for example, was one Muhammad ibn al-Muharib, literally Muhammad, son of a fighter. Jerusalem became the favoured burial spot for people who died fighting the Franks in the surrounding area. We see this from the graves of several people with the *nisba* al-Hakkari, designating a well-known Kurdish tribe, many of whose members settled

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[15] This type of floral decoration caused Herzfeld to label the script 'floriated' *naskh*, but as van Berchem pointed out (1920 *Jerusalem*, 91, n. 5), such decoration is rare and the script is a regular *naskh*.

[16] The citations here are numbered according to the standard Egyptian system rather than the Flugel system used by van Berchem. On the differences between the two, see Blair 1998, 212.

[17] Sharon 1977, 180 noticed the omission.

[18] Van Berchem 1910, no. 27; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet 1931, 3383; Blair 2000, 512.

[19] Cf. Sharon n. 23, citing the commentary *(tafsir)* of Ibn Kathir.

[20] Grabar 1959, 33-62.

in Jerusalem after Saladin's conquest. One tombstone now in the Islamic Museum (XIV) marked the grave of Shurwa ibn Da'ud ibn Ibrahim al-Hakkari. According to the text on the slab, he died a martyr *(al-mustashshid)* in the region of Ramla in the month of Dhu'l Qa'da 587/November-December 1191. His death presumably occurred during the southern offensive of the Third Crusade which, under the leadership of Richard the Lionheart, eventually recaptured a strip of coastal territory extending from Acre to Ashqelon and forced the truce of 588/1192. Shurwa's body must have been sent back to Jerusalem for burial afterwards. A few years later another member of the tribe, the *amir* Zain al-Din [one word] ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abdallah al-Hakkari, who died in 592/1195-96 (no. 227), was buried in the city, probably in the cemetery near the Golden Gate, and his tombstone later re-used in the walls of the Dome of the Rock. A generation later in 610/1213-14, a third member of the tribe, the *amir* Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Abi'l-Qasim al-Hakkari founded the Badriyya Madrasa. In the foundation inscription (no. 42) he is lauded as *al-ghazi* (fighter for the faith), *al-mujahid* (he who strives in the way of God), and *al-shahid* (the matryr). According to the chronicler Mujir al-Din, Badr al-Din desired to die for the faith, and indeed he did. He was killed on Mount Tabor in 614/late 1217 during the battle between the Muslims under Malik 'Adil and his son al- Mu'azzam 'Isa against the Franks. The chronicler continues that Badr al-Din's body was brought back to Jerusalem for burial in his tomb. The exact site is not specified, but is probably to be identified with the Shafi'ite Madrasa that he had founded in the city four years before.[21] The inscriptions, then, underscore the key role of Jerusalem as the third holiest city of Islam and one that had recently been wrested from Christian control.

These inscriptions from Ayyubid Jerusalem, put together with local chronicles, also help us understand the process of civil construction there. Although rulers such as Saladin and his nephew al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, governor of Syria, ordered the reconstruction of the walls and other works, they often had their *amirs*, both local and from as far away as Mosul, pay for it. These *amirs* were therefore the parties responsible for particular work and accordingly are the second people named in the inscriptions. Thus, the inscriptions tell us that work was carried out in the days *(fi ayyam,* nos 150, 161, 162, 230, 281, and 168, or occasionally *fi daulat,* nos 229 and 58) of a particular ruler, but under the supervision of a specific *amir,* who served as governor *(wali)* of Jerusalem and whose role was indicated by some form of the verb waliya (variously, *tawalla, bi-tawalli,* or *fi wilayat).* For example, no. XV, the reconstruction of the walls, says that the work was ordered by Saladin, but carried out by 'Izz al-Din Jurdik, who was governor of Jerusalem from 588/1192 to 591/1194-95. Similarly, Saladin's nephew

al-Mu'azzam 'Isa ordered the reconstruction of the walls, work that was carried out by various amirs. Two inscriptions (nos Sharon 1997 and 155; pl. 6.3) mention the *amir* Qaimaz ibn 'Abdallah, a freedman of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa who must have served as governor of Jerusalem from 599/1202 to 604/1207-8, with the epithet Abu Mansur (Father of Victory) and Abu Sa'd (Father of Good Omen). Three more inscriptions dating to 609-10/1212-14 (nos XXIII, 162, and 43; figs. 1-2 and 7-8) mention 'Izz al-Din 'Umar ibn Yaghmur, an *amir* who cannot be identified in the sources.

Some of the inscriptions (eg, nos 150, Sharon 1, XXIII, and 43) also contain the name of a third person at the end of the text. Introduced by the phrase *bi-nazar* (pl. 6.9) or *bi-shadd* (pls 6.1-3 and 7-8) this individual is the site supervisor who inspected the work. We know his profession, as in the case of the longest inscription from the walls (no. XXIII, pls 6.1-2). One such supervisor, Khutluj, is identified as *mi'mar* (master builder or engineer). The site supervisors were typically freedmen, who could transfer their allegiance and rise through the ranks. Khutluj, for example, began as a client of al-Malik al-'Adil in 599/1202-3 (Sharon 1; pl. 6.3). Within a decade he had transferred his affiliation to al-Mu'azzam 'Isa (nos XXIII and 43; figs. 1-2 and 7-8) and was later promoted to the rank of *amir,* with the title of Shuja' al-Din, according to an undated and fragmentary inscription from the Dome of the Rock (no. 229).

In addition to people, several inscriptions also include endowment texts that provide information about local social history. Inscription no. XX, for example, reports the construction of a mosque by one Muhammad ibn al- Muharib and provides the funds for its upkeep with three shops to the south bounded on the south side by the bazaar, a market not known from other sources. No. 39 reports the construction of a sacred place *(buq'a)* made into a Qur'an school that was provided with a house known as the house of Abu Na'ma, located under the vault opposite the gate to the Aqsa Mosque, presumably meaning the Bab al-Silsila. The rent from the house was to be used for the salary of a teacher who was to instruct orphans and indigents. Anything left over was to go for the upkeep of the house and the school, lighting under the vault, and water for the children to wash their tablets and to drink. Lighting and water were therefore important local concerns.

Despite these local concerns, the inscriptions show that the major intent of the work at Jerusalem was the re-islamicisation of the city and its defence against the Crusaders. Some scholars have argued that the *naskh* style of script used in the inscriptions also carried religious meaning, specifically the vindication of Sunni Islam.[22] The Fatimids, Shi'ite rulers of Egypt and Syria from 969 to 1171, had typically used the angular script commonly designated today as Kufic, often

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[21] Details from van Berchem 1920 *Jerusalem,* 2, 125–29.

[22] The major proponent of this view is Yasser Tabbaa; see, most recently, Tabbaa 2001, especially Chapter 3, 'The Public Text'.

decorated with floriation. This was replaced in the 6th/12th century by the rounded *naskh*. In the central Islamic lands, this epigraphic change coincided with political change and the establishment of such zealously Sunni dynasties as the Zangids (1127-1251), particularly under Nur al-Din (r. 1147-74), and the Ayyubids under Saladin. Tabbaa has therefore argued that the proclamatory inscriptions of the type found in Ayyubid Jerusalem—large plaques displayed in public places and written in *naskh* script—also symbolized the Sunni revival.

Such an argument is, in my opinion, unconvincing, for the emphasis is misplaced and causality wrongly implied. Bold inscriptions written in a round script and set up in prominent places were already used before the advent of the Zangids and Ayyubids. The final inscription erected on the walls of Diyarbakr by the local rulers—the text dated 578/1182-83 over the Bab al-Saʿada in the name of the last Nisanid ruler of the city, Bahaʾ al-Din Masʿud—was already written in a round hand.[23] Similarly, floriated Kufic continued to be used after the advent of a new dynastic line. Following his conquest of Diyarbakr, as already mentioned, Saladin gave the city to his vassals, the Artuqids. While some of the inscriptions set up under the new Artuqids rulers were written in *naskh*, others done in the name of the same sovereign, Nur al-Din Muhammad ibn Qara Arslan, were written in the traditional floriated Kufic.[24] Epigraphic changes were not the result of dynastic change. Rather, politicians in the 6th/12th century seized upon stylistic changes and could turn epigraphic styles to their advantage, transforming the newly evolving round script into a dynastic hallmark. Floriated Kufic, while visually striking,[25] can be extremely difficult to read.[26] The inscriptions set up in Ayyubid Jerusalem and elsewhere were done in a round script because the people who composed them wanted them not just to be seen, but to be read.

The texts were clearly drawn up in the chancery, but executed by local masons. We can see the importance of local styles again by comparing the inscriptions from Jerusalem to contemporary ones from Diyarbakr. The Anatolian inscriptions are accompanied by extraordinary figural decoration—relief sculptures of humans, animals, and preternatural creatures such as bicephalic eagles.[27] None of this sculpture appears (or at least survives) at Jerusalem, where

the sole testament to the rebuilding of the walls and other constructions in the city is epigraphic.

Finally, establishing a standard text for Ayyubid Jerusalem—a horizontal stone slab carved in relief with up to ten lines of round script—allows us to discern the underlying meaning of individual variants. The most unusual text—in terms of content, form, and technique—is the first one, the inscription in the name of Saladin installed in 583/1187-88 over the mihrab of the Aqsa Mosque (no. 280; pl. 6.4). The text distinguishes two distinct actions—the renovation (*tajdid*) of the *mihrab* and general work (*ʿimara*) on the mosque, including the installation of the famous *minbar* that Nur al-Din b. Zangi had commissioned some two decades earlier in anticipation of the conquest of Jerusalem (nos 277-79).

Installing a new *minbar* had long been a sign of sovereignty in the region. The Fatimids had already done so in 484/1091 at the shrine for Husain's head in Ashqelon.[28] The text on it was specifically drawn up to point to the divine position of the Fatimid imams based on their pure genealogy. It incorporated not only specifically selected Qurʾanic texts (61:13 and 9:18) but also hadith adapted for the occasion. The inscription identifies the two most important legacies of Muhammad as the Qurʾan and his family, a variant of the traditional version naming the scripture and the *sunna* and one that was clearly adapted to privilege ʿAlids. The *minbar* ordered by Nur al-Din in 564/1168-69 also had a text that was specifically drawn up for the occasion. Nur al-Din's titles and the benedictions following his name are adapted to emphasize his role as conqueror of the enemies of religion and defender of the faithful.

The inscription in Saladin's name over the *mihrab* in the Aqsa Mosque (pl. 6.4) contains the same sort of polemic text that had been used on the *minbar* installed to its right. In fact, the person who drew up the text over the *mihrab* must have read the text on the minbar, as the benediction for Saladin makes direct reference to the earlier inscription. The text over the *mihrab* states that Saladin ordered the work after God had conquered the city by his hands (*ʿinda ma fatahahu allah ʿala yadaihi*), a reference to the eulogy on Nur al-Din's *minbar*, which asks God to open for him and through his hands (*fataha allah lahu wa-ʿala yadaihi*). The earlier text contains a play-on-words with the verb *fataha*, meaning both 'open' (a door) and 'conquer' (a city). The inscription over the *mihrab*, then, is a sort of riposte to the vows expressed on *minbar*. The later text marks a *'prise de possession'*, just as Caliph al-Maʾmun's insertion of his name in ʿAbd al-Malik's foundation text on the Dome of the Rock had marked the ʿAbbasids' replacement of the Umayyads (no. 215).

As van Berchem pointed out, the text over the *mihrab* of the Aqsa Mosque not only looks back to Nur al-Din's *minbar*,

[23] Van Berchem 1910, no. 26; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet 193, 3378; Blair 2000, no. 65 and 212.

[24] Compare the inscription over the Urfa Gate with other fragments of the masonry incorporated in tower XX (van Berchem 1910, nos 27; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet 1931, 3383 and 3404; Blair 2000, 66 and 67.

[25] Tabbaa (2001, 55) called it the most elegant of all varieties of monumental Kufic, combining angular characters with curvilinear plant forms.

[26] Van Berchem 1910, 90 and fig 39, indisputably the master of Islamic epigraphy, was only able to make out a few words of the Artuqid inscription in floriated Kufic, and that 'not without difficulty'.

[27] The best discussion of this imagery is Estelle Whelan's dissertation, New York University 1979, now published as *The Public Figure: Political Iconography in Medieval Mesopotamia*, London, 2006.

[28] Sharon 1997: Ashqelon nos 7–8, with references.

Pl. 6.10 Mosaic inscription with Qur'an 17: 1 installed around the mihrab in the Aqsa Mosque (after *MCIA* Jerusalem, pl. XXXI).

but also responds to the Fatimids. Although the names and titles given to Saladin are standard, their order is not. Saladin's surnames and titles are typically given as *maulana* (or *al-maula*) *al-malik al-nasir salah al-dunya wa'l-din abu'l-muzaffar yusuf ibn ayyub*. Over the *mihrab*, however, Saladin is lauded as *'abd allah wa waliyyihu yusuf ibn ayyub abu'l-muzaffar al-malik al-nasir salah al-dunya wa'l-din*. In other words, his proper name and paternal name are placed before his surnames and after the title 'God's servant and friend', a title not found in any other inscription. Both title and order are taken directly from Fatimid protocol. The title *wali allah* was originally conferred on 'Alids, for whom 'Ali was 'God's friend' *par excellence*, and Fatimid inscriptions typically give patronymic *(kunya)* and genealogy *(nasab)* before the titles. In Saladin's diploma of investiture as head of the Fatimid vizierate, in which the Qadi al-Fadil gave Saladin the titles of the vizier who had preceded him, the caliph's protocol began with *'abd allah wa-waliyyuhu*. Van Berchem concluded that the text over the *mihrab*, perhaps drawn up by this same Qadi Fadil, was meant to acknowledge Saladin as the political, if not the religious, successor to the Fatimids.

The Qur'anic texts around the *mihrab* (pl. 6.10) also look back to Fatimid work in technique, content and style. The largest inscription, to the left of the *mihrab*, is a mosaic band with Qur'an 17: 1 written in black floriated Kufic on a scroll ground. The same verse about the further mosque *(al-masjid al-aqsa)* had opened the two-line mosaic band over the archway recording reconstruction of the central aisle and the mosaic decoration under the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir *ca* 1034-36. Below the mosaic band on the *mihrab* is a polychrome marble plaque whose four lines of *naskh* contain Qur'an 9:18, about building mosques for

God. Two hexagonal medallions set above and below the slab contain the first part of Qur'an 16:53 and Qur'an 16: 128; both texts are about doing good works.

The style of the main text added under the Ayyubids (pl. 6.10), Kufic on a scroll ground, recalls the traditional floriated Kufic associated with the Fatimids, but is much less successful. Whereas Fatimid inscriptions are elegant, the Ayyubid one is awkward. The letters are static and ungainly, with distorted proportions. They are set on, rather than integrated with, a scrolling ground that is equally rigid. Although the band is executed in fine materials (noticeably mother-of-pearl), the design is poor. The pointed tails and the swooping curve of letters such as *ha'/jim* show that the designer was accustomed to writing in *naskh*, but must have been required here to change his ordinary habits and design an inscription in Kufic. His singular lack of success may explain why Kufic was increasingly relegated to Qur'anic texts as *naskh* became the Ayyubid script par excellence.

The first surviving inscription added to Jerusalem thus looks backwards, positioning Saladin as successor to the Fatimids and heir to the Zangids. The other forty-one inscriptions look forward, showing how he and his successors adapted to the role of champions of Islam, proclaiming a triumphal message in a city that had temporarily fallen into Christian hands. The Ayyubids became not just the political successors to earlier Muslim lines, but also fighters for the faith against an external enemy that was still threatening their very door. One of their formidable instruments in waging this war was propaganda, and the written message therefore became a signifier of the re-islamicisation of Jerusalem.

Appendix 1:
Chronological list of published inscriptions from Ayyubid Jerusalem

Number [a]	Date	Location or Type
280	583/1187-88	*mihrab* of the Aqsa Mosque
225	585/1189-90	repairs to the dome in the Dome of the Rock
226/XIII	10 Ramadan 586/18 October 1190	epitaph of Badr al-Din al-Hajji
XIV	Dhu'l Qa'da 587/Nov.-Dec. 1191	epitaph of Shurwa al-Hakkari
150	587/1191	reconstruction of city walls? and digging of a ditch
XV	after 587/1191	reconstruction of the city walls
XVI	587-88/1191-93	construction of a tower
40	587-88/1191-93	walls
XVII	Thursday 1-10 Ramadan 588/ 17 August 1192	epitaph of 'Izz al-Din al-Dhurzari
XVIII	588/1192-93	city walls
35	588/1192-93	Madrasa al-Salahiyya
36	589/1193-94	Mosque of al-Afdal
38	589/1193-94	basin
XIX	589-95/1193-99	found to north of city; construction walls?
227	592/1195-96	epitaph of Zain al-Din al-Hakkari
228	ca 595/1198-99	balustrade of Dome of the Rock
XX	early Rabi' I 595/mid Jan. 1199	Jami' al-Saghir
39	595/1198-99	school of Saladin
XXI	596/1200	ceiling and paving, Qubbat al-Silsila
152	597/1200-01	Qubbat al-Mi'raj
XXII	Safar 598/Nov.-Dec. 1201	epitaph of Husam al-Din al-Jarrahi
Sharon 1 [b]	599/1202-3	west wall of city
Sharon 2	14 Safar 600/23 Oct. 1203	slab from wall? (Rockefeller Museum R366)
154	ca 600/1203-4	Bab al-Nazir doors
155	604/1207-8	Qubbat al-Nahwiyya
41	4 Jumada I 605/14 Nov. 1208	epitaph of Hasan al-Shanbaki
157	607/1210-11	cistern
161	608/1211-12	southeast colonnade
XXIII	609/1212	city wall
162	610/1213-14	north portico of Haram
163	ca 610/1213-14	slab with dimensions of Haram
42	610/1213-14	Badriyya Madrasa
229	early 7th/12th century	unknown work noted in slab in Dome of the Rock
230	early 7th/12th century	balustrade/*maqsura* in Dome of the Rock
43	610/1213-14	tower in citadel
164	613/1216-17	cistern
55	614/1217-18	Mu'azzamiyya Madrasa
281	614/1217-18	north portico of Aqsa Mosque
XXIV	614/1217-18	north portico of Aqsa Mosque [c]
58	600-15/1203-19	Madrasa al-Shafa'iyya
168	Rajab 617/Sept. 1220	Bab Hitta
169	647/1249-50	Qubbat Musa

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[a] Arabic numerals refer to inscriptions published in van Berchem, *MCIA Jerusalem*. Roman numerals refer to those added in Walls and Abul-Hajj's handlist, *Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem* (1980). The two Sharon inscriptions have been re-read by Moshe Sharon in a rewritten version of the article 'The Ayyubid Walls of Jerusalem: A New Inscription' that will appear as an appendix in the forthcoming volume of his *CIA Palestinae*. I thank Professor Sharon for sharing his work with me before publication.

[b] First published by Megen Broshi in 1987, *Eretz Israel* 19, 299-302.

[c] Read by A S Husseini, 'Note on an Ayyubid inscription in the interior of the dome of the Aqsa portico' in R W Hamilton, *The Structural History of the Aqsa Mosque*, Oxford, 1949, 47-8.

Chapter 7
WOODWORK IN SYRIA, PALESTINE AND EGYPT DURING THE 12TH AND 13TH CENTURIES

Jonathan M Bloom

Woodwork played a particularly important role in the arts of the 12th and 13th centuries in the lands to the east and south-east of the Mediterranean Sea. As in earlier times, wood was a prestige medium in buildings erected for both sacred and secular functions. It was used for fittings such as doors, window-shutters, and ceiling-beams, as well as for mosque and tomb furniture such as *mihrabs*, *minbars*, screens, and cenotaphs. As the palaces and fine residences of this period have long vanished, only elements associated with religious architecture are known to have survived.[1] In this arid region, wood was relatively costly and often imported from great distances. Wooden fittings were therefore elaborately decorated with delicate carving, complex joinery, and intricate inlaying in a variety of woods, bone, and ivory.

For both technical and symbolic reasons, the most important piece produced in this period was the massive *minbar* (cat. no. 15; pl. II; see Auld, Chapter 4, in this volume) that the Zangid ruler Nur al-Din commissioned at Aleppo in 1168-69 for al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem in anticipation of retaking the city from the Crusaders. Although Nur al-Din died before his *minbar* was finished or his dream of conquest realised, the *minbar* was completed by a team of craftsmen during the brief reign of his son al-Salih Ismaʿil (1174-81); it was finally installed in al-Aqsa Mosque by Saladin after he took Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187.

As important as it is, this masterpiece was only one of several important *minbars* produced in this period. While *minbars* had been essential pieces of mosque furniture since the time of the Prophet,[2] some sense of their particular importance in this period can be gleaned from the writings of medieval Muslim biographers. References to them, for example, have been preserved in the texts of several sermons (which would,

of course, have been delivered from a *minbar*) dedicated to Saladin's triumphal conquest of Jerusalem.[3]

The *minbar* for al-Aqsa was the product of a craft practised throughout the region stretching from Georgia and Armenia on the north-east and Konya on the north-west, to Cairo and Qus in the south-west. It is no surprise that the major centres of woodwork coincided with the major cities of the period; important woodwork was produced at Mosul, Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo. What is more surprising is that the political fragmentation of this period—which saw the waning of the Shiʿi Fatimid caliphate (969-1171 in Egypt), the rise of the Zangids (1127-1251) and Ayyubids (1169-mid 13th century) in Mosul, and the domination by the Ayyubids of those parts of Syria and Egypt not in the hands of European Crusaders—seems to have had little direct effect on the evolution of the styles and techniques of woodwork made throughout the region. In short, while we can speak of a period style, we cannot speak of a particular dynastic style such as 'Fatimid' or 'Ayyubid', or even of particular regional styles such as 'Syrian' or 'Egyptian' (or even 'Aleppan' or 'Damascene'), since artisans moved from one place to another in search of commissions.[4] Thus, the following essay and the appended catalogue deal with dated and datable woodwork produced throughout the region from *ca* 1100 to *ca* 1300.

Dated and datable examples from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt indicate that during the 12th and 13th centuries there was a general tendency away from the relatively large carved rectangular panels set into mortised frames, which had been popular in earlier times, towards a more complex technique of intricate strapwork designs composed of small polygonal and stellate panels carved with arabesque motifs and inlaid with coloured woods, bone, and ivory. Nevertheless, the dated pieces

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[1] Compare the woodwork from the Fatimid palaces of Cairo, which survived only because the pieces were re-used in the religious architecture of the city. Meinecke-Berg 1991, 227-33; Meinecke 1991, 235-42.

[2] For the history of the *minbar*, see Carboni, 1998.

[3] C Hillenbrand 1999, 188-91.

[4] Notwithstanding the pathfinding work and opinions of Carl Johan Lamm; 1935, 59-91.
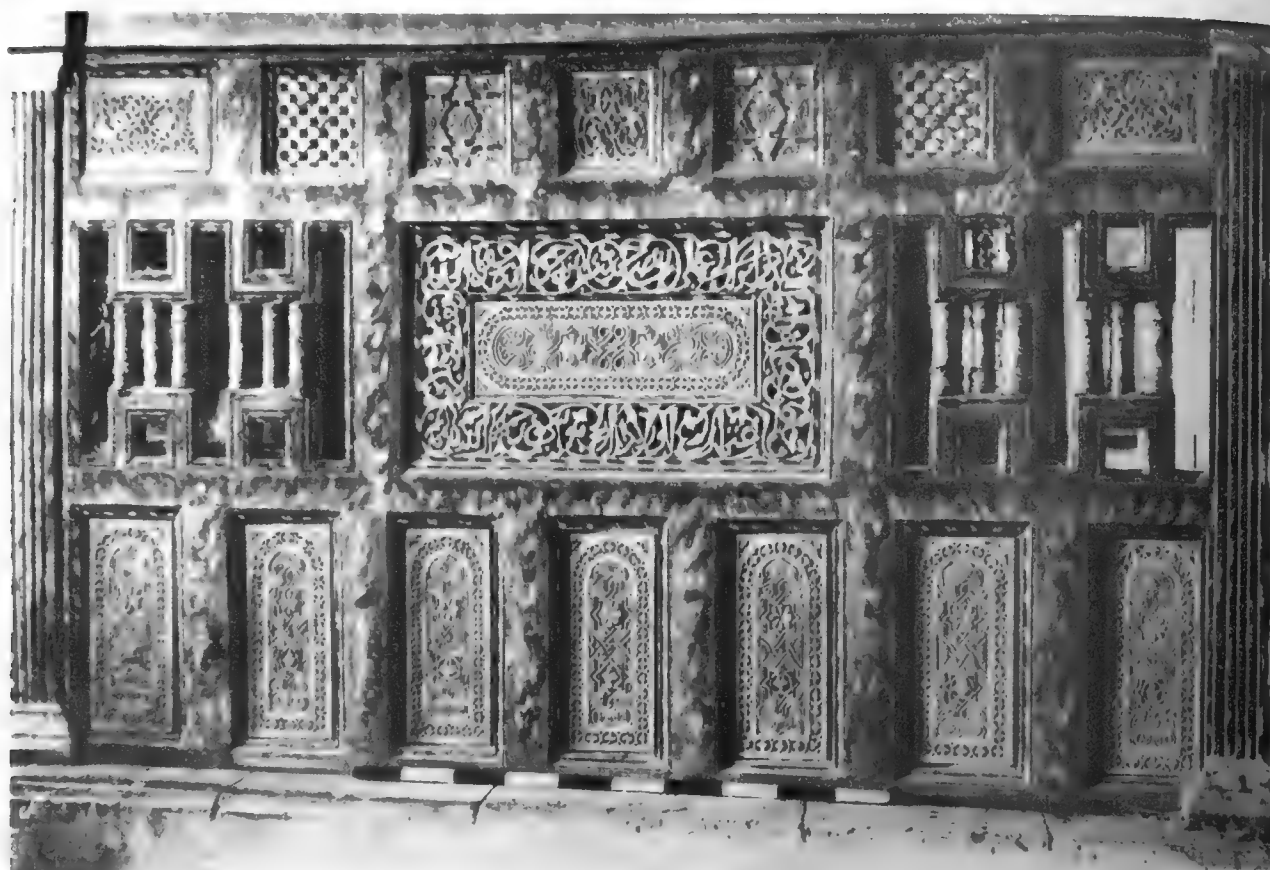
Pl. 7.1 Screen from the Dome of the Rock by Abu'l-Khair ibn Abi 'Ali (cat. no. 20). After Mayer 1958.

show that the general trends were not universally followed. Some later pieces, such as the wooden screen (1196–99) in the Dome of the Rock (cat. no. 19; pl. 7.1) made by the carpenter *(najjar)* Abu'l-Khair ibn Abu 'Ali ibn Rahma with carving (or perhaps 'design'—*naqsh*) by Abu Bakr and his brother 'Uthman ibn Hajj Musa, curiously maintain styles current a century earlier (e.g. cat. no. 2, the screen from Damascus; pl. 7.2).

Unfortunately, some of the greatest masterpieces of this period, such as a *mihrab* from Aleppo (cat. no. 13; pl. 7.3) and the *minbar* of al-Aqsa, no longer exist. The *mihrab* disappeared during the early 20th century, and the *minbar* was firebombed by a disturbed Australian in 1969. Little if any technical analysis has been done on the surviving pieces. Basic information on the materials and techniques used to manufacture them is, therefore, largely a matter of informed conjecture.[5] Contemporary authors write of woodwork inlaid with 'ebony' *(abnus)* and 'ivory' *('aj)* meaning that the brown base was decorated with pieces of black and white, but technical analysis of a contemporary *minbar* made in Cordoba in 1137 shows that all the 'ebony' *(dispyros melanoxylon* or *diospyros ebenum)* mentioned in the texts was actually African

blackwood *(dalbergia ssp.)* rather than Sudanese or Indian ebony *(diospyros ssp.)*. The 'ivory' was really bone (Arabic *'azm)*, despite the patron's deep pockets and the incomparable level of craftsmanship.[6] Moreover, recent scholarship is not as exact as it might be. The otherwise excellent catalogue of Islamic woodwork in the Louvre, for example, describes pieces datable to the Ayyubid period made of boxwood, Mediterranean hackberry *(celtis australis)*, '*palisandre'* (i.e. rosewood or *dalbergia nigra)*, Sudanese ebony *(diospyros melanoxylon)*, *Acacia nilotica*, teak, jujube *(zizyphus lotus)*, and cypress *(cupressus sempervirens)*. Some of these are inlaid with small strips and plaques of a white material identified as ivory. The poor quality of the inlay, however, casts doubt on the identification, since it is unlikely that such an expensive material would have been put to such poor use.[7] While the identification of some woods is surely correct, others are indubitably wrong, as New World woods such as rosewood could not possibly have been available to Egyptian carvers of the 12th and 13th centuries, and we must be dealing with another species of *dalbergia*, perhaps African blackwood. Medieval authors, let alone modern art historians, had little or no technical knowledge of the particular woods and tools joiners actually used, so we must

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Compare, for example, the recent study, with complete technical analysis, of the contemporary (1137) *minbar* formerly in the Kutubiyya Mosque in Marrakesh, Morocco, Bloom *et al.* 1998

[6] Bloom 1998, 3–29; 104.
[7] Anglade 1988, 33–45.

Pl. 7.2 Screen from the Musalla al-ʿIdain, Damascus (cat. no. 2). After Herzfeld 1942-48.

Pl. 7.3 *Mihrab* from the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo (cat. no. 13). After Herzfeld 1954-55.

await the results of future careful observation and analysis by trained conservators.[8]

Several important pieces were signed by individual craftsmen, and literary sources provide additional information about artisans, their workshops, and the movements of woodwork and woodworkers from one city to another. For example, the *minbar* dated 1153 from al-ʿAmadiyya Mosque, Mosul (cat. no. 8; pl. 7.4), was signed by ʿAli ibn al-Nahi, Ibrahim ibn Jamiʿ, and ʿAli ibn Salama, 'the Georgians'; the mountainous region of Georgia must have been known for its forests and wood products. The Aqsa *minbar* (cat. no. 10), begun in Aleppo in 1168-9, was signed six times by four local artisans: Salman ibn Maʿali, Humaid ibn Tafir (or Zafir) al-Halabi, and

[the brothers] Abu'l-Hasan ibn Yahya, and [Abu'l-?] Fada'il ibn Yahya al-Halabi, who finished their work long before the *minbar* was moved to Jerusalem.[9]

ʿImad al-Din, Saladin's adviser and friend, wrote that these men were natives of a place later scholars read as 'Akhtarin', which was identified as an insignificant village in the district of Aleppo, whose existence is not attested before the early 19th century. Ernst Herzfeld, however, ingeniously suggested that 'Akhtarin' was really a misreading of (or copyist's error for) 'Jibrin'—the two words can look quite similar in Arabic script—which is a suburb of Aleppo. He proposed that these two brothers were siblings of Abu ʿAbdallah and Abu'l-Rija', also the sons of Yahya, who made the variegated marble inlay at the Mashhad al-Husain and the Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya in Aleppo.[10] Yahya's partner Maʿali, who had made the *mihrab* (cat. no. 8; see pl. 7.3, in the Maqam Ibrahim in Aleppo [1167-8]), had at least two sons: the Salman who worked on the Aqsa *minbar*, and ʿUbaid, 'known as Ibn Maʿali', who made the undated cenotaph for the head of Husain (cat.

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[8] The conservator Agnieszka Dobrowalska, for example, hopes to publish her work on the early 14th-century *minbar* in the Fatimid mosque of al-Salih Tala'iʿ in Cairo in the near future.

[9] Tabbaa 2001, 94 gives two of the names in a variant reading without explanation.

[10] Herzfeld 1942–48, 58.

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Pl. 7.4 *Minbar* from al-'Amadiyya Mosque, Mosul in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad (cat. no. 8). Photo courtesy of Yasser Tabbaa.

no. 16; pl. 7.5), as well as the dated one over the grave of Imam al-Shafi'i in Cairo in 1178 (cat. no. 17; pl. 7.6).

The close connection between the crafts of fine woodworking and fine stoneworking suggested by this genealogy is not as odd as it might seem at first glance. Ibn Abi Usaibi'a (born after 1194), the author of a biography of physicians (1242, revised 1268) wrote of one such person, a certain Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Harithi. Terry Allen rightly characterised him as 'a Benjamin Franklin of the sixth/twelfth century'. Of this man Ibn Abi Usaibi'a wrote:

> Abu'l-Fadl ibn 'Abd al-Karim *al-muhandis* ('engineer, geometrician'). H[is full nam]e was Mu'ayyad al-Din Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Harithi. He was born and grew up in Damascus. He was called *al-muhandis* for the excellence of his knowledge of engineering *(handasa)* and his reputation for it before he forsook it for the medical profession. At the beginning [of his career] he was taught carpentry and stonecutting also, and was won by the profession of carpentry.

He was influential in it and many people sought after his works. Most of the doors *(abwab)* of the great hospital *(bimaristan)* that al-Malik al-'Adil Nur al-Din ibn Zenki founded are his workmanship. ... The beginning of his interest in science *('ilm)* was when he studied Euclid to improve the excellence of his carpentry, master its [geometry's] details, and gain freedom in applying them. ... In those days he worked in the mosque of the Khatun that is below the spring of al-Munaiba' west of Damascus. Every day as he travelled to the site he would memorise something from Euclid, and also unravel something of it on his way. When he was not occupied with work he studied the book of Euclid until he comprehended it perfectly and became skilled in it. Then he studied similarly the book of al-Majasati and began reading it, and he unravelled it and turned his attention to the profession of engineering and discovered in it a good omen. He also busied himself with astronomy *(sana'at al-nujum)* and constructing astronomical tables. And at that time the eminent [scientist] al-Tusi [n.b. this is evidently not the more famous individual of that name, Nasir al-Din Tusi, who lived from 1201 to 1274] had arrived in Damascus, and he was distinguished in geometry *(handasa)* and the mathematical sciences *(al-'ulum al-riyadiyya)*. There was not in his age another like him, and [Mu'ayyad al-Din] joined him and studied under him and learned many things from his [store of] knowledge... It was he who rebuilt the clocks at the Great Mosque of Damascus. He declined pay for this. ... He died in 599/1202-03 in Damascus, at [the age of] about seventy.[11]

The same man is also mentioned by the Mamluk biographer al-Safadi (696-764/1296-1363):

> Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim Mu'ayyad al-Din Abu'l-Fadl al-Harithi al-Dimashqi *al-muhandis*. He was an intelligent master *(ustadh)* in the joinery of leaves of doors and windows *(al-daff)*. Then he excelled in the science of Euclid. Subsequently he renounced carving in marble *(naqsh al-rukham)* and stoneworking. He devoted himself to work, and excelled in medicine and the mathematical sciences. It is he who made the clocks of the portal of the Great Mosque. He heard *[hadith]* from al-Silafi, wrote many elegant books and ... died in 599/1202-03.[12]

[11] Allen 1993, with reference to Abu'l-Fadl ibn 'Abd al-Karim 1884, vol. 2, 190-91.

[12] Allen 1993, quoting Nu'aym al-Daris, vol. 2, 387-88.

Pl. 7.5 Cairo, Cenotaph of Husain (cat. no. 16). After Williams 1987.
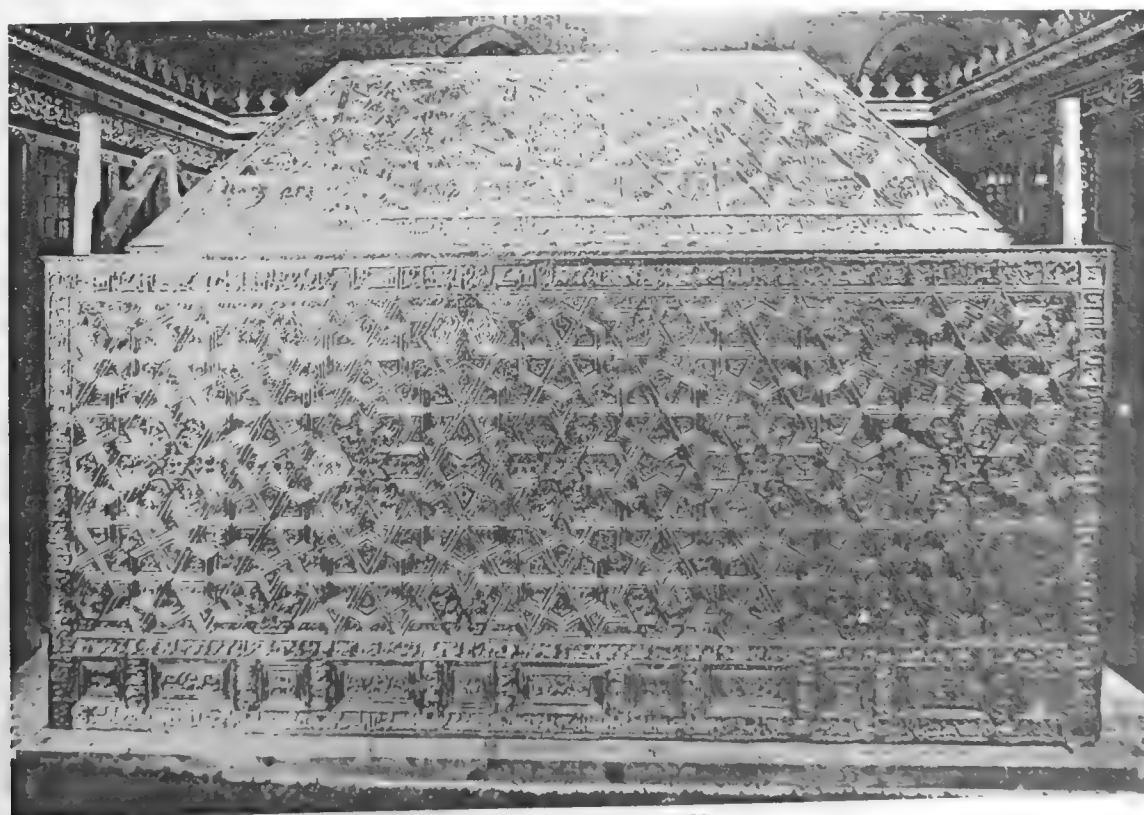
Pl. 7.6 Cairo, Cenotaph of Imam al-Shafiʿi (cat. no. 17). After Wiet 1929-30.

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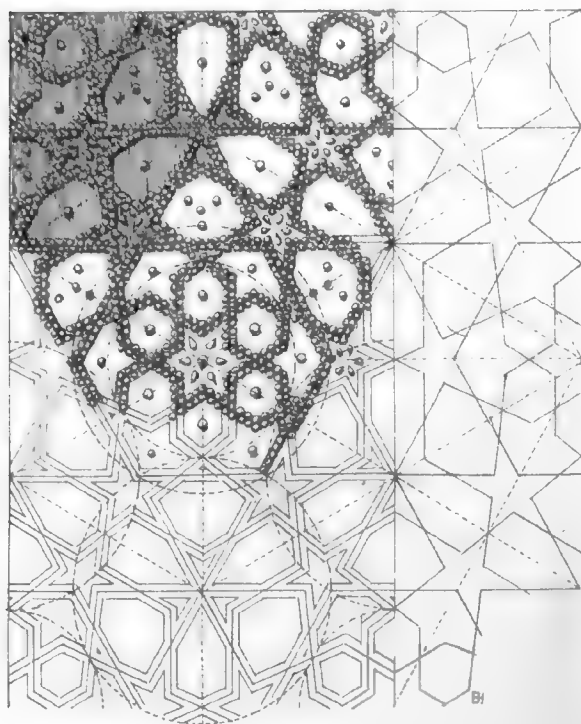
Pl. 7.7 Herzfeld's drawing of the nail-patterns on the outer door of the Maristan Nuri, Damascus (cat. no. 9). After Herzfeld 1942–48.

Pl. 7.8 Upper part of inner door of the Maristan Nuri, Damascus (cat. no. 9). After Herzfeld 1942–48.

Some original woodwork survives from the Maristan of Nur al-Din in Damascus (cat. no. 9), presumably the work of Mu'ayyad al-Din. The outer doors are of wood sheathed in bronze and decorated with nails in star-patterns (pl. 7.7) based on a 60° grid. The design is richer, although the nail-heads themselves are simpler in form, than the design on the door of the Shadhbakhtiyya Madrasa in Aleppo, which was built by a lieutenant of Nur al-Din in 589/1193. The doors there have a design of overlapping circles which create hexagons.[13] The inner doors of the *maristan* at Damascus (cat. no. 9; pl. 7.8) are more elaborate, having mortised frames containing carved wooden panels. The degree of elaboration seems to have been related to the amount of exposure. Simpler woodwork was exposed to the elements and more elaborate designs were used in protected locations. Herzfeld deemed both doors 'of the same type as the *mihrab* of Nur al-Din in the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo and the *minbar* in the Aqsa mosque',[14] but from photographs they appear to have been much simpler in design and execution.

Herzfeld also pointed out the similarities between the interlaced designs found on woodwork and those decorating the carved stone frame of the portal to the Damascus Maristan, as well as the curvilinear intarsia designs in coloured marble decorating the spandrels of contemporary *mihrabs*, such as those in the Shadbakhtiyya Madrasa in Aleppo.[15] Perhaps even closer

to contemporary woodwork are the complex interlaced designs in marble intarsia from some 12th-century buildings in Mosul, including the mosque of Imam Muhsin, formerly the Madrasa al-Nuriyya.[16] The appearance of similar or related designs in different media is also a consequence of the increasing use of paper and graphic notation in the process of design during this period.[17] The Jerusalem *minbar* was signed six times by four craftsmen, but the difference between their use of *sana* and *'amal* to characterise their participation is unclear. By the end of the period, to judge from the *mihrab* in Aleppo (cat. no. 23; see pl. 7.5), *sana* had taken on the specific meaning of 'design'.

The geometry of the woodwork from Nur al-Din's *maristan* in Aleppo, particularly that of the panels on the inner doors, is remarkably simple, being based on 45° and 60° grids. It shows little if any evidence that the designer had actually studied Euclid. Since geometric patterns play such a large role in contemporary design, a quick reading of the biographies of Mu'ayyad al-Din might lead one to extrapolate that many, if not all, woodworkers in this period had been trained in Euclidian geometry, but this was surely not the case. Mu'ayyad al-Din only studied Euclid after he had become an experienced woodworker; his biographers singled him out because he was unusual—a polymath who had started his career as a craftsman but finished it pursuing the nobler life of the mind. Even the most complex geometric designs, such as the ten-, eleven- and twelve-pointed stars on a panel from the southern door of the east side of the Maqam Ibrahim at Aleppo (cat. no. 13; pl. 7.9), are simpler than they first appear and were probably made by combining set patterns rather than by complex geometric analysis.

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[13] Herzfeld 1954–55, pls CVIb, CVII.

[14] Herzfeld 1942–48 I. 7.
Herzfeld 1942–48 I, figs 2 & 3; Herzfeld 1954–55, pls CVIIIa, CIX.

[16] C Hillenbrand 1999, pls 4.17, 4.18, 4.20, 4.22.

[17] Bloom 2001, especially ch. VII.
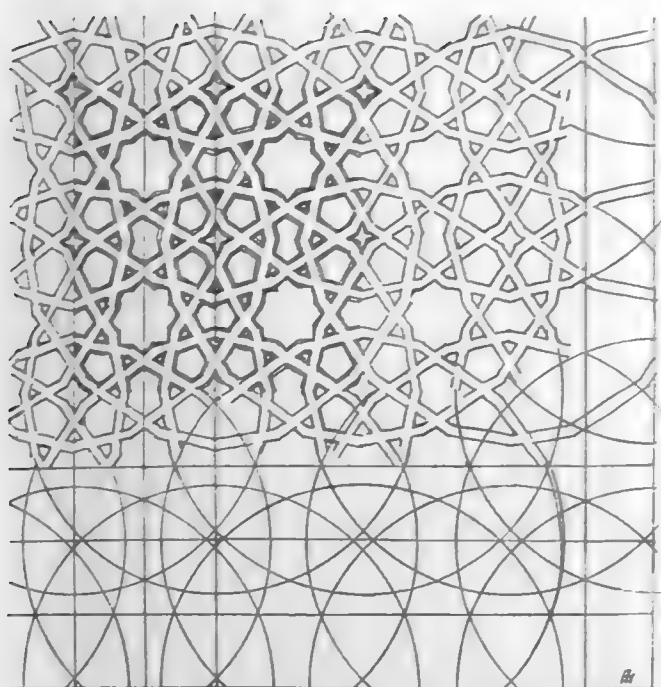
Pl. 7.9 Drawing of the woodwork decoration on a door in the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo (cat. no. 13). After Herzfeld 1954–55.

Herzfeld characterised this particularly complex geometric pattern as 'the most complicated design ever produced by that branch of art. The almost unsolvable problem of a design based on horizontal groups of eleven-pointed stars is solved by alternative intercalation of a parallel group of twelve-pointed and one of ten-pointed stars between them.' While Herzfeld gave instructions on how to construct such a design using modern drafting tools, his own inquiries led him to believe that the artists did not start from the geometrical framework but started 'from the fillings, experimenting with them as with a jigsaw puzzle'. His parallel investigation of the 20th-century Syrian craftman's vocabulary for this pattern indicated that they understood it as an assemblage of standard matrices based on ten-, eleven-, or twelve-pointed stars linked with standard connecting units, themselves composed of different types of symmetrical hexagons of unequal sides.[18]

The shift during this period from large rectangular panels decorated with bevelled-style motifs and Kufic inscriptions, which were assembled in mortised frames, to small polygonal and stellate panels, inlaid with other woods and decorated with cursive inscriptions which were assembled in network or strapwork mouldings, coincides with a shift in the region's political and religious affiliation. Generally speaking, the former style was more popular in earlier times when the Shi'i Fatimid caliphs (r. 909–1171) ruled much of the region from their capital at Cairo, while the latter style is usually associated with the Ayyubid rulers who oversaw a return to state-sponsored Sunnism.
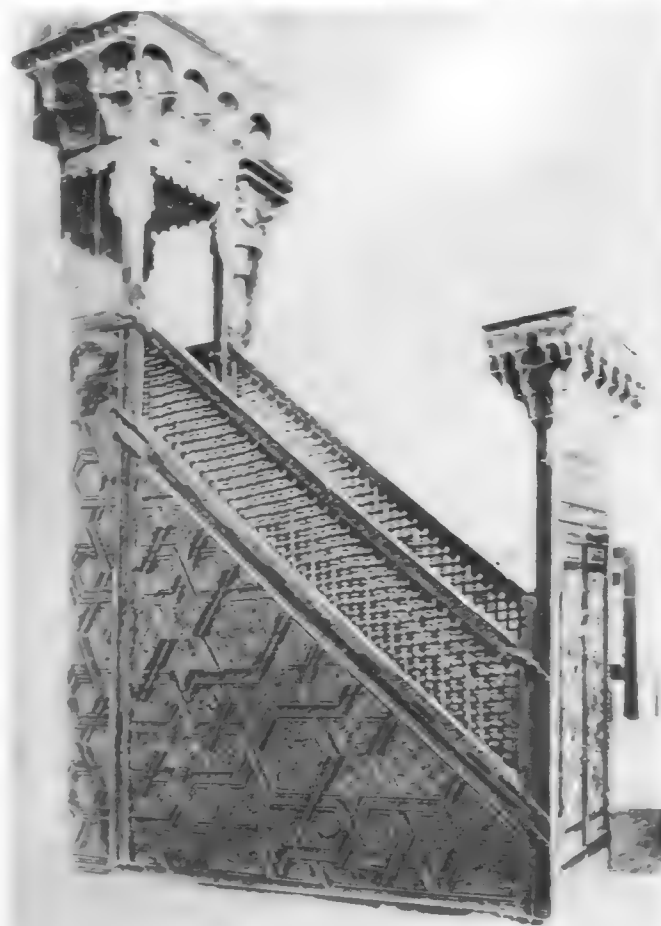
Pl. 7.10 *Minbar* made for the Shrine at Ashqelon and later transferred to Hebron (cat. no. 1). After Vincent and Mackay 1923, pl. XXVa.

Some scholars have suggested that the growing taste for the geometric nets and strapwork patterns reflects the change in the region's religious affiliation, much as these same scholars have supposed that a taste for cursive scripts over angular ones reflects the triumph of Sunnism over Shi'ism.[19] Even a cursory examination of the surviving evidence shows how completely wrong this notion is. Dated pieces made for specific and identifiable patrons show that the choice of artistic style, whether in woodwork or calligraphy, had absolutely nothing to do with sectarianism. Curvilinear arabesques and geometric strapwork, let alone angular and cursive scripts, were appreciated by Shi'ite and Sunni patrons alike. Complex geometric interlaces were sometimes framed by old-fashioned Kufic inscriptions, as on the Ashqelon/Hebron *minbar* (cat. no. 1; pl. 7.10), and old-fashioned arabesque panels were sometimes framed with cursive inscriptions, as on the cenotaph of al-Kamil's mother in Cairo (cat. no. 20; pl. 7.11). Rather, the taste for complex designs made up of many small pieces over simple designs composed from fewer larger pieces of wood may have

[18] Herzfeld 1942–48 II, 65–6.

[19] Necipoğlu 1995, 91–109; Tabbaa 2001, 53–103.
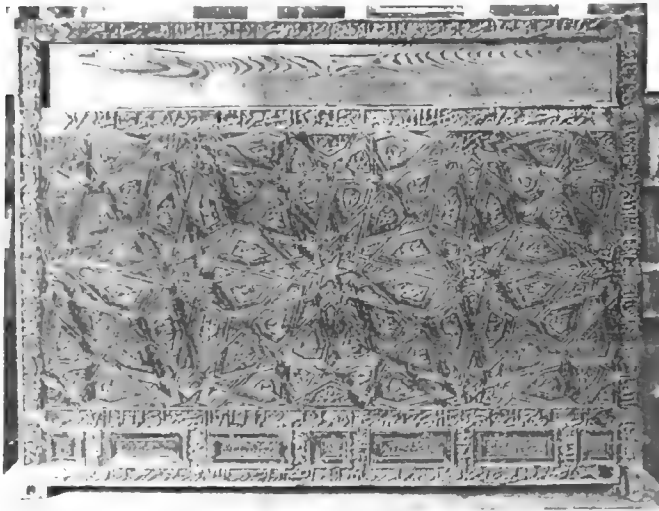
Pl. 7.11 Cairo, Cenotaph of al-Kamil's mother (cat. no. 20). After Creswell 1952-59.

had more to do with the availability and cost of materials.[20] In any event, the dated pieces from Syria, Palestine, and Egypt show that Sunni and Shi'ite patrons adopted the new styles at about the same time and used them in similar ways.

Some scholars have also tried to reveal deeper iconographic meanings in the complex strapwork patterns found on some particularly important pieces, whether the cenotaph of Husain in Cairo (cat. no. 16) which was probably commissioned by a Shi'i, or the *minbar* of al-Aqsa in Jerusalem (cat. no. 15), which was ordered by the greatest champion of Sunni Islam.[21] In the complete absence of contemporary texts specifying what meanings, if any, should be attached to particular objects, it is impossible to prove whether or not contemporary patrons or artisans intended particular meanings to be understood.[22] Ibn Jubayr, who actually saw the *minbar*, says only that it was splendidly made.

If one is going to argue that a particular geometric design, a star pattern for example, has a specific meaning in one particular situation, one must be able to explain why the identical pattern does not have that meaning when found in an entirely different situation. As in all iconographic interpretations of Islamic art, there remains the general problem of how the society would have maintained such meanings. In contrast to Christendom, where clergy were entrusted with the task of maintaining the symbolic meanings attached to particular forms, no institutions existed in the Islamic lands, whether under Sunni or Shi'ite rule, to assure and maintain the persistence of specific interpretations over others.[23] In contrast to such restrictive interpretations, I would propose a

Pl. 7.12 Cairo, *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa (cat. no. 6). After David-Weill 1931.

more inclusive solution. The designs, although consummate masterpieces of the cabinetmaker's art, were largely conventional and particular meanings were not normally specified. Nothing, however, would have prevented viewers from interpreting the designs as they liked, and the intersecting levels of complex vegetal and geometric decoration, along with inscriptions from the Qur'an, would have invited leisurely contemplation and speculation from both a distance and nearby.[24] What more could any artist have wanted than for his work to engage the viewer with its extraordinary beauty and encourage him to linger in thought?

See, for example, the perceptive remarks concerning a similar situation in Mamluk Egypt in Rogers 1976, 307–13.

Williams 1987, 3–14; Tabbaa 2001, 91–96; Auld 2005, 42–60.

On this point, see the illuminating remarks concerning the interpretation of vegetal ornament as paradise by Allen 1993, 1–4.

Blair and Bloom 2003, 152–84.

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[24] See, for comparison, my remarks on the aesthetics of the *minbar* from the Kutubiyya Mosque, which would have remained in a closet for most of the week, in Bloom 1998, 27–8.

Catalogue of dated and datable woodwork Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, 12th and 13th Centuries

The following list is intended to be neither complete nor exhaustive. Rather, it attempts to bring together examples of dated or datable woodwork from a variety of sources to illustrate the continuities and discontinuities in this craft as it was practised during this period.[25]

1. *Minbar* commissioned by the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamali for the shrine of al-Husain at Ashqelon in 484/1092 (pl. 7.10). It was later transferred, probably by Saladin, to Hebron.[26] The *minbar*, like most others from the central Islamic lands, is a triangular wooden structure with a flight of steps leading up to a raised seat. A pair of elaborately decorated doors, framed and surmounted by an elaborate inscription and a gilded *muqarnas* cornice, controls access to the stairs. The stairs are flanked by spoolwork *(mashrabiyya)* railings, themselves enclosed by inscribed frames, and lead to a platform protected by a canopy supported by an elaborate *muqarnas* cornice and covered by a dome.

The *minbar* is notable for the beautiful design on its sides, which is divided above the base into two panels—a narrow vertical panel beneath the platform and a triangular field under the railing—by a vertical scrollwork band between two plain fillets. Both panels are decorated with a large-scale strapwork pattern based on a hexagonal lattice enclosing two sizes of hexagons, hexagrams (six-pointed stars) and pointed hour-glass shapes. As the 45° rise of the steps is less than the 60° angle governing the hexagonal design, the edge of the stair cuts across the design of the field somewhat uneasily, leaving odd-shaped pieces that are poorly integrated into the logic of the whole. The individual panels of the flanks are themselves richly carved with delicate arabesques, often combined with interlaced star-patterns; however, vine motifs, which are typically found in Egyptian woodcarving, are absent.[27]

The *minbar* gives no evidence where it was made, but it was probably somewhere in Palestine or Syria, as the next piece of dated Egyptian woodwork, the caliph al-Amir's *mihrab* for al-Azhar, is still completely within the traditional Egyptian mode, with rectangular panels of arabesques within a mortised frame decorated with bevelled-style ornament.[28] Before becoming vizier in Cairo, Badr had twice served as governor when the Fatimids still held Damascus. During that
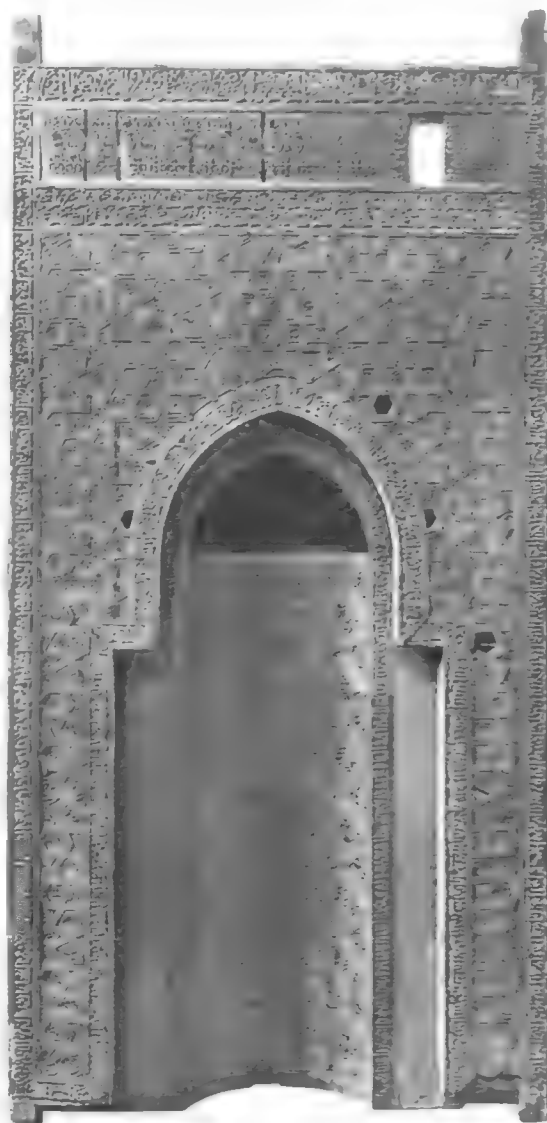
Pl. 7.13 Cairo, *mihrab* of Sayyida Ruqayya (cat. no. 11). After David-Weill 1931.

time he might have become acquainted with the marvels Syrian woodworkers could accomplish.

Although this piece was unquestionably made at the end of the 5th/11th century, and therefore technically predates by eight (Christian) or sixteen (Muslim lunar) years the period with which this chapter is concerned, it certainly belongs to the group under consideration. Probably the product of a Syrian or Palestinian workshop, the 'flaws' in the design suggest that it was early in the series, and finally it demonstrates that a taste for geometry was never limited to Sunni patrons alone.

2. *Maqsura* transferred from the Musalla al-ʿIdain south of the town to the Damascus Museum (pl. 7.2).[29] Made of poplar wood and measuring 2.48m high and 2.92m wide, it has two registers of spoolwork balusters, whose bases and capitals are decorated with bevelled-style ornament, supporting a curious arcade of

[25] A preliminary list, limited to Ayyubid examples, is given by Tabbaa 2001, 88-100.

[26] Vincent and Mackay 1923, 219ff.

[27] Lamm 1935, 76–77.

[28] David-Weill 1931, no. 422.

[29] Al-ʿUsh, Joundi, and Zouhdi 1999, 219 no. A.97.

intersecting arches, the interstices of which are filled with more bevelled-style ornament. These registers are surmounted by two more registers of rectangular panels variously decorated with carving, spoolwork grilles *(mashrabiyya)*, and geometric marquetry, the whole capped by a wooden frame bearing an inscription in Kufic script. This reads:

> Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali, the sincere friend *(safi)* of the Commander of the Believers, may God accept [it] from him, and that during the months of the year 497 (1103-4).

Several of the rectangular panels also bear Kufic inscriptions. One double-faced panel has the words *Allah* and *al-salam* in the field against a vine scroll which emanates from a central pot; these words are framed by Qur'an 3: 18 carved against a scrolling ground. The reverse of this panel is another area of openwork with a field containing the *basmala* written in a particularly elegant and knotted script. This is surrounded by a frame of vines with a central groove that scrolls under and above an equally elegant meandering moulding.[30] Yet a third panel, longer than the others, has an inscribed border but a field of geometric strapwork pattern based on a 60° grid. Many of the grooved strips are missing, but enough remains of the design to reveal regular hexagons filled with symmetrical bevelled-style ornament alternating with irregular hexagons with three projecting flanges filled with a finer vegetal arabesque.

The authors of the catalogue to the 1976 London exhibition ascribed this *maqsura* to 'Syria, Fatimid period, 1103', which is patently impossible since the Fatimids had not controlled Damascus since 1076.[31] Herzfeld had long ago identified the particular Abu Ja'far Muhammad mentioned on this *maqsura* as one of the many sons of *the* most famous Hasan ibn 'Ali of his age, the Saljuq vizier Nizam al-Mulk.[32] Certain features, such as the central pot from which vines emerge, are familiar vestiges of the Hellenistic artistic traditions which remained popular in early Islamic times, while other elements are clearly related to the 'Abbasid art of Samarra. Herzfeld deemed the general effect, however, somewhat *retardataire*, claiming that it was closer to earlier woodwork from Egypt, such as the pair of doors the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim had ordered for the Azhar mosque in Cairo in 1010, than to contemporary Syrian woodwork.

Although the Damascus *maqsura* is not nearly as finely crafted as the Fatimid *minbar* from Ashqelon (cat. no. 1), there are still notable similarities in the hexagonal strapwork patterns, Kufic inscription bands, and persistence of bevelled-

style ornament. In short, it would seem that the makers of the Damascus *maqsura* were not entirely unaware of either Badr al-Jamali's recent commission or some equivalent piece.

3. *Mihrab* for the Azhar mosque, Cairo, ordered by the Fatimid caliph al-Amir in 519/1125-6 and now in the Museum of Islamic Art.[33] Measuring 1.22m x 55cm, the wooden frame encloses the *mihrab* niche, which is a massive piece of wood apparently hollowed from a single log. A long Kufic inscription, once painted, is carved on a wooden panel attached to the top and gives the names and titles of the ruling caliph. The niche is flanked on either side by four rectangular panels (the lower ones have been restored) with carved arabesque decoration set into a mortised frame.

4. Closet door from the Mosque of al-Aqmar, Cairo, 519/1125. At the back of the left-hand side of the prayer hall were two shallow closets closed by panelled doors. The remains of a few of the original rectangular panels, decorated with symmetrical arabesques, were incorporated in the present mortised frame; two other panels were preserved in the Islamic Museum.[34]

5. Cenotaph in the Mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayya, Cairo, 533/1139. The splendid wooden cenotaph *(tabut)*, measuring 2.85m x 1.75m x 47cm, stands under the main dome of the shrine on a brick substructure; each side is divided into five registers by three horizontal bands mortised into vertical bands of arabesque at each end. All but the fourth register from the top are decorated with elaborate Kufic inscriptions against a scrolling ground; the fourth band is composed of alternating vertical and horizontal rectangular panels decorated with a symmetrical arabesque ornament.[35] The text indicates that this tomb was ordered in 533/1139, or six years after the construction of the mausoleum, by the widow of Caliph al-Amir through the services of the Qadi Maknun, servant of Caliph al-Hafiz by the hand of the 'excellent' Abu Turab Haidara ibn Abu'l-Fath.[36] The beautiful wooden *mihrab* from this same tomb (cat. no. 11, pl. 7.13) dates from some two decades later.

6. Woodwork from the Mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa, Cairo, 541/1146-7. This ensemble consists of a pair of doors, a door-soffit, and a magnificent *mihrab* now in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art. The mausoleum of Sayyida Nafisa, which had been built in 1089-90 during the caliphate of al-Mustansir, was restored a half-century later by his successor al-Hafiz. The pair of doors measures 2.24m x 1.20m. Each valve has four identical

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[30] *Arts* 1976, no. 448; al-Rihawi 1969, 118. The combination of vine and elegant moulding in a border reappears on the extraordinary carved cornice of the Qastal al-Shu'aibiyya (1150) in Aleppo, for which see Herzfeld 1942-48 II, fig. 8, reproduced in Tabbaa 2001, fig. 35.

[31] *Arts* 1976, 287 no. 448.

[32] Herzfeld 1942-48 II, 62-5.

[33] David-Weill 1931, no. 422.

[34] Creswell 1952-59 1, 244 and pl. 84e.

[35] Creswell 1952-59 1, 251.

[36] Wiet 1929-30, 197-203; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet 1931 8, 212-13.
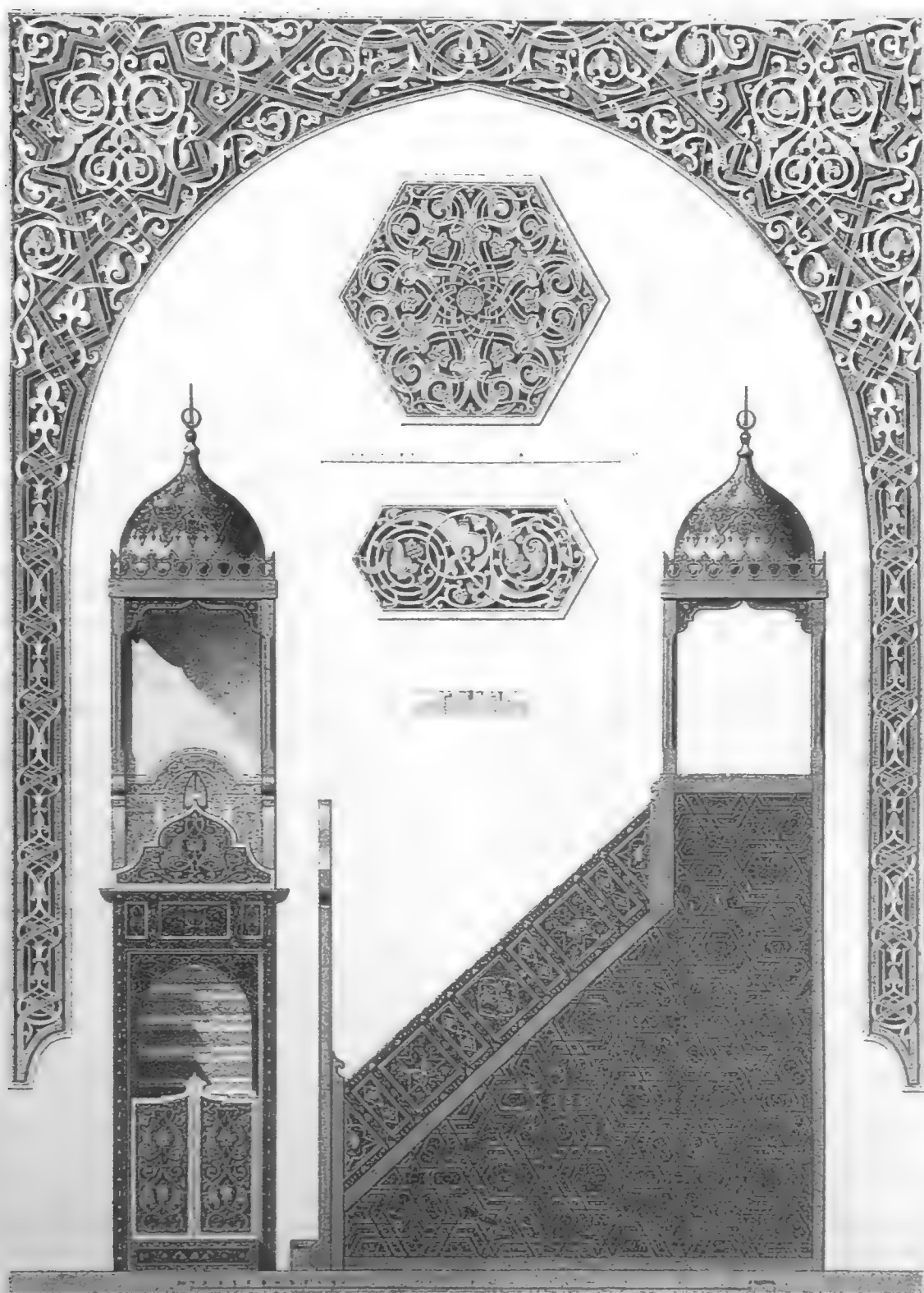
Pl. 7.14 *Minbar* from the ʿAmri Mosque at Qus (cat. no. 12). After Prisse d'Avennes 2001.

rectangular panels with finely-carved arabesque decoration; they are quite similar to those found at al-Aqmar mosque.[37] The door-soffit consists of a frame with two similar panels.

In sharp contrast, the magnificent *mihrab* (pl. 7.12) is decorated with elaborate geometric ornament. The *mihrab*, perhaps made of sycamore and teak, consists of a semi-domed niche with a pointed arch set in a rectangular frame measuring 1.92m x 88cm. It appears that it was meant to be put against a wall because the back has been left rough and unfinished. The niche frame narrows at the springing of the arch for the hood, suggesting that there were once nook-shaft columns on either side. The frame is a tongue-and-groove assemblage of polygons based on a hexagonal (60°) system, in which relatively broad grooved strapwork bands leave interstices of small stars, kites, and T-shapes carved with arabesque designs. A six-pointed star in the centre of the panel above the niche is complemented by half-stars along the lateral edges of the frame, showing that the design was perfectly co-ordinated to the space available. Like the earlier *mihrab* for al-Azhar (cat. no. 3), the niche itself is a monolith, but in this case the niche is decorated with a carved rendering of a lacy strapwork pattern comprising a narrow pearled band forming octagons alternating with eight-pointed stars. The whole is intertwined with a vine scroll. A Qur'anic inscription in Kufic script runs around both the exterior and interior edges of the frame.[38]

7. Doors of the Maristan al-Nuri in Aleppo (545-549/1150-55). These are in two halves with three rectangular panels in each side. The central vertical panel is much larger than the two horizontal ones and is decorated with a design of plain wooden parallelograms, trapezoids, and triangles that have been laid in a pattern of interlocking spirals based on a 60° grid; each piece is held in place by one or two large nails.[39]

8. *Minbar* (548/1153) from al-ʿAmadiyya mosque, Mosul (pl. 7.4). The sides of the *minbar* display two rather coarse patterns. On the triangular sides under the stair are rectangular or trapezoidal panels of bevelled-style ornament enclosed in a plain mortised frame held together with metal straps. The area under the seat is treated separately, with a design of pointed 'tack'-shaped panels laid top to top, alternately horizontally and vertically. The panels are filled with bevelled-style ornament. On the handrails is an inscription stating that it was ordered by Sharbar Beg Qaraja ibn ʿAbdallah, sword of the commander of the faithful. The work was managed by Fakhr al-Din ʿAbdallah ibn Yahya and completed in 548/1153. The craftsmen were ʿAli ibn al-Nahi, and Ibrahim ibn Jamiʿ and ʿAli ibn Salama, the Georgians.[40]

9. Woodwork of the Maristan al-Nuri in Damascus (1154) (pls 7.7 and 7.8). The outer doors are made of wood sheathed in bronze with nails in star patterns. According to Herzfeld, the design is richer, although the heads themselves are simpler, than those decorating the doors of the Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya in Aleppo, which was built by a lieutenant of Nur al-Din in 589/1193.[41] The knockers are original. The inner doors have mortised frames containing carved wooden panels, which Herzfeld compared to those decorating the *mihrab* of Nur al-Din in the Maqam Ibrahim, Aleppo (cat. no. 13, pl. 7.3) and the *minbar* in the Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem (cat. no. 15; pl. II).

According to the biographer Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa, these doors as well as most of the others in the building were made by the *muhandis* Muʿayyad al-Din Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karim ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Harithi (d. 599/1202-3 at about the age of 70).[42] He was known as a carpenter, stonemason and engineer, who had studied Euclid and the Almagest. He also read mathematics and medicine as well as *hadith*, grammar, and poetry and even wrote treatises in science and literature.[43] He also had a hand in the erection of the Khatun Mosque to the west of Damascus. He repaired and kept in order the clocks in the Main Mosque, for which he received one salary as well as a second for his work as a physician in the Damascus hospital. Between 572 and 573 he was in Alexandria reading *hadith*, literature and grammar. In addition to his scientific works, he wrote an abridgement of the *Kitab al-Aghani* as well as his own poetry.

The portal of the building has a celebrated shallow *muqarnas* vault of carved stone, which is surrounded on three sides by a narrow ornamental frame of strapwork bands with alternating long and short elements like the beads of a Greek astragal. It is a segment cut out of a larger two-dimensional design, comparable to contemporary strapwork designs found in wood or stucco, such as the window screen over the door in the southwestern corner of the court, which has an octagonal strapwork design interlaced with a circular arabesque. Herzfeld compared the screen to those dated AH 599 in the Hanabila Mosque at Salihiyya.[44]

10. *Minbar* made for the Aleddin Mosque in Konya, during the reigns of the sultans Masʿud and Qilij Arslan, signed by *al-ustadh* Makki Mengubarti al-Akhlati and dated to 550/1155, making it the first dated piece of Rum Saljuq art. Although the artisan bears a *nisba* indicating he came from the western shores of Lake Van, van Berchem suggested that this is may be an Aleppan product, as the mosque in which the *minbar* stands is the work of a Damascene builder.[45]

[37] *Trésors fatimides* 1998, no. 91.

[38] David-Weill 1931, no. 421; Creswell 1952-59 1, 257–58; *Trésors fatimides* 1998, 150 no. 90.

[39] Herzfeld 1954-55, 229–31 and pl. XCIIIb.

[40] *Ars* 1976, 289 no. 452; Fransis 1949, 58; Janabi 1982, 191-94

[41] Herzfeld 1954-55, 255ff and pl. CVIb.

[42] Mayer 1958, 53.

[43] Tabbaa 2001, 88, who inexplicably gives a variant of his name.

[44] Herzfeld 1942-48 I, 7.

[45] Van Berchem 1920–27, 398 n. 3; Zeki Oral 1962, 23–77; Oney 1964-8, 299–305.

11. *Mihrab* of Sayyida Ruqayya in Cairo, 549-55/1154-60.[46] Measuring 2.10m x 1.11m, the wooden *mihrab* (pl. 7.13) consists of a rectangular frame enclosing a recessed pointed niche. Bands of Qur'anic inscriptions in Kufic script against a scrolling ground run around the external border of the *mihrab*, the arch, and the niche itself. Another inscription in two lines runs below a decorative panel at the top of the frame and states that it was ordered by the widow of Caliph al-Amir in whose service were Abu'l-Hasan Maknun and his successor, the *amir* ʿAfif al-Daula Abu'l-Hasan Yumn. The decorative panel at the top consists of thirteen (now twelve) wooden plaques worked with an arabesque design of intersecting arches. The main network design on the field is based on a 60° grid and consists of a small 6-pointed star surrounded by hexagons and irregular polygons; the nets produce a regular pattern of rectangles. Like the *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa, this pattern is perfectly fitted to the space available. In contrast to the design on the field, the hexagonal design in the niche is not assembled from individual elements but carved across the surface, which appears to be a single piece of wood.

12. *Minbar* ordered by the Fatimid vizier al-Salih Talaʾiʿ in 1155-56 for the ʿAmri Mosque at Qus (pl. 7.15).[47] The *minbar* occupies an area of 3.80m x 1.15m; without the canopy, it stands about 2.70m high. The sides are covered with a continuous network design based on a 60° grid combining hexagons and six-pointed stars. The individual panels are decorated with strapwork designs consisting of pearl bands intersecting with vegetal arabesques. On several of the panels, the meandering profile of the pearl band is exactly like that found on the Damascus *maqsura* (cat. no. 2), suggesting not only that this *minbar* was not provincial work, but that in this period woodworkers or woodwork moved relatively easily between Damascus and Cairo.

13. Woodwork from the Maqam Ibrahim at the Aleppo Citadel (1165 and later) (pls 7.3 and 7.9).[48] Now lost, this ensemble of *mihrab* and doors was among the finest woodwork of the period and is known only through photographs made at the beginning of the 20th century. The large wooden *mihrab* was decorated entirely with geometric network patterns, except in the spandrels, which had vegetal scrolls. There is an inscription with Qur'anic citations which gives the name of the artisan, Maʿali ibn Salim, and the fact that it was completed in 563/1167-8. The designer provided three different patterns, one based on a 60° grid with hexagons for the cylinder, one based on a 45° grid (rotated 22.5°) and octagons for the rectangular

frame, and an ingenious solution centred on a pentagram in the *mihrab* hood, which allows the basically hexagonal design to diminish to fit the available space.[49] In each, the intersticial blocks are carved with fine symmetrical arabesques, and the eight-pointed stars are emphasised by bosses. The network pattern in the cylinder is actually quite close to that found on the frame of the *mihrab* of Sayyida Ruqayya in Cairo. The pattern can also be understood as created by the intersection of three series of rectangles laid in ashlar-like patterns. The different proportions of the network and the filler blocks, the different spacing of the 'ashlars', as well as the superb quality of the carving of the individual blocks, all go to generate the apparent differences of the patterns.

Some of the most complicated patterns (pl. 7.9) were found on wooden doors to right and left and soffits in the two lateral doors of the north wall of the same building. The panel from the southern door of the east side had a linear pattern, which never had fillings, and Herzfeld assigned it to the period when the building was repaired under Tughril in 616/1219-20. Herzfeld, as already pointed out, thought it 'the most complicated design ever produced by that branch of art. The almost unsolvable problem of a design based on horizontal groups of eleven-pointed stars is solved by alternative intercalation of a parallel group of twelve-pointed and one of ten-pointed stars between them.' While Herzfeld gave instructions on how to construct such a design using modern drafting tools, his own inquirities led him to believe that the artists did not start from the geometrical framework but started 'from the fillings, experimenting with them as with a jigsaw puzzle'.[50] He compared this design to al-Jazari's description, written in 1206, for making a pair of cast brass doors for the king's palace in the city of Amid.[51]

14. Wooden *minbar* from the Mosque al-Nuri at Hama (558/1163). This structure lost its stairs, triangular walls, and flanking handrails before the modern era, and a modern replacement was made.[52] The backrest has a simple geometric pattern enclosing the *shahada* within two cartouches. Splendid vegetal arabesque interlaces decorate the arches and spandrels and the frieze and cornices above and below them. The arabesques are characterised by shallow relief with a complex interlace of an even stem split by a central groove. The seat is screened by *mashrabiyya*-type grillework. The inscription on the cornice is written in cursive script.

[46] David-Weill 1931, no. 446.

[47] Prisse d'Avennes 2001, 94-101; Pauty 1940, 41-8; Garcin 1976, 87.

[48] Herzfeld 1942-48 II, 57-66.

[49] Although Tabbaa (2001, 91) considered this design 'astonishingly complex', it appears to be more of a craftsman's solution to a standard problem than a geometer's.

[50] Herzfeld 1942-48 II, 65.

[51] Hill 1974, 191-95.

[52] Tabbaa 2001, 93.

Pl. 7.15 Damascus, cenotaph of Saladin (cat. no. 19). After al-Rihawi 1969.

15. *Minbar* made for al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem (1168). The *minbar* (pl. II and see Chapter 4 by Dr Sylvia Auld in this volume and plates therein) is dated twice, to 564/1168-9 and 572/1176, indicating that it was ordered by Nur al-Din but completed after his death during the brief reign of his son al-Salih Isma'il (r. 569-77/1174-81).[53] Until Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, the *minbar* remained at the Great Mosque of Aleppo, where it was seen by the Andalusian traveller Ibn Jubayr. He commented:

> The art of ornamental carving had exhausted itself in its endeavours on the pulpit, for never in any city have I seen a pulpit like it or of such wondrous workmanship. The woodwork stretches from it to the *mihrab*, beautifully adorning all its sides in the same marvellous fashion. It rises up, like a great crown, over the *mihrab*, and then climbs until it reaches the heights of the roof. The upper part of [it—presumably the *minbar*] is in the form of an arch, furnished with wooden merlons [i.e. *muqarnas*], superbly carved and all inlaid with ivory and ebony. This marquetry extends from the pulpit to the *mihrab* and to that part of the south wall

which they adjoin without any interval appearing and the eyes consider [it] the most beautiful sight in the world. The splendour of this venerated mosque is greater than can be described.[54]

Ibn Jubayr adds that Aleppo was famous for the art of its cabinet-makers, *najjar*, and workers in ebony, an art he calls *qarbasiya*.[55] Nur al-Din's *minbar* remained in Jerusalem until August 21, 1969 when it was set ablaze by a deranged Australian. Only fragments survived the fire.

The carcass was made of mahogany with small inlaid panels of ebony, ivory, and cedar. It is said that it was fashioned so precisely that no glue or nails had been used; each tiny fragment was held in place by the proximity of its neighbour, or perhaps by pins of ivory or bone. The inlaid panels were constructed piecemeal and then fixed in position.[56] Its patterns were based on stars with five, six, eight or twelve points.[57]

In addition to the foundation inscription and the Qur'anic inscriptions, the Aqsa *minbar* was signed six times by four different artisans: Humaid ibn Tafir (or Zafir, used thrice), Abu'l-Hasan ibn Yahya, [Abu'l-?] Fada'il ibn Yahya, and Salman ibn Ma'ali.[58] The *nisba* 'al-Halabi' is used thrice, which was confirmed by 'Imad al-Din, who said they were all from a village (Akhtarin or Jibrin) near Aleppo. Four of the signatures are introduced by the word *sari'a* ('fashioned') while two are introduced by '*amal* ('work of'). Van Berchem suggested that if the words were not synonymous, then '*amal*, used by Abu'l-Hasan and Humaid under the *muqarnas* cornice and on the backrest, referred to carpentry while *sari'a* referred to the finer work of marquetry and carving. By the end of this period the words will have taken on more specific meanings (see cat. no. 23).

The Aqsa *minbar* was decorated with twenty-five different geometric patterns in various panels in addition to vegetal arabesques, openwork, *muqarnas*, and inscriptions.[59] The sides display a pattern identical to that on the flanks of Maqam Ibrahim *mihrab*, except that *mihrab* is done in strapwork whereas the *minbar* has network designs; in other words on the *mihrab* the crossings are logical (one over the other) while on the *minbar* the mouldings just intersect. As the carving on the *minbar* appears to have been as fine as that on the *mihrab*, it is difficult to explain this difference.

16. Cenotaph of Husain, Cairo, 1154-71 (pl. 7.5). This cenotaph is undated but signed by 'Ibn Ma'ali' who also signed the cenotaph

[54] Ibn Jubayr 1952, 262-63.
[55] Herzfeld (1942-48 II, 57) suggests that this was perhaps an Andalusian dialect word. Might it not be just a copyist's error for *qarnasiya*?
[56] Auld 2005, 42-60.
[57] For a full discussion, see Sylvia Auld's contribution to the present volume.
[58] Van Berchem 1920-27, 393-402.
[59] Sheila Blair informs me that the interior of the Isma'ili Centre in London is extensively decorated with seven-pointed stars.

[53] Van Berchem 1920-27, nos 277, 278.

of Imam al-Shafi'i (cat. no. 17). Williams argued convincingly that it is unlikely that Saladin or his successors would have ordered a cenotaph honouring the progenitor of the Fatimid line, whose demise they orchestrated, so it must have been ordered while the Fatimid dynasty was still in power. She saw a subtle Shi'ite message in the choice of Qur'anic texts inscribed on the cenotaph in Kufic script as well as in the design, which is unusually based on a seven-pointed star.[60] This unusual choice would, she argued, have made a subtle reference to the Fatimid lineage, which was traced to Isma'il, the seventh Shi'ite *imam*. Therefore, she reasonably concluded that the cenotaph must date before 1171, and probably to 1154 when the head of Husain was re-interred.[61] If this is true, it would underscore once again how artisans in this period were willing to work for whatever patrons were available in whatever style they requested. There was no such thing as 'Sunni' or 'Shi'ite' art.

17. Cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i, Cairo, 574/1178 (pl. 7.6). One of four cenotaphs under the dome, the superb wooden cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i, which is placed towards the north corner, is surrounded by a 'modern but very pleasing *maqsura* dated 1329 H (1911)'.[62] The actual cenotaph consists of a lower rectangular part (2.3m x 1.16m) with a gable-shaped cover, smaller than the rectangle on which it is placed. The faces are formed by a geometrical network based on a hexagonal (60°) grid composed of short pieces of teak, grooved and morticed together, the interstices filled with very small panels carved with symmetrical arabesque decoration. Along the edge of each face are inscriptions in Kufic script carved on a foliate background. At the top of the side facing the *qibla* is a rectangular panel containing four lines of Kufic, stating that this is the tomb of the Imam al-Shafi'i and giving the dates of his birth (150/767) and death (30 Rajab 204/20 January 820). The gabled lid is decorated with another more complex network design generated by a twelve-pointed star in the middle of each long side. At the summit of the gabled part is an inscription in *naskh* stating that this cenotaph was made by 'Ubaid, 'known as Ibn Ma'ali' in 574/1178. He is assumed to be a brother of the Aleppan craftsman Salman, who worked on the Aqsa *minbar* (cat. no. 15).

18. Cenotaph of Saladin, Damascus, (died on 4 March 1193; buried here 15 December 1195) (pl. 7.15).[63] Although undated, this rectangular box (2.08m x 1.17m x 1.08m) in the 'Aziziyya Madrasa must date from the late 12th or early 13th

century; in 1903 it was replaced by what Sauvaget termed a 'horrible' white marble cenotaph, which stands alongside it. Of the original wooden cenotaph, only one of its long sides, one of its short sides, the four corner posts, and most of the inscription, with Qur'an 2: 255 in an elegant Kufic script, have been preserved; its cover and two of its sides are missing. The surviving end is decorated with a rather simple octagonal (45°) network of grooved mouldings in which a large octagon is pierced on each of its sides by two parallel strips, thereby forming a small eight-pointed star in the centre of each octagon. In sharp contrast to the simplicity of the overall design, extremely delicate arabesque panels fill the interstices between the plain network bands. The surviving long side has the same octagonal pattern repeated twice. Sauvaget remarked on the 'Egyptian' origins of its arabesque elements such as the horns of plenty and the vine-branches.[64]

19. Balustrade *(maqsura)* around the rock in the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem, 1196-99 (pl. 7.1). Inscriptions on two of the panels, one opposite the staircase to the cave and the other at its back, turned towards the southwest, state that 'the carpentry *(nijarat)* is the work of Abu'l-Khair ibn Abi 'Ali ibn Rahma, and he hopes to obtain by that God's pardon'. The inscription was carved *(naqqasha)* by Abu Bakr and his brother 'Uthman, the sons of Hajj Musa, 'may God grant them mercy' during the reign of al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthman, the son of al-Malik al-Nasir Yusuf (Saladin). As al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthman ruled between 592 and 595 (1196-1199), the screen can be dated to the very end of the 12th century. Saladin himself is commemorated in the great cursive inscription around the base of the dome, which states that he ordered its renovation and gilding *(tajdid wa-tadhhib)* in 585/1189-90.[65] Although historical sources state generally that Saladin's successors showed great respect for Jerusalem and the Haram, they make no specific mention of any works carried out by al-Malik al-'Aziz 'Uthman, who held the city from Sha' ban 592 until his death at the end of 595 (July 1196-October 1199). Work on the screen must have continued after the ruler's death, for the eulogy *qaddasa allah ruhahu*, which is applied only to deceased individuals, indicates that the ruler must have been dead when these inscribed panels were carved.[66] The cursive inscription contrasts sharply with the 'old-fashioned' Kufic inscription on the cenotaph of Saladin (cat. no. 18), yet the panels themselves seem curiously traditional, with bevelled-style ornament rather than the lacy arabesques found on the Damascus cenotaph. Might they have been spolia from an earlier balustrade?

20. Cairo, cenotaph of the mother of al-Kamil in the mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i, 608/1211 (pl. 7.11). Measuring

[60] Williams 1987, 3-14.

[61] Creswell 1952-59 2, 73-4. This enclosure is illustrated in *L'Orient de Saladin* 2001, 215. Its design appears to be modelled after the Damascus *maqsura* (cat. no. 2).

[62] This object is mentioned by Tabbaa (2001, 88) but he neither gives further details nor any reference as to where it is discussed.

[63] Sauvaget 1929-30, 168-75; C Hillenbrand 1999, 187 pl. 4.7. Most photographs now show it under glass, but al-Rihawi (1969, 189) shows one end clearly without restoration. The same photograph is also reproduced in Elisséef 1983, pl. II, fig. 3.

[64] Creswell 1952-59, 73-4; Wiet 1933, 167-85; Sauvaget 1929-30, 173.

[65] Van Berchem 1920-27, 289-98 no. 225.

[66] Van Berchem 1920-27, 301-3.

2.31m x 1.31m, this cenotaph has two sides decorated with an interlacing geometrical framework filled with little panels of arabesque; on the ends, however, are interlacing twelve-pointed stars elongated in the direction of their width, which makes, in Creswell's words 'a most unsatisfactory impression. They are the reason why this experiment ... was never repeated.'[67] A great openwork inscription in Kufic, most of which has disappeared, runs around the upper part, while long inscriptions in Ayyubid *naskh* run along all but the *qibla* side, which contains the historical inscription stating that this is the tomb of al-Kamil's mother. The sultan decided to build the present mausoleum over the saint's grave on the occasion of her death.

21. Woodwork from the Madrasa Maridaniyya, Damascus. Begun in 610/1213 by an Artuqid princess from Mardin, wife of the sovereign of Damascus, al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, and constituted *waqf* in 624/1226-7.[68] The princess, however, was buried elsewhere, and the tomb was eventually appropriated by a Mamluk *amir*, who undertook some renovations. The lintel over the entry bears a simple strapwork pattern made of small pieces of wood assembled with small pieces of grooved moulding. Individual panels (hexagon, irregular pentagons, small polygons) are filled with rather simple vegetal arabesques. According to Sauvaget, two different approaches to design are visible: in one, the interlaces adapt to their form and the floral motifs have a symmetrical silhouette while, in the other, there is no relationship between the shape of the frame and the asymmetrical ends of the leaves that fill it. The first formula is typical of Damascus in the 12th and 13th centuries, and its classic arabesques can be compared to those found on the cenotaph of Saladin (cat. no. 18). The second formula is more typical of work from Mardin, Dunaisir, Mayyafariqin and Diyarbakr, according to Sauvaget. There are also sixteen rectangular panels on the interior of the door to the prayer hall. Each panel has a simple vine scroll frame which encloses a strapwork pattern with bevelled-style ornament in the interstices; this is comparable to that found at Panja ʿAli and the Great Mosque of Mosul.

22. Cenotaph of the *amir* Fakhr al-Din Ismaʿil ibn al-Thaʿalib, Cairo, 613/1216. The cenotaph came from the complex of Sadat al-Thaʿaliba in Cairo. Three fragments are preserved in the Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo and a fourth, bearing the date of the founder's death, is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[69] The sides, measuring approximately 2.85m x 1.80m, consist of a morticed teakwood frame decorated with bands of cursive inscriptions and enclosing alternately rectangular and almost square panels carved with arabesques. Although the individual in question, a prince in the service

of al-Malik al-ʿAdil, Saladin's brother, was clearly a member of the Sunni Ayyubid élite, the organization of the decoration is deeply dependent on Fatimid models in the use of alternating square and rectangular compartments and the filling of the compartments with a line of half-palmettes.

23. Madrasa al-Halawiyya, *mihrab* of Salah al-Din Yusuf II, Aleppo, 643/1245-46 (pl. 7.16).[70] Measuring 4.15m high and 3.54m wide, this opulent *mihrab* comprises a broad frame enclosing a deep semi-cylindrical niche. The frame is outlined with inscriptions and vegetal bands, and encloses geometric network designs of octagons overlying a square grid. Slightly raised panels, also with geometric nets and carved panels, fill the spandrels of the arch. A broad band of Ayyubid *naskh* around three sides of the *mihrab* frame states that it was restored for the sultan in 643/1245-6 under the administration of ʿUmar ibn Ahmad ibn Hibbatallah ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Jarad. Within the inscription band is another border of vine scrolls, and under the central portion of the upper part is the signature of the artisan, 'work of *(sanʿa)* Abi al-Husain ibn Muhammad al-Harrani'. At the back of the *mihrab* niche, on a scroll band in the vault, an inscription reads 'carpentry by *(nijar)* ʿAbdallah ibn Ahmad al-Najjar (the carpenter)'. As on the Aqsa *minbar*, the signatures differentiate two different professions. As Herzfeld already surmised, the first and more important one—to judge from its prominence—related to the design; the second referred to the actual manufacture.

24. Damascus, cenotaph of Fada, 664/1265-6. Dated by an inscription in the dome which reveals that the Mamluk sultan Baybars ordered the structure to be built in 664; the cenotaph is also assumed to date from this time.[71] The date and patronage indicate that this is not technically 'Ayyubid' woodwork, but it continues earlier traditions in the use of Qurʾanic inscriptions in a rich knotted Kufic script, geometric network designs and floral arabesques of high quality. Herzfeld noted that the fillings represent a *mihrab* with suspended lamps and characterised the network patterns as baroque and 'decadent'.

25. Aleppo, *minbar* in the Great Mosque, 699/1299-1300. Qarasunqur, Mamluk governor of Aleppo, had restored the Great Mosque during his first governorate (681-91). Herzfeld determined, however, that this work had to date from his second term in office because the titles refer to al-Nasir Muhammad (691-741/1293-1340) as the reigning sultan. The inscription, which is in four parts around the door and on the backrest, ends with 'the work of the poor slave of God, Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Mausili'.[72] Herzfeld said that the work of this artisan from Mosul 'although a fine specimen of its industry, distinguishes itself in no way from other work of the

[67] Creswell 1952-59 II, 74.
[68] Sauvaget 1948, 119-30.
[69] David-Weill 1931, no. 437; *L'Orient de Saladin*, 214, nos 228-30.

[70] Herzfeld 1954-55, nos 101 and 102.
[71] Herzfeld 1942-48 II, 68-70.
[72] Herzfeld 1954-55, no. 81 A-D.
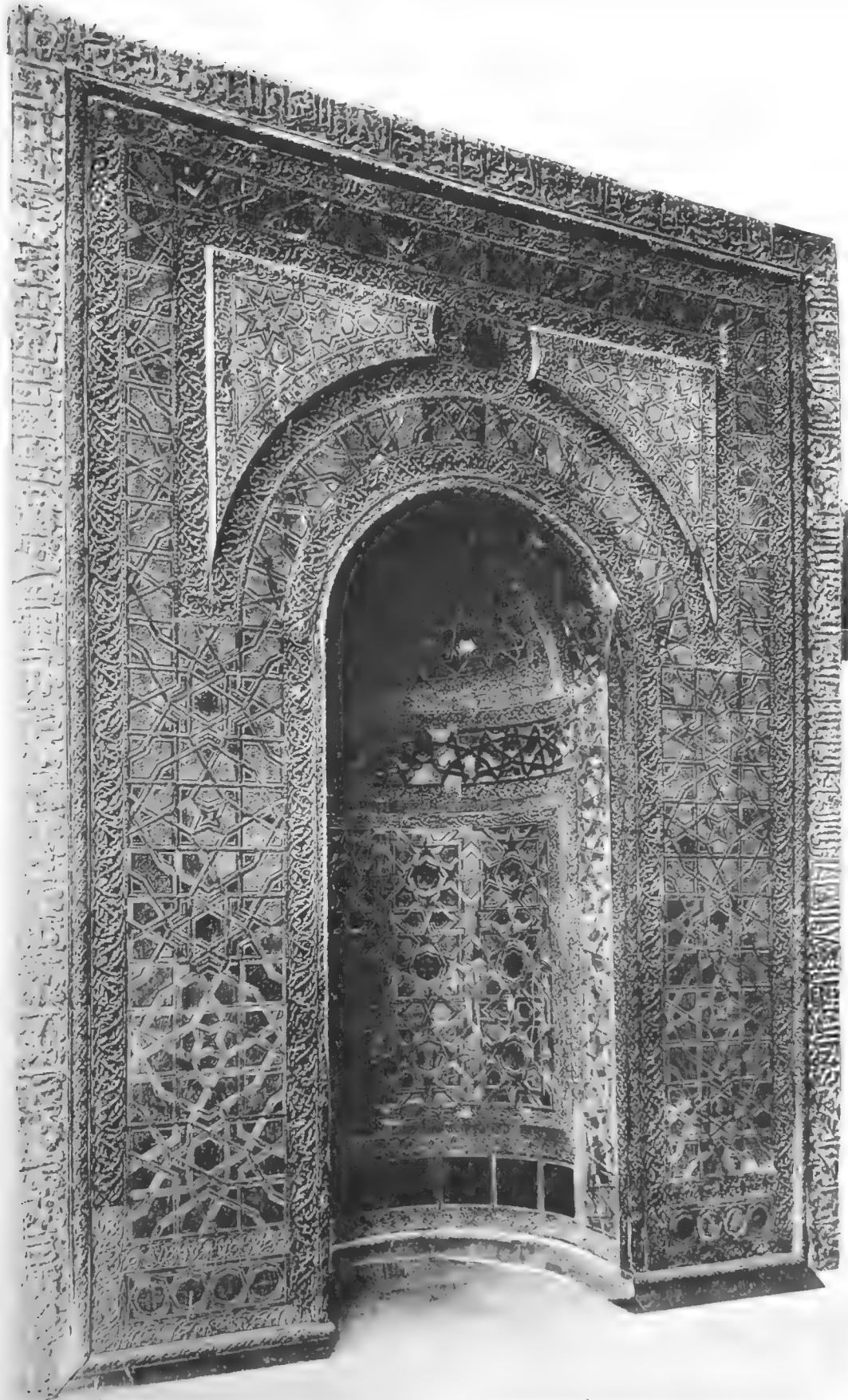
Pl. 7.16 *Mihrab* in the Halawiyya Madrasa, Aleppo (cat. no. 23). After Herzfeld 1954-55.

period.' All the design problems had, by the end of the 7th/13th century, been worked out. The triangular sides of the *minbar* are covered with a unified network pattern of octagons and eight-pointed stars surrounded by pentagons and pentagonal stars which is perfectly co-ordinated to the angle of the stairs and the size of the space. The individual panels are either inlaid with bone or ivory strips and marquetry designs, or are carved. Like the Jerusalem *minbar*, the handrails enclose *mashrabiyya* balustrades, but unlike the Aqsa *minbar*, the rails are decorated only with vegetal ornament. The space under the seat is left open, and another complex geometric panel decorates the *qibla* wall under the seat.

Chapter 8
SMALLER DOMES IN THE HARAM AL-SHARIF RECONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF A RECENT SURVEY

Michael Hamilton Burgoyne

The immediate priority following Saladin's recapture of Jerusalem was to purge the sacred precinct of the Haram al-Sharif of Christian 'contamination' and to restore its great Islamic monuments, to repair the city's defences, and to reintroduce Islamic and urban institutions. It was not until the turn of the 13th century, during the early years of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa's rule, when Jerusalem enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity, that attention turned to new construction in the Haram, including re-establishing commemorative structures recorded in pre-Crusader Arabic and Persian sources. Some of these structures are dated by inscription to the first decades of the 13th century; others are undated but are likely to belong to the same period.

Architectural drawings of these intriguing buildings, where they exist, are unreliable. In September 2004, during a week's visit to Jerusalem generously supported by Altajir World of Islam Trust, with the assistance of Dr Sylvia Auld and Professor Robert Hillenbrand, I was able to take measurements of three of them: the Dome of the Ascension (Qubbat al-Miʿraj), the Dome of Solomon (Qubbat Sulaiman) and the 'Grammar School' (al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya). At the same time, Dr Joe Rock made a comprehensive photographic survey. All three buildings now accommodate Haram personnel, and the associated furniture and office paraphernalia made surveying awkward. Our measured surveys, while far from providing a complete record, have allowed reasonably accurate sketch plans to be drawn (figs 8.1-9) and together with the photographs permit us to gain a better understanding of the buildings.

The Dome of the Ascension

The Dome of the Ascension, standing on the upper terrace of the Haram about 20m northwest of the Dome of the Rock,

has a marble panel above its entrance door bearing an Arabic inscription in gilt letters on a faded leaf-green background (colour pl. 8.1), part of which reads:

> ... this is the Dome of the Prophet *(qubbat al-nabi)*...which the historians mention in their books. Charged with its manifestation after its loss and its reconstruction after its obliteration, on his own initiative and at his own expense, was ... Abu ʿUmar ʿUthman b. ʿAli b. ʿAbdallah al-Zanjili, governor of Jerusalem, in the months of the year 597 [AD 1200-01].

The ambiguous words *izhar*, 'manifestation' or 'establishment', and *ʿimara*, 'construction', or, more appropriate in this context, 'reconstruction', may be taken to indicate new building. It can be interpreted as part of the continuing process of restoring the Haram to its pre-Crusader state and sanctity. Early Muslim authors mention several commemorative structures dotted around the Haram including a Dome of the Prophet, hence the reference to historical books in the inscription.[1] In the absence of information on specific rituals associated with shrines in the Haram in the early 13th century, it is impossible to guess at the reasons for building a dome on the very edge of the upper terrace (see below), or, if it was intended initially to be open, the reasons for transforming an open, accessible structure into a closed, private one.

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[1] Van Berchem 1925, 1927, 36-53, discusses the early sources. See also Le Strange 1890; Marmardji 1948; and *idem* 1951. Further detailed consideration of the early source material and of the probable locations of pre-Crusader commemorative structures may be found in Elad 1995; Grabar 1996; and Kaplony 2002.

North
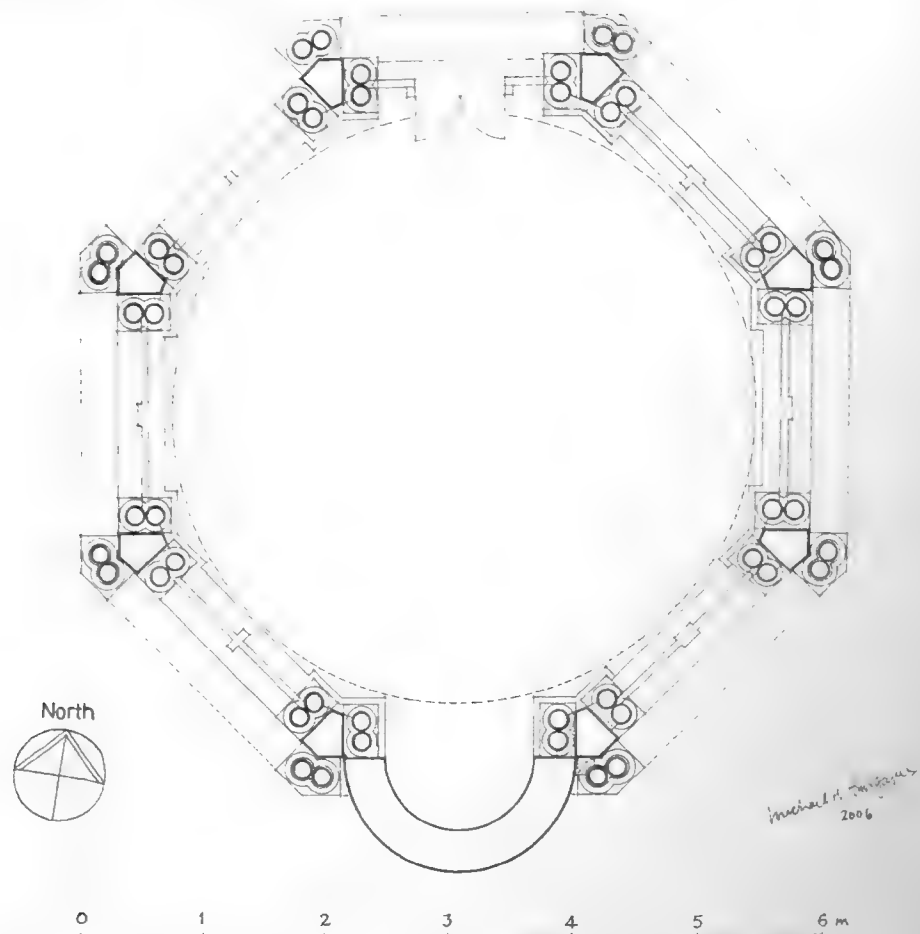
Fig. 8.1 Plan of Qubbat al-Miʿraj
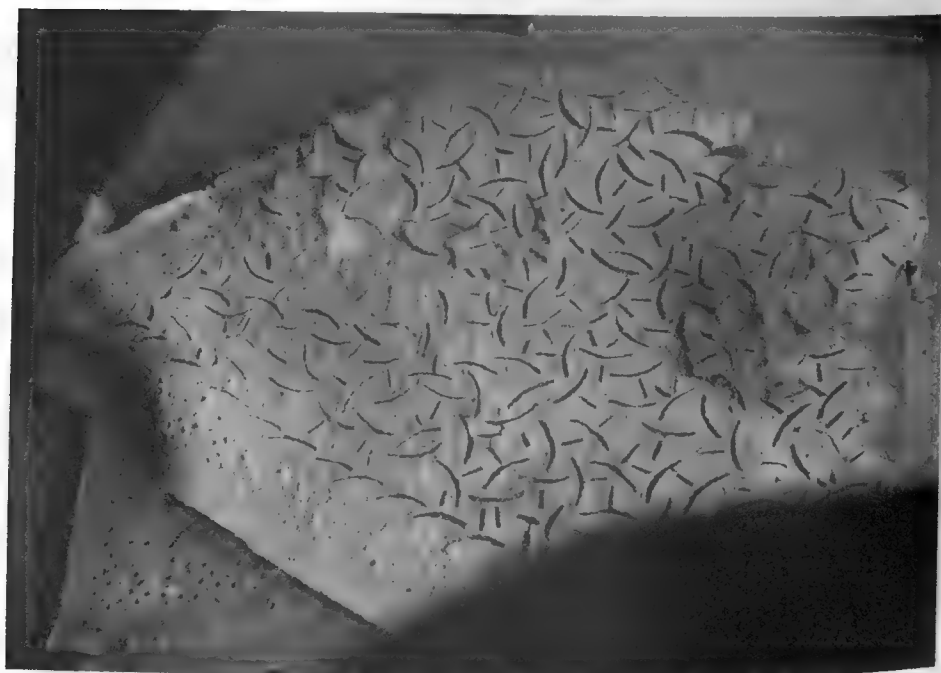
Pl. 8.2 Pierced lead screen from Qubbat al-Miʿraj. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

Pl. 8.3 General view from the south in snow
(early 1970s). (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

The building became known as the Dome of the Ascension [of Muhammad] some time before it was described by al-ʿUmari, writing around 745/1345.[2] A Dome of the Ascension with a lead-covered dome carried on columns that stood above or against (ʿala) the wall of the platform (mastaba), according to Yaqut writing around 623/1225,[3] may well be the same building, although we cannot be sure since the same names seem to have been attached to buildings in different places at different times. The present Dome of the Prophet standing between the Dome of the Ascension and the Dome of the Rock was built in the Ottoman period.

The Dome of the Ascension is octagonal in plan: a domed aedicule with an outer arch in each side springing from one of a pair of marble columns at the corners, and an inner arch springing from opposing pairs of marble columns, the three pairs of columns set around a pentagonal limestone pier in each corner of the octagon (fig. 8.1). The twin marble bases of the columns rest on plain monolithic limestone pedestals, several of which bear the distinctive diagonal tool marks characteristic of Latin stone dressing. Low walls of limestone ashlars, three courses high, extend between the pedestals in six sides; the north side contains the entrance door, and the south side contains a flat-topped semicircular mihrab salient. Above the limestone walls, the arches are filled with thin sheets of variegated marble (described as 'blue-veined maliki [royal] marble' by al-ʿUmari) up to the springing line of the arches. All the tympanums—except the one above the mihrab which is closed with limestone masonry—contain glazed

timber windows of modern construction. Formerly, some tympanums (four in al-ʿUmari's time) were filled with carved plaster windows (pl. 8.6), and one at least had a screen of pierced lead (pl. 8.2), which was removed to the office of the Chief Architect of the Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock Restoration Committee in the mid-1970s.

The arches are surmounted by a continuous hoodmould and, at the top of the octagon, by a deep moulded cornice. The limestone ashlar dome sits on a low limestone drum and until recently both were covered with sheet lead (pl. 8.3), as seen by Yaqut. At the apex of the dome 'in place of the crescent [finial],' as al-ʿUmari put it, 'is a small dome resting on six small columns of 'waxen' (shamʿiyya) marble, each about one dhiraʿ (70 cms) high' (pl. 8.4). This small dome is ribbed, its form closely following that of a type of ceremonial or battle helmet worn by Ayyubid princes[4] and attached to the re-used Crusader hexagonal support by dabs of mortar, suggesting that it is a feature added by the Ayyubid builders.

Inside, the stone floor is plain but for an inlay of black bituminous limestone following the line of the mihrab recess (pl. 8.5). The mihrab itself has a revetment of polychrome glazed tiles that includes an inscription panel above the semidome with the date 1195/1781 (pl. 8.6). The low walls and pedestals in the interior (pl. 8.6) are lined with marble (see below). The inner capitals, shafts and bases of the coupled columns carrying the inner order of arches remain visible, although partly obscured by the marble infill and its mortar pointing (see pls 8.11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29 and 32). Our measured survey confirms that

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[2] Al-ʿUmari 1924, 149-50.

[3] Yaqut (ed. F. Wüstenfeld), vol. 4, 594, cited by van Berchem, 1925, 1927 (note 1), 55-56. Van Berchem's suspicion that Yaqut's description might be second-hand, aroused partly by the fact that the Qubbat al-Miʿraj is now some distance from the west wall of the upper terrace, is no longer justified; see below.

[4] I have not been able to find an illustration of an Ayyubid example—Saladin is known to have worn such a helmet (Abu Shama, cited by Mayer 1954, 39, n.7)—but the helmet of the Mamluk sultan Qalawun (Mayer 1954, pl VIII.1) is remarkably similar in shape to our small dome.

Pl. 8.4 'Lantern' finial at apex of dome. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.5 Bituminous limestone inlay in floor of *mihrab*. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.6 Interior, looking south with the charred remains of the Aqsa *mihrab* stored on the floor (early 1970s). (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

the capitals are indeed double and the paired shafts almost touch, as do the columns supporting the outer order of arches. These inner capitals are quite different from the outer ones and are all different from each other, including opposing pairs. They have no imposts below the moulded abaci, which vary in profile (see below).[5]

The interiors of the transition zone and dome are plastered and painted. There is no trace of an opening at the apex. The transition from octagon to circle is effected by small fluted conches in the corners, with a continuous moulding rising over each of them (pl. 8.6), the profile of which varies between two types.

The interior marble lining on the pedestals and the lower walls includes fragments of Arabic inscriptions. Three pieces of marble bear sections of a single inscription in foliated Kufic with diacritical marks and interlacing stems; the stems extend upwards and curve to form an arcade interspersed with inverted palmettes in the spandrels (pl. 8.7).[6] A further section of the same inscription may be found reused as a wall decoration in the Mamluk Fakhriyya Madrasa (founded before 732/1332).[7] A section of an analogous, but not identical,

inscription has been used to line the pedestal carrying the columns on the west side of the *mihrab* (pl. 8.8). Another section of this second inscription was found in excavations made in the Dome of the Rock in 1874[8] and part of a similar inscription has been used to line a stone gutter on the roof of the Sabil of Qa'itbay (887/1482).[9] If, as van Berchem thought, these inscriptions belong to the Ayyubid period and were probably part of Saladin's work in the Dome of the Rock, it would seem probable that the marble lining of which these form part was introduced some considerable time after the construction of the Dome of the Ascension. It is hardly likely that an inscription in the name of Saladin would have been dismantled and re-used in 1200–01, not long after his death

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The capitals have been discussed in detail by Folda, who considers them to date from the 1140s or 1150s. J Folda 1995, 253-74

Van Berchem, 1925, 1927, 55-56

Burgoyne and Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 258-69

[8] Van Berchem 1925, 1927, 55-6, 133, pl X.

[9] Kessler with Burgoyne (eds. Moorey and Parr) 1978, 251-68, at 257 n. 23.

Pl. 8.7 Inscription re-used in marble panelling. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.8 Inscription re-used in marble panelling on pedestal beside *mihrab.* (Photo © Joe Rock)

in 1193. All the buildings in which the inscriptions are found were altered in the Ottoman period[10] and we may deduce that the inscriptions were introduced at that time. In the Dome of the Ascension, the lining abuts on the polychrome tiling of

the *mihrab* in a neat, considered way (pl. 8.5), which suggests that they are contemporaneous and both belong to the 1781 refurbishment.

The Dome of the Ascension is thought by some to be a Crusader baptistery. Admittedly, it has the general form of a medieval baptistery, including its lantern-like feature at the apex of the dome,[11] and its location north of the west door of the Templum Domini is where one might expect to find a church baptistery in the medieval period. In favour of its being a Crusader structure that was merely modified in 597/1200–01, it has a superficial resemblance to the octagonal Dome of the Ascension [of Christ] on the Mount of Olives. This is of undoubted Crusader construction, although it was originally open to the sky, its dome being a later addition.

Yet there are grounds for supposing that the Qubbat al-Miʿraj is in fact an original Ayyubid construction, albeit one incorporating prodigious quantities of Crusader sculpture— indeed, it contains more Crusader columns than any other surviving building in Jerusalem with the exception of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. No building in this location is mentioned in any pilgrim text from the Crusader period and there is, to the best of our knowledge, no record of baptism taking place in the Haram. In addition, one would expect the Crusader baptistery to have been at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, not at the Templum Domini.

It is true that almost every piece of marble— mouldings, capitals, shafts and bases—as well as some of the limestone pedestals, are of Frankish workmanship. Moreover, many of the pieces, notably the exterior abaci and all but one of the outer series of capitals and bases, and all the second-hand pedestals, were designed for an octagonal building of roughly the same size as the present one. It could, therefore, be argued that it is a 'Crusader' building even if it was erected by Ayyubid builders at a later date.

Also suggesting Ayyubid construction is the treatment of the sculpture (pls 8.9–32) which is fitted together in a way that no competent Frankish stonemason would accept. In the outer series of double columns with paired capitals carrying the outer register of arches[12] the volute capitals all have three tiers of fleshy leaves with deeply undercut drooping leaf tips, a type which is found in many nearby buildings, usually if not invariably in secondary use.[13] All but one are designed and carved as a pair to fit coupled columns. All but one of the bases are of the 'water-holding' type, also found in many Crusader buildings, and all but one of the twin bases also are designed as a unit to take coupled columns. The exception is at the NNW corner, where the paired capitals and bases have

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[10] *Ibid.*; Burgoyne and Richards 1987, 258–69; Walls 1993, 85–97.

[11] R Krautheimer 1942, 1–33.
[12] Folda 1995, 259, calls the capitals of the outer register 'Set 1.'
[13] *Ibid.,* 259.

Pl. 8.9 NNW exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.12 NW exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
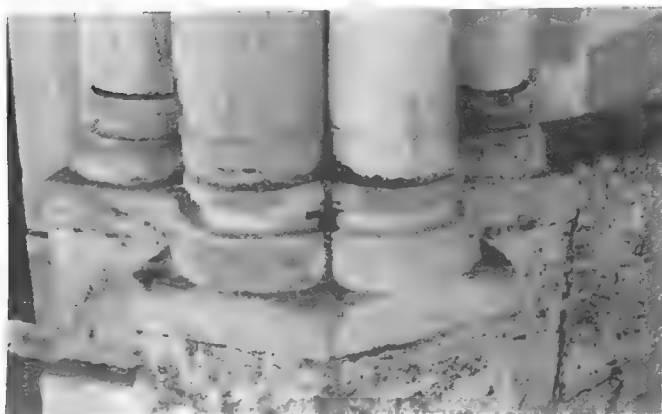
Pl. 8.10 NNW exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
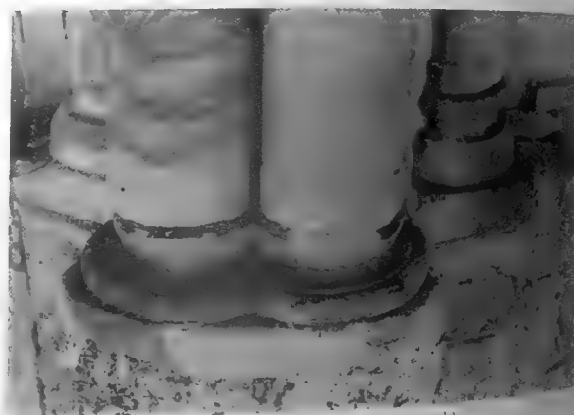
Pl. 8.13 NW exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
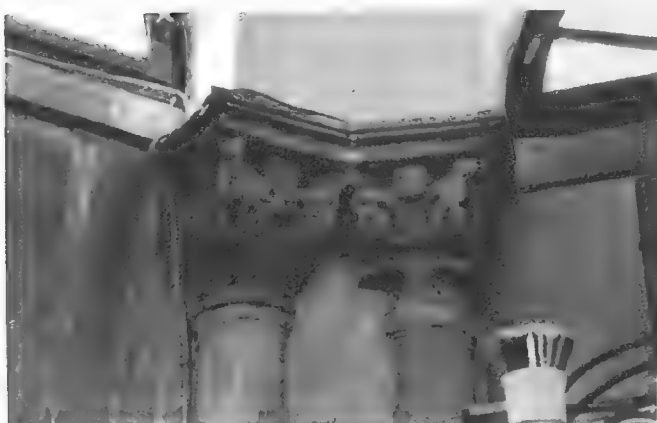
Pl. 8.11 NNW interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.14 NW interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.15 SW exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.18 SSW exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
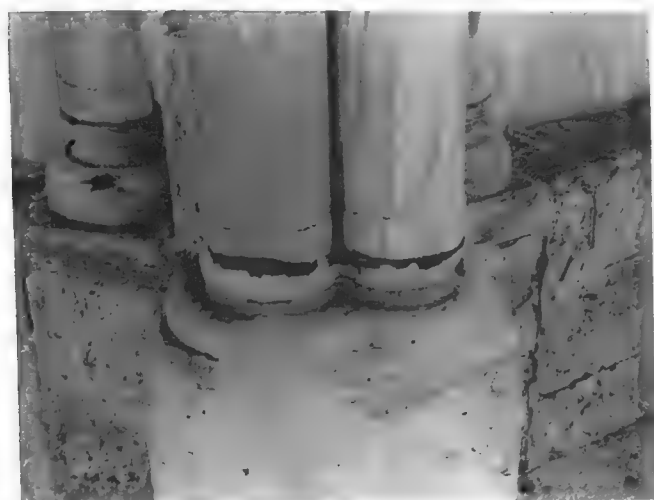
Pl. 8.16 SW exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
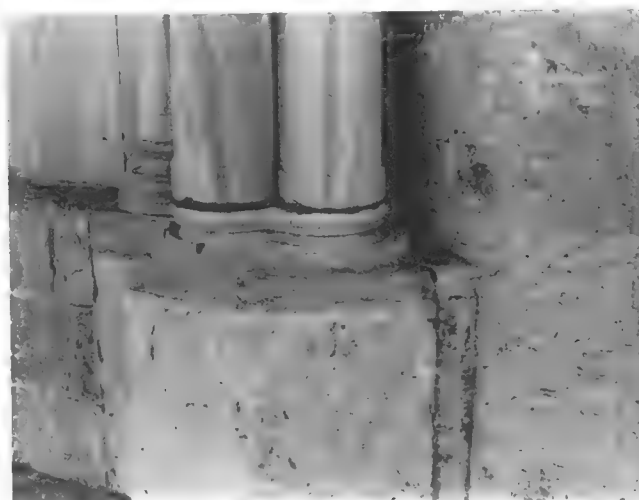
Pl. 8.19. SSW exterior bases (Photo © Joe Rock)
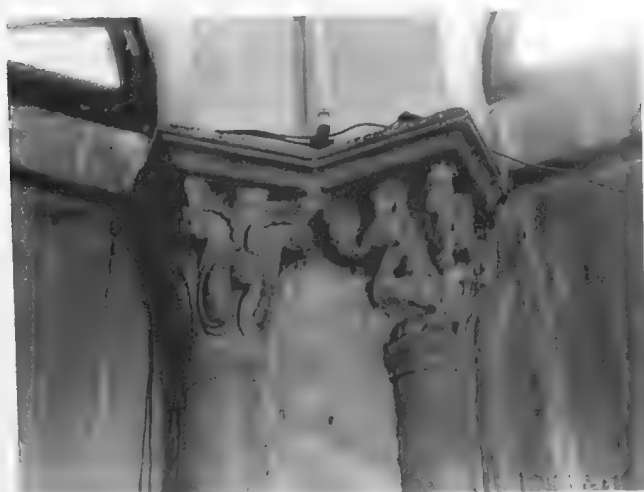
Pl. 8.17 SW interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.20 SSW interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.21 SSE exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.24 SE exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
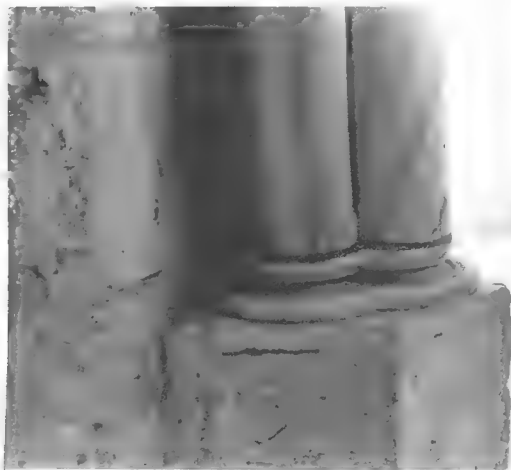
Pl. 8.22 SSE exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
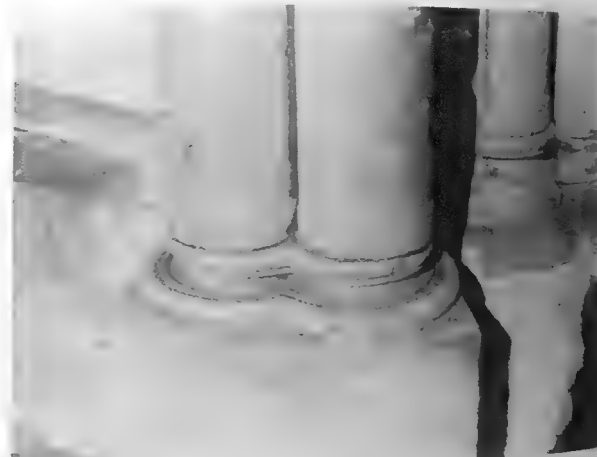
Pl. 8.25 SE exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.23 SSE interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
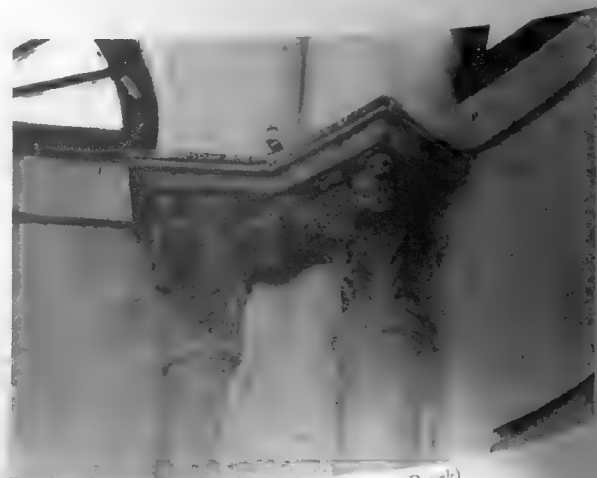
Pl. 8.26 SE interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.27 NE exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
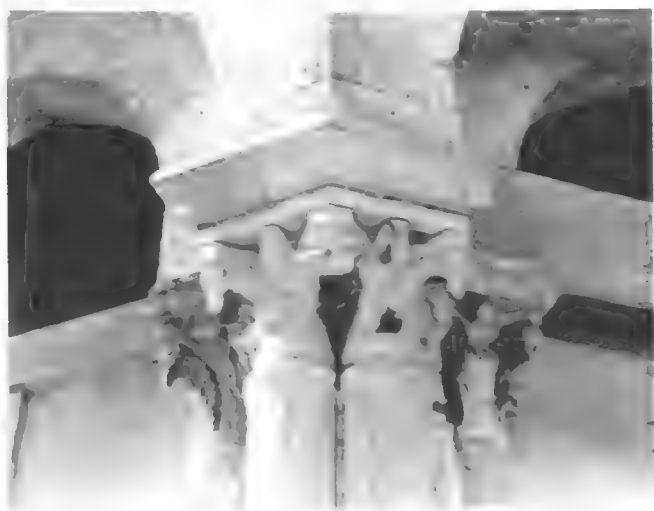
Pl. 8.30 NNE exterior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.28 NE exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
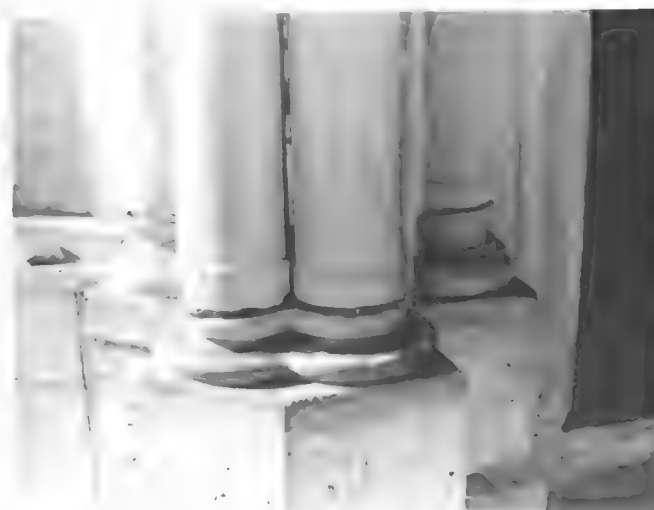
Pl. 8.31 NNE exterior bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
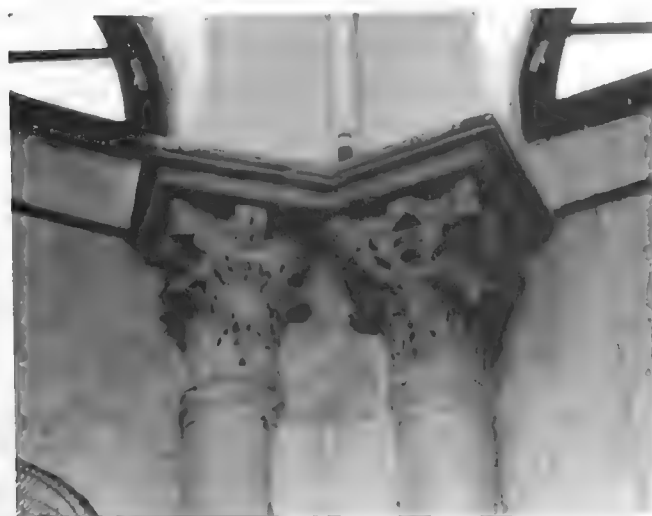
Pl. 8.29 NE interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)
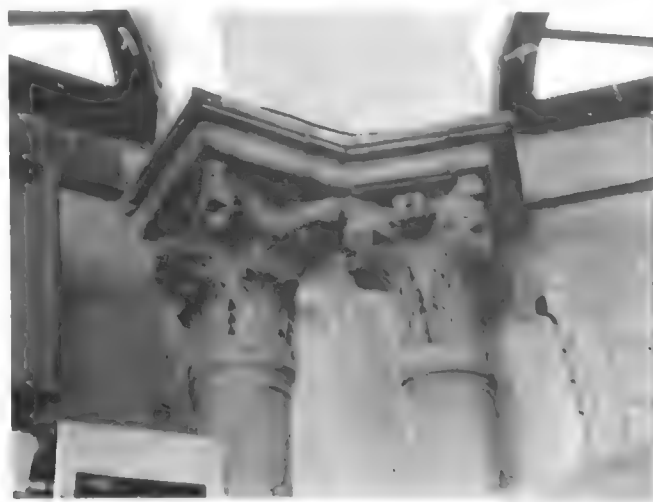
Pl. 8.32 NNE interior capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

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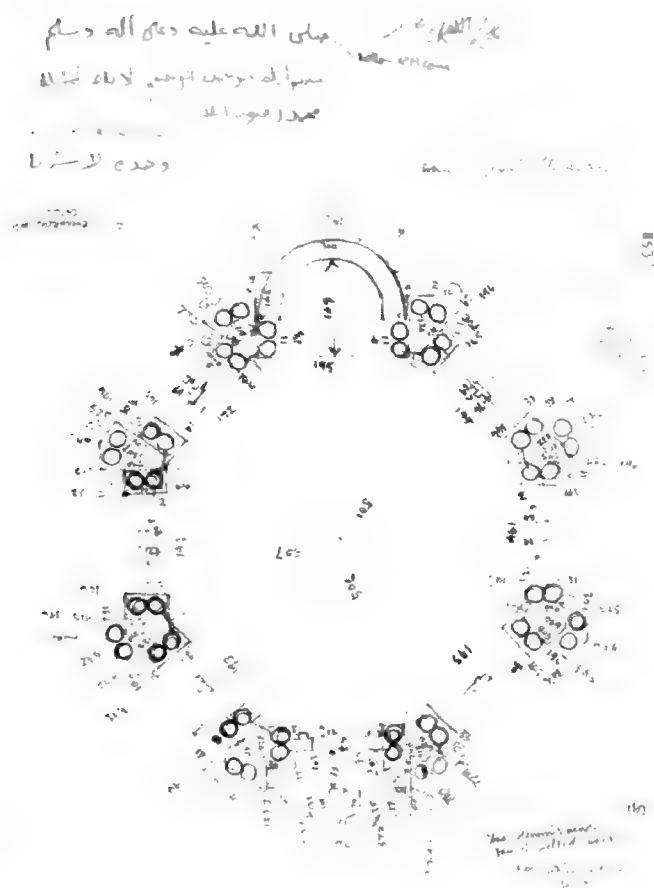
Fig. 8.2 Survey notes for plan of Qubbat al-Miʿraj

Fig. 8.3 Compass-point notation of column clusters

each been formed from two matching single ones; the base is not a water-holding type like the others but a torus type, 5 cms higher, which matches those in the inner series of columns. The extra height of the base has meant that the unobtrusive straight-sided impost, present above all the other capitals in the outer set, has had to be omitted here. The use of a double capital and a twin base, each fabricated from two single ones (pls 8.9-10), might be evidence of a shortage at the time of construction (indicating that the Crusader material was being re-used) or it might be the result of later repairs following damage of some sort restricted to this corner.[14]

Relatively minor differences in the shape of astragals and collar fillets at the top of the column shafts (pls 8.15 and 18) and in the heights of apophyge rings at the bottom (pls 8.16, 19, 22 and 31) may or may not be significant, but re-use is suggested by the cutting back of many of the astragals (seen, for example, in pls 8.15, 18, 24, 27 and 30) to allow the shafts to fit double capitals which were evidently intended for narrower columns. What may be taken as conclusive evidence

that the Crusader sculpture is in re-use, however, is the crude manner in which the abaci over the inner series of columns are fabricated from a heterogeneous collection of odd pieces of mouldings (pls 8.11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29 and 32). The faultless formation of the abaci over the outer series of capitals, shaped exactly to suit their position above double capitals at the corners of an octagonal structure, indicates that the Frankish masons were capable of carving marble with extreme precision (as may be seen in the abaci of the Dome of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives). The hodgepodge of mouldings over the inner capitals, none of which in its present form was designed for double capitals or for an octagonal structure, cannot be the work of the same masons. Moreover, many of the joints between the shafts and their bases and capitals are filled with lead, not mortar, and in places where the lead is especially thick it has been embossed with Arabic inscriptions (pl. 8.35).[15]

It is indisputable that the marble infill panels in the arched openings, the entrance doorway and its inscription, and the projecting prayer niche in the south side were added or inserted after the open structure was completed. How much later is not known. Al-ʿUmari describes a building similar to the present one in some detail, confirming that the infilling of the arches was done before 745/1345. There is nothing, however, to confirm or deny that the infilling was completed immediately after the open-sided dome had been erected or, to put it another way, that the infilling was always intended as part of the design but the builders decided first to erect the primary octagonal structure, composed largely of second-hand Crusader sculpture, before adding the infill panels that serve no structural purpose.

The Dome of Solomon

In the northern part of the Haram, standing in open ground about 160m northwest of the Qubbat al-Miʿraj, is another octagonal domed aedicule (pls XLII and 8.36), known as

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[14] The replacement pedestal at the NE corner was inserted in 1951 following damage done in 1948 (Prag 1989, 115).

[15] These inscriptions merit further study.
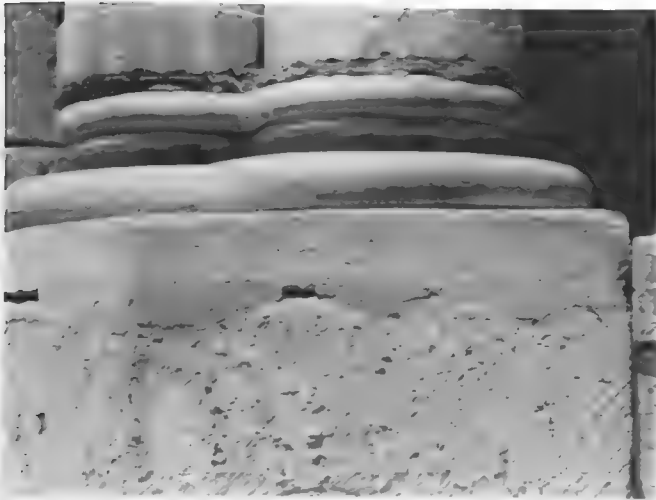
Pl. 8.33 Graffito in base of SSE column that reads 'Nur al-Din was here, may God forgive him and his parents and all Muslims and … and that was in the year 680/1281-82.' (Photo © Joe Rock).

Pl. 8.34 Graffito in base of SE column that reads 'Muhammad was here, may God forgive him'. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.35 Arabic inscription embossed in lead joint at base of internal column. (Photo © Joe Rock)

the Dome of Solomon (Qubbat Sulaiman). It encloses an outcrop of rock that would seem to provide the reason for its particular location. In popular tradition, the rock outcrop is called Kursi Sulaiman, the Throne of Solomon. It is said to be the spot where King Solomon prayed during completion of the first temple.

The building is anepigraphic and its date of construction is not known, but it may well belong to the same period as the Qubbat al-Miʿraj, for they share several features, including re-used marble sculpture (although the re-used pieces here are less well matched), and infilled arches.

Here again there are two registers of arches in each side, but the voussoirs and all the mouldings are of limestone, not marble (pls 8.37-44). The pointed arches in the inner register spring from opposing pairs of marble columns, while those in the outer register spring directly from pentagonal limestone piers at the corners of the octagon; there is no outer set of columns.[16] Both outer and inner arches are boldly moulded; the outermost part of the voussoirs in the outer register projects as a continuous cyma hoodmould that links the arches at springing height. The moulded arches have been given a stilted profile by plain limestone impost blocks under the springing. The design seems somewhat tentative, as if the masons were not fully familiar with the style: for example, the moulded surface of the outer arches abuts abruptly on the impost (pls XLII and 8.36), whereas the moulding on the inner arches ends in a rounded terminal before it reaches the impost (see, for example, pl. 8.38). The imposts rest on an ogee stringcourse which extends around all eight sides, unbroken (apart from modern repairs) except for a stepped recess in the north side over the capitals flanking the entrance,

and two recesses in the south side which formerly contained columns seen by al-ʿUmari (pl. 8.45). Below the stringcourse, the arches are filled with plain limestone masonry, but for the north side which contains the entrance door (pl. 8.37), and the flanking northwest and northeast sides, which contain rectangular windows. These windows are similar in size but their construction differs: the jambs of the northwest window abut on the sides of the corner piers forming a straight joint (pl. 8.38), while those of the northeast window are partly keyed into the piers (pl. 8.44). This would suggest different periods of construction, but probably before 1345 when windows on either side of the door were noted by al-ʿUmari.

The octagon is capped by a cyma cornice, above which the tall drum is pierced by eight small pointed-arched windows centred on the arches below. The upper windows also have hoodmoulds that connect at springing level. An ovolo cornice separates the drum from the dome, which rises to a ribbed knob finial in the shape of a turban. The profile of the dome is somewhat distorted, presumably the result of earthquake damage, and its surface is paved with small slabs of limestone, roughly coursed at the bottom but becoming random towards

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[16] Vincent and Abel, 1914, 604-9, pl. LXI, show triple columns but there is room only for double ones.

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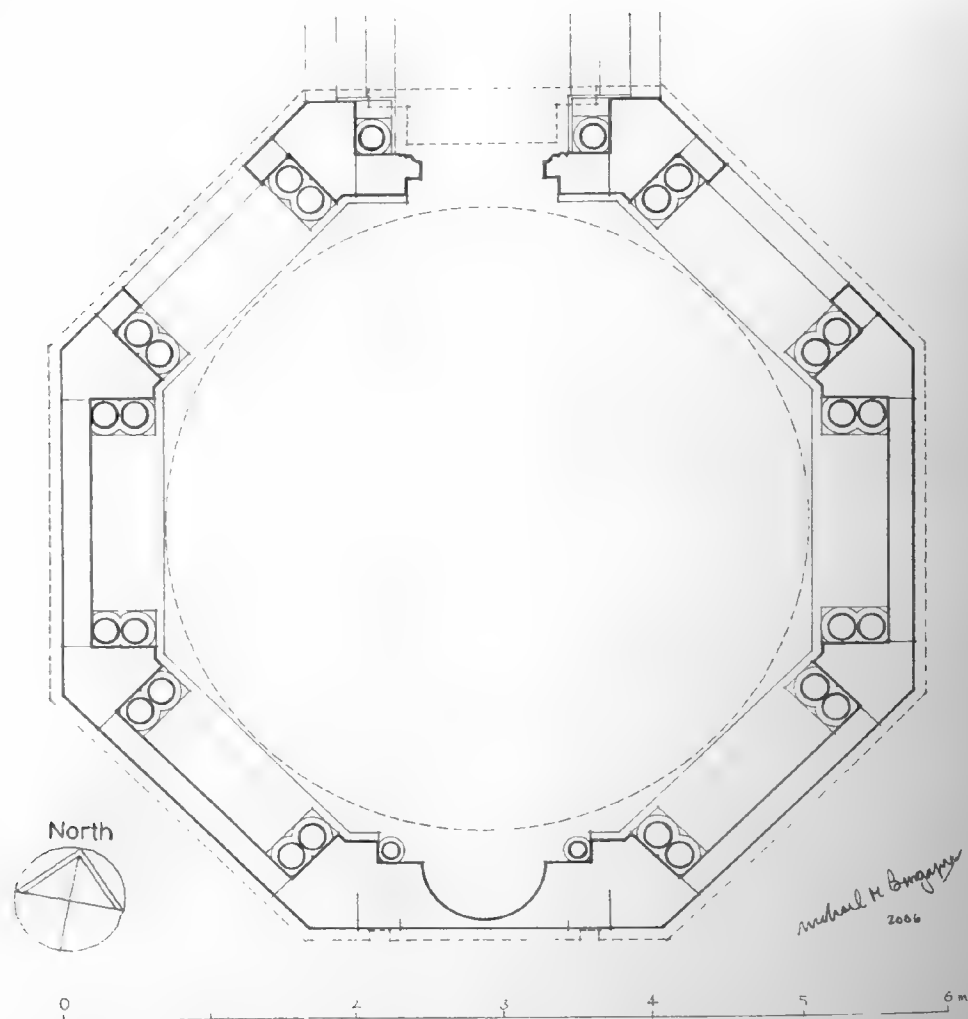
North

Fig. 8.4 Plan of Qubbat Sulaiman

Pl. 8.36 Qubbat Sulaiman, looking south.

Pl. 8.37 North side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.39 West side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.38 Northwest side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.40 Southwest side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.41 South side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.43 East side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.42 Southeast side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.44 Northeast side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

the apex. These are probably relatively recent additions in an effort to render the damaged dome weathertight.

The entrance door (pl. 8.37), approached by a path from the north, and by short flights of three steps down to it on either side, has a moulded surround carved in the limestone. Set as it is in a shaded north-facing recess, the surround does not exploit the dramatic effect that the Mediterranean sunlight can contribute to relief carving. The doorway is flanked by re-used marble columns with capitals of the fleshy-leaved type found in the outer register at the Qubbat al-Mi'raj and bases of the water-holding type on limestone pedestals. The top edge of the pedestals is chamfered (see pl. 8.37) and the chamfer continues on a projecting base course that presumably extends around all eight sides of the building, analogous to the pedestals and low walls of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, but is hidden by the platform surrounding it. The raised threshold and the landings outside and inside the doorway appear to be cut into the bedrock, intended to fit the present doorway, or *vice versa* if they were cut for an earlier structure replaced by the present building. In the west part of the floor (pl. 8.46), an extraordinary lump of rock—assumed to be bedrock[17]—protrudes from a marble pavement patched with limestone. Before the *mihrab*, the pavement has been repaired in a mixture of Ottoman black-and-white chequerboard and polychrome, foliate-arabesque, glazed tiles, from which much of the decoration has been lost (pl. 8.47). The chamfered base course seen outside is also present inside, interrupted only by the entrance door in the north side (pl. 8.48) and by the *mihrab* in the south side.

The coupled columns which carry the inner arches rest on the base course (pl. 8.49). These columns have twin bases of various water-holding and torus types, and miscellaneous volute double capitals with three tiers of fleshy leaves, some of which have midribs in relief. They are fabricated from single capitals which have been crudely cut and joined to form a pair. Many of them are damaged. Where they meet the piers on one side and the limestone infill on another, the leaves have been cut away to allow the capitals to sit centrally on the shafts. Owing to the variation in height of the bases, some capitals have packing to fill the gap between their tops and their abaci (see, for example, pl. 8.50), while other capitals have been reduced in height to fit the available space (pl. 8.51). It follows that none of these capitals was made for its present context.

The moulded abaci stop abruptly against the limestone infill in the arched openings, except at the north and south
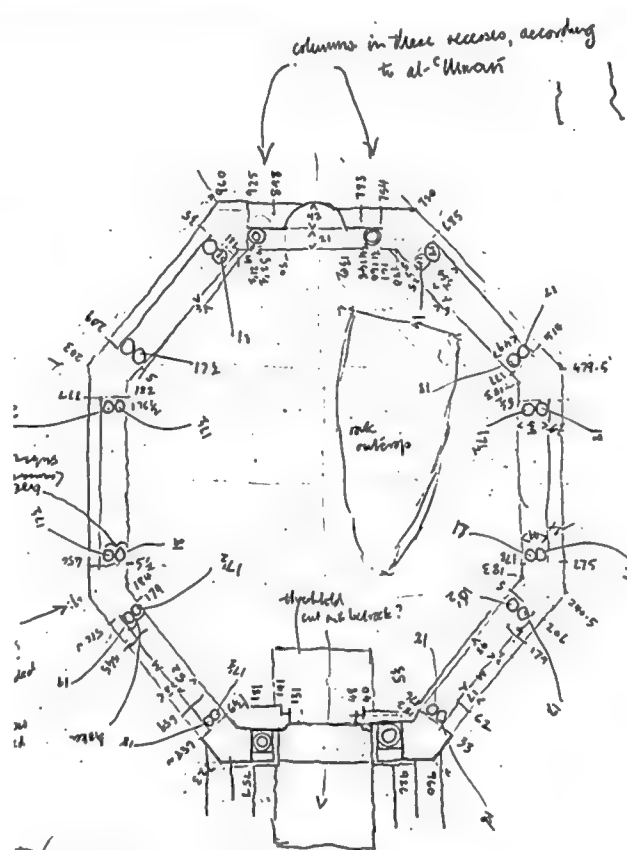
Fig. 8.5 Survey notes for plan of Qubbat Sulaiman

sides where they continue above respectively the entrance door and the *mihrab*. The open tympanums of the arches contain modern windows but, until recently, they were blocked and plastered on both sides (colour pl. 8.36). The transition from octagon to circular drum is effected by fluted conches in the corners. The drum rises to a cavetto cornice at the base of the ashlar dome which is cracked from top to bottom, presumably due to earthquake damage.

The *mihrab* has two registers of pointed arches (pl. 8.52), the outer being carved with a moulding which resembles the one in the inner register of the external arches. The span of the *mihrab* arch is smaller than that of the external arches; its voussoirs appear to have been intended for the larger span, however, and so they meet awkwardly, producing an uneven profile. A shallow impost under the arch rests on a moulding which continues across the whole south side, forming an abacus over nook-shafts flanking the semicircular *mihrab* niche. The shafts have matching acanthus capitals and moulded bases, which are partly obscured by the pavement.

The irregularities in the *mihrab* arch, evidently composed of voussoirs which were intended for the larger span of the arches in each side of the octagon, probably indicate not that second-hand material was being used but rather that the

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[17] This protruding rock is a remarkable survival which, if it is indeed projecting bedrock, may have existed in Herod's temple enclosure (which was identical in size to the present Haram). Quite why such a lump of rock might have been left exposed, rather than cut away like the rest of the rock in the northwest corner, remains a mystery. It attracted attention early in the Islamic period and one can understand the urge to provide such a feature with some form of enclosure. See, for example, Elad, 1995 75, 82-85, 90-93; and Kaplony 2002 290-1, 297, 469.
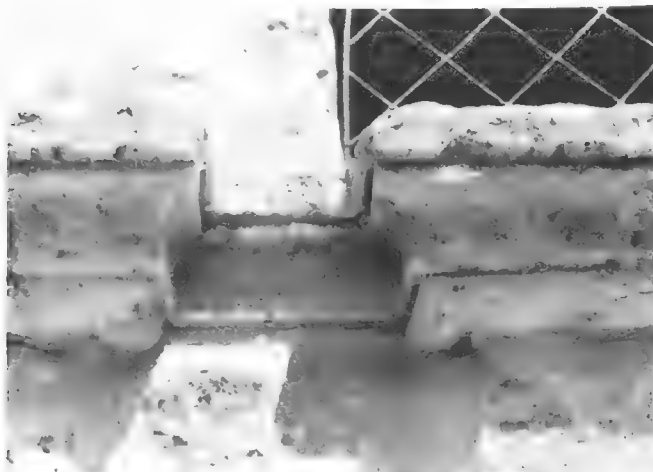
Pl. 8.45 Recess in string course in south side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.47 Glazed tiles in floor at *mihrab.* (Photo © Sylvia Auld)

Pl. 8.46 Rock outcrop in floor. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.48 Entrance door interior. (Photo © Joe Rock)

stone-cutters were producing more moulded voussoirs than were necessary for the main arches. The surplus was utilised in the *mihrab* which was inserted after the octagonal structure was complete, as confirmed by the vertical joints where the wall containing the *mihrab* meets the flanking piers. Similarly, straight joints between the infill masonry and the corner piers in all but the northeast side (and possibly the north side, where the joints are hidden by columns) confirm that the infilling was done after the open aedicule had been erected.

As at the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, we do not know how long it was after the open structure was finished that the arches were filled, except that it was before 1345 when al-'Umari described it much as it is today. Originally, the moulded abaci over the paired capitals appear to have continued as a stringcourse on the piers, visible at the entrance. When the arches were built up, the moulding was cut short at its return on each pier, and a new run of matching moulding was introduced at the same level across the blocking masonry. In the south side, the
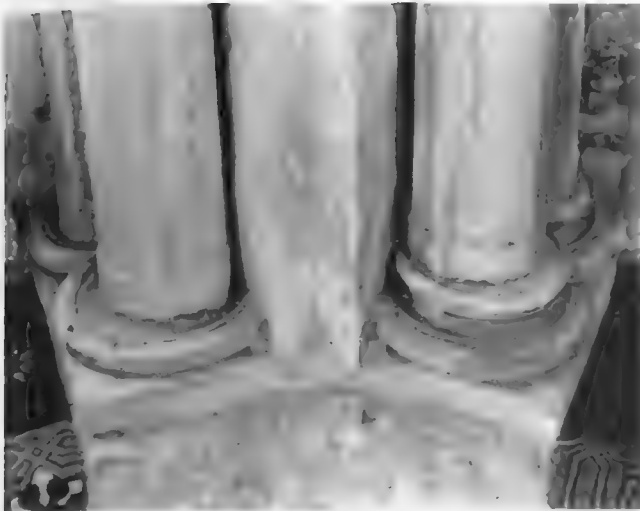
Pl. 8.49 Column bases. (Photo © Joe Rock)
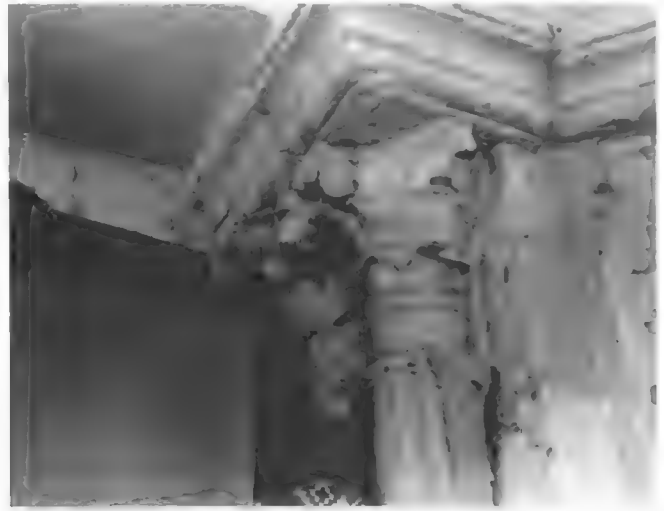
Pl. 8.51 Cut-down capital. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.50 Packing above capitals. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.52 *Mihrab.* (Photo © Joe Rock)

impost moulding continues unbroken from the piers into the two recesses which are now blocked with limestone (pl. 8.45); this suggests that part of the original moulding on the piers was replaced when the arch was blocked and the *mihrab* was introduced. The additional moulding is everywhere cut to the same profile in the same stone and displays the same tooling and the same degree of weathering as the moulding on the piers, and so we may conclude that the infill was planned as part of the original construction and added shortly after completion of the open octagon.

The Dome of the Balance

Another domed structure in the Haram, called by al-ʿUmari Qubbat al-Mizan (Dome of the Balance), stands immediately west of the arcade at the top of the south staircase that leads

north from the Aqsa Mosque to the upper terrace (pl. 8.53). Al-ʿUmari describes two marble cupolas, one above the other, carried on twelve columns of speckled red and white (literally, 'fat and meat', *shahm wa'l-lahm*) marble, and resting on 'waxen' bases. The two-tiered dome fitting this description now has a staircase leading to the upper level, thus converting it into a pulpit known as 'Minbar al-Saif', the Summer Pulpit, or as the 'Minbar of Burhan al-Din', after the *qadi* who restored it

Pl. 8.53 Qubbat al-Mizan. General view from northeast. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne).

Pl. 8.54 Qubbat al-Mizan. Horseshoe arches. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

in the 8th/14th century.[18] It replaces an earlier Dome of the Balance, known from early Islamic sources[19] and comprises a square lower structure surmounted by a hexagonal upper one. It is composed almost entirely of Crusader sculpture in secondary use. Its original date of construction is not known but, given the quantity of Crusader sculpture that must have been available for re-use at the time, it would appear likely to have been at much the same time as the other domed shrines, that is around the beginning of the 13th century. The presence of curious ring-shaped grooves in the re-used voussoirs of the horseshoe arches in the lower part of the structure (pl. 8.54), similar to those in the voussoirs of Saladin's *mihrab* in the Aqsa Mosque, tends to confirm this dating.

The Grammar School

Construction of the Grammar School (al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya) at the southwest corner of the upper terrace (fig.

8.6 and colour pl. 8.55) was ordered by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 604/1207–08, according to its foundation inscription, and the work was overseen by Husam al-Din Abu Sa'd Qaimaz, governor of Jerusalem.[20] Al-'Umari adds that al-Mu'azzam provided a single *imam* for the school ... and 25 students of grammar (*nahw*) and their *shaikh*, on condition that they were Hanafis and pupils of his *madrasa* [the Mu'azzamiyya] outside the Haram.[21]

The building has four component parts: (1) a supporting substructure; (2) a west domed chamber; (3) a link block connecting the west domed chamber to an east domed chamber; and (4) the east domed chamber.

1. The Substructure

The substructure was used as a prayer place for the Hanbalis, with a single *imam*. It was built in two phases, as may be deduced from a vertical break in the masonry below the junction

* Burgoyne and Richards 1987 319-20

' Kaplony 1995 699, 708-9

* Van Berchem 1925, 1927 59-68.

' Al-'Umari 1924 146

North

Fig. 8.6 Plan of the Grammar School

TEMP FIG ONLY TO BE RE SCANNED

North
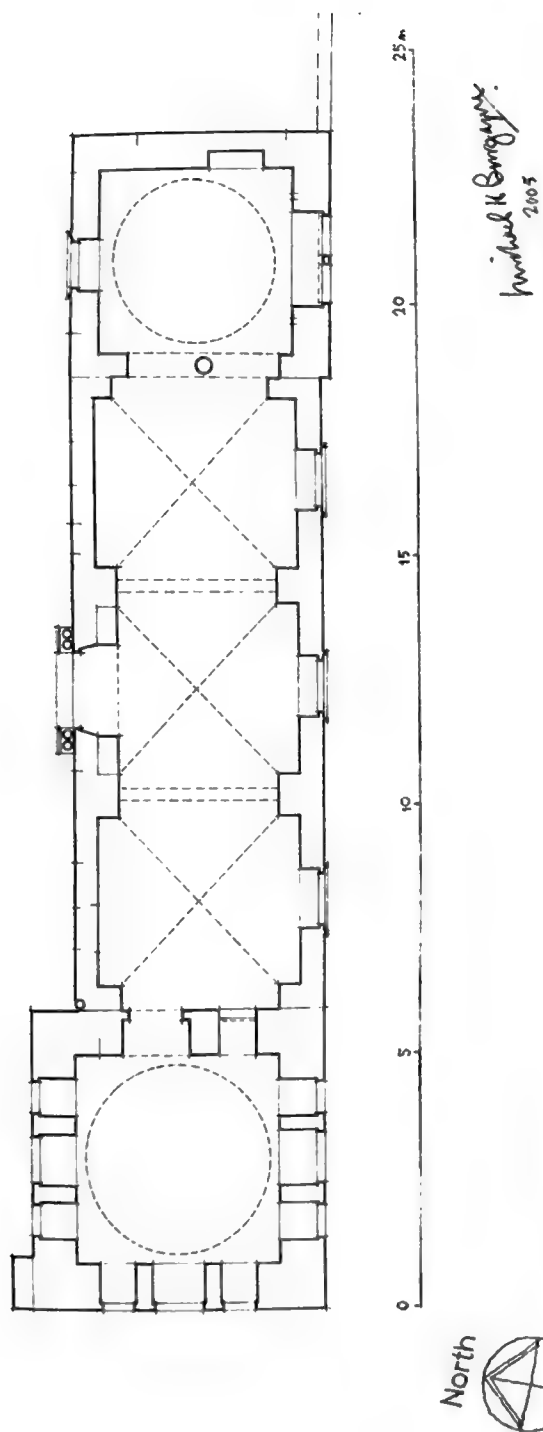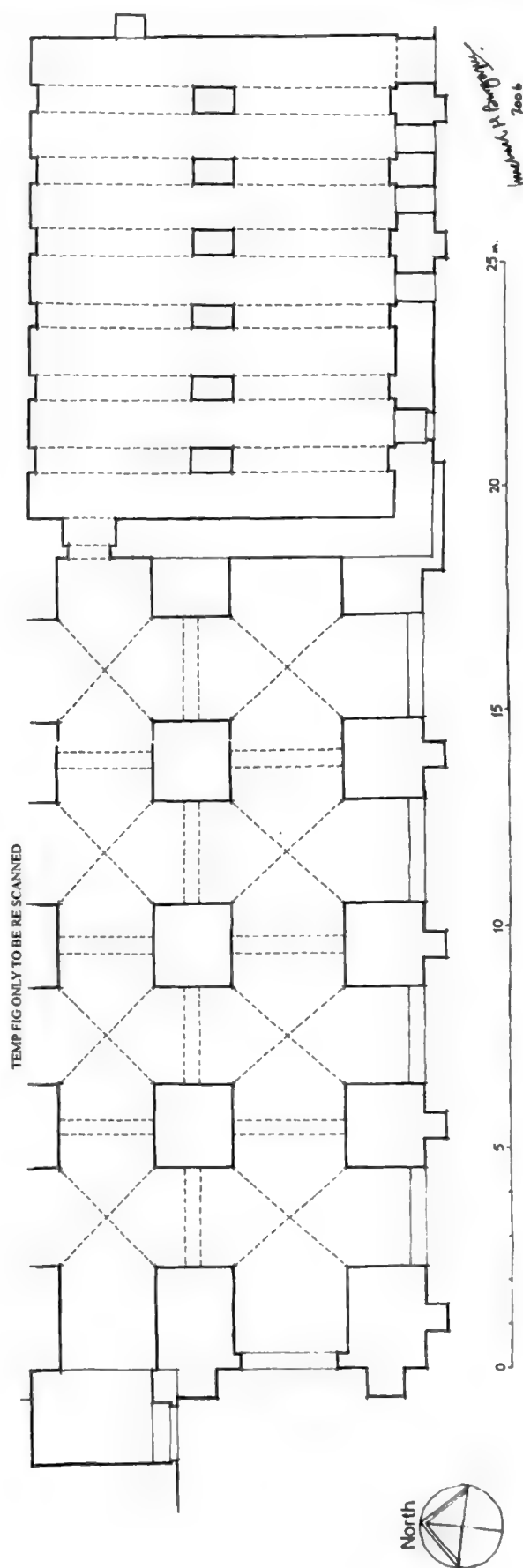
Fig. 8.8 Plan of substructure of the Grammar School

Fig. 8.7 Survey notes for plan of the Grammar School

between the link block and the east domed chamber (pl. 8.56). Investigation of the interior of the substructure reveals two distinct methods of construction on either side of the vertical break (fig. 8.8). To the east, reached through a doorway in a wall of plain limestone ashlars (pl. 8.57), a series of round arches spanning north–south at approximately 1.60 m centres carries flat stone lintels that support the pavement of the upper terrace.[22] This part of the substructure must be Umayyad, contemporary with the construction of the Dome of the Rock and belonging to the same period as a series of Haram gates with the same round arches and the chamfering that is found in several of the arch voussoirs in the substructure[23] (see pls 8.58 and 59), and probably also Solomon's Stables, where the pavement at the southeast corner of the Haram esplanade is carried on parallel rows of round arches.[24]

The main part of the substructure of the Nahawiyya, extending west from the southwest corner of the Umayyad upper terrace, is a series of cross vaults. These are two bays wide and four long and are carried on square piers (fig. 8.8). The inner (north) vaults are somewhat narrower than the outer (south) ones, which open in four pointed arches to the south and one to the west. The voussoirs of these arches have distinctive, square-edged flat bosses (pl. 8.60) of a type found also in the street arch of al-Mu'azzam's *madrasa* north of the Haram[25] and bear traces of plaster, indicating that the whole substructure was once plastered on the outside. Sloping-topped buttresses strengthen the piers of the arches. The same sloping-topped buttresses recur at regular intervals along the whole length of the west wall of the upper terrace (pl. 8.61). Those under the Nahawiyya must predate its construction in

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[22] I should like to express my gratitude to Adnan Husseini, Director of the Department of Auqaf and Islamic Affairs, Isam Awwad, formerly Chief Architect of the Aqsa Mosque and Dome of the Rock Restoration Committee, and Dr Yusuf Natsheh, Director of the Department of Islamic Archaeology, for access to these structures.

[23] Burgoyne (eds Raby and Johns) Oxford 1992, 105-24.

[24] A clasping buttress with a later sloping top at the southwest corner appears to be an original feature of the Umayyad upper terrace wall, as do a series of flat-topped buttresses at more or less regular intervals in the south wall east of the Nahawiyya and in the east wall, although the tops might have been lowered at some time and many must have been removed in later repairs. Similar buttressing may exist at the north wall, which is largely concealed by various structures erected in the Ottoman period (Auld and Hillenbrand, eds 2000, Part 2, *Catalogue of Buildings* by Yusuf Natsheh, *passim*), for it is reasonable to suppose that it was built at the same time and in the same fashion as the south and east walls. Gibson and Jacobson 1996, 173-4, cite an interesting observation made by Charles Warren, that if earth and a low-level vault were removed from against the north wall of the upper terrace, 'the northern end of the Mosque Platform would present the appearance of perpendicularly scarped rock, with excrescences on its face ...' These 'excrescences' might have been left in the scarped rock, I suppose, to support stone buttresses.

[25] See below, Mahmoud Hawari, Chapter 12, p. 227.

1 Pyxis with pacing figures, one carrying a stemmed censer, allegedly depicting the Christian sacrament of baptism, confirmation or ordination; the scene appears above a band of running animals, frequently found on Islamic metalwork. London, Victoria and Albert Museum inv. no. 320–1866. (Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London)

II *Minbar* of Nur al-Din photographed in 1968. Note the gilding, which obscured the inlay. © Alistair C Duncan.
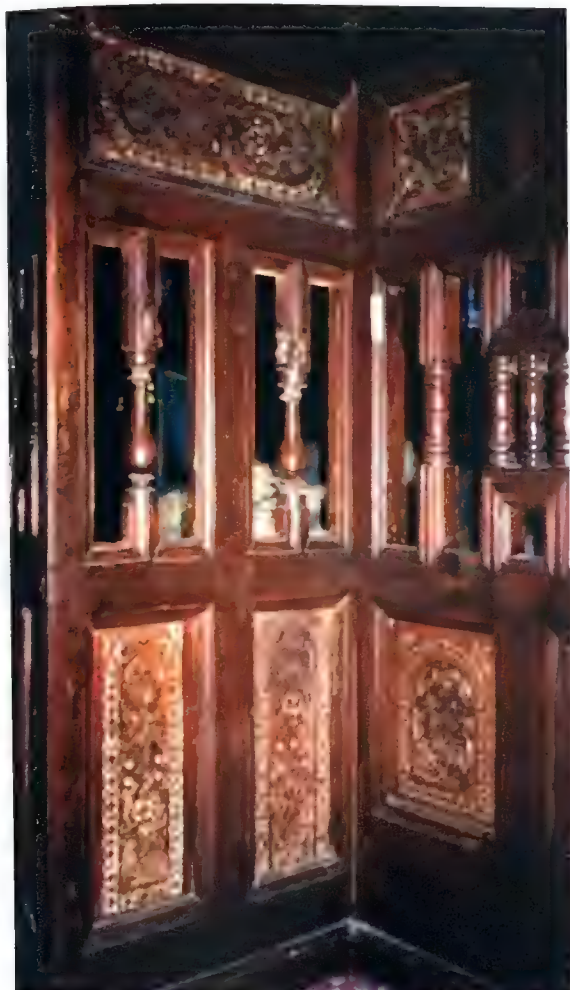
III Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: part of section 10-11: I (Photo © Joe Rock)

IV Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of component C. (Photo © Joe Rock)

V Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: part of section 12-13: K and sections 13-14: L1 and L2. (Photo © Joe Rock)

VI Dome of the Rock, detail of the inscription naming the craftsmen in section 3-4: C1. (Photo © Joe Rock)
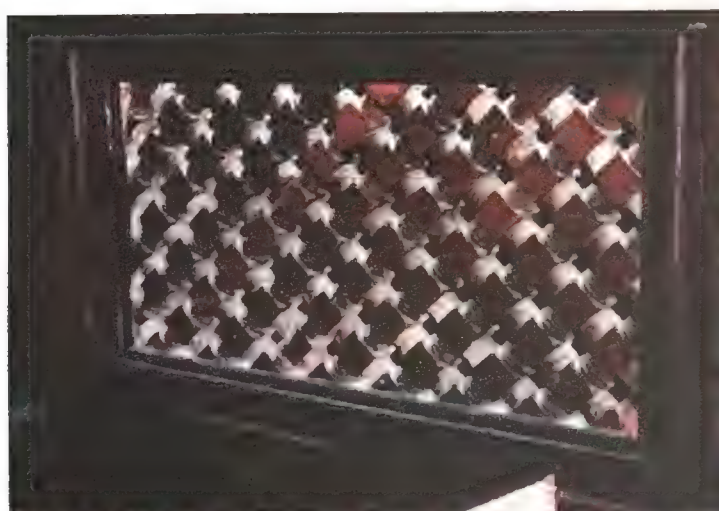
VII Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of component Ba. (Photo © Joe Rock)

VIII Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of component F. (Photo © Joe Rock)

IX Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of section 3–4: C1 with inscribed panel. (Photo © Joe Rock)

X Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of component D. (Photo © Joe Rock)
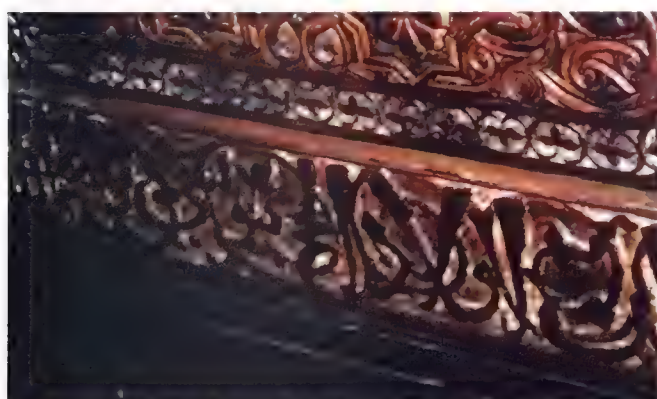
XI Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of border of inscription shown in VI. (Photo © Joe Rock)

XII Dome of the Rock, balustrade: detail of the newly identified inscription of the *bismillah* in Section 20–1: S. (Photo © Joe Rock)

XIII Dome of the Rock, wooden balustrade: detail of component E. (Photo © Joe Rock)

XIV Jerusalem: inscribed slab in the name of Salah al-Din.
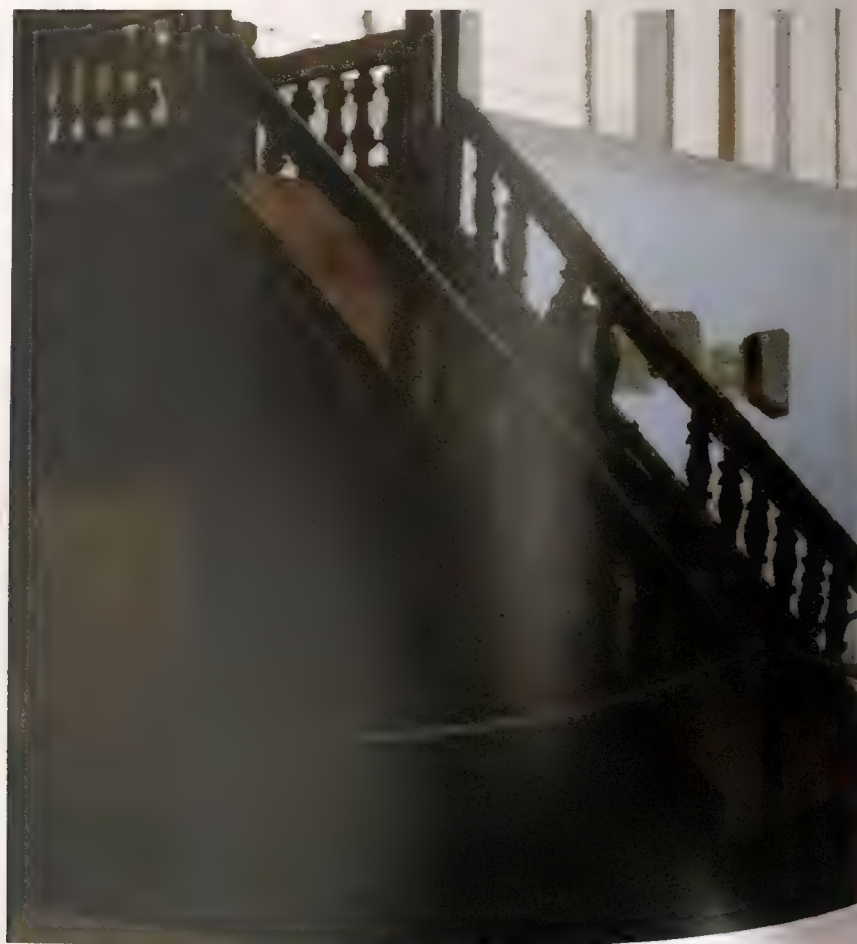
XV *Minbar* from the Great Mosque of
Amadiyya, 548/1153 in the Baghdad Museum

XVI Cairo, Cenotaph of Husain (1154–71). After Williams 1987.

XVII Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, ff. 1v–2r. Double frontispiece.

XVIII Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, f. 82r. Crossbow *(qaus)*.

XIX Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, f. 84v. Crossbow mechanism.

XX Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, f. 97v. Lance *(rimah)*.

XXI Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, f. 112v. Shielded crossbow *(atras)*.

XXIII Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, f. 136v. Protective net.

XXII Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, ff. 129v-130r. Mangonels *(manjaniqat)*.

XXIV Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), Egypt or Syria, 619/1222. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094, f. 68r. Abu Zaid on a boat on the Euphrates (twenty-second *maqama*).

XXV Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, *ca* 1220. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465, f. 20v. Barzuya before the enthroned King Nushirwan.

XXVI Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, *ca* 1220. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465, f. 71v. The lion killing the bull.

XXVII Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, *ca* 1220. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465, f. 77r. Dimna's trial.
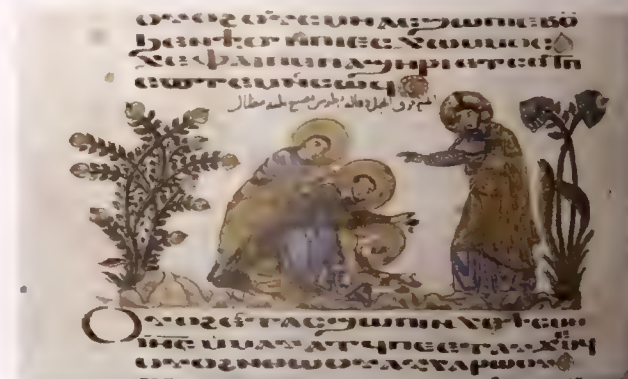
XXIX *Gospel Book*, Damietta, Egypt, 1180. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, copte 13, f. 167v. The Transfiguration.

XXVIII New Testament, Egypt, 1249–50. Paris, Institut Catholique, copte-arabe 1, f. 65v. St Mark and a donor.

XXX *Gospel Book*, Damietta, Egypt, 1180 Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, copte 13, f. 276r. Joseph and Nicodemus carrying the body of Christ.

XXXI Anonymous, *Kitab ghara'ib al-funun wa mulah al-'uyun* ('Book of Curiosities of the Sciences and Marvels for the Eyes'), probably produced in Cairo, late 12th-early 13th century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Arab c.90, f. 34r. The city of Mahdiya in Tunisia.

XXXII Ibn Butlan, *Da'wat al-atibba'* ('Banquet of Physicians'), probably Syria, second quarter of the 13th century. Jerusalem, LA Mayer Memorial Institute, f. 4v. Two figures in an apothecary's shop.

XXXIII Al-Jazari, *Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya* ('Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices or Automata'), Diyarbakr, 602/1206. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3472, f. 165v-166r. Double-page finispiece with geometric design.
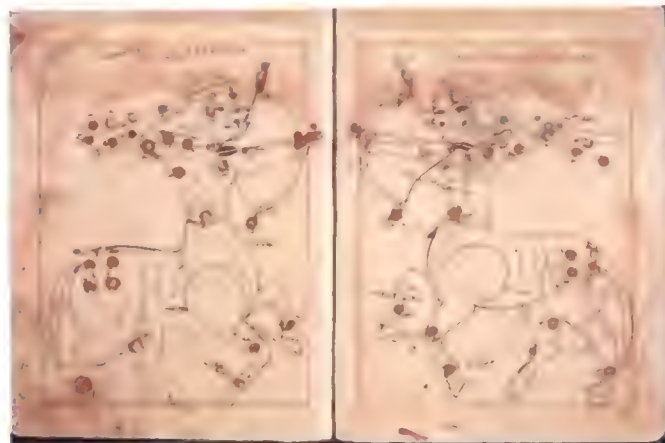
XXXIV Al-Sufi, *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* ('Treatise on the Constellations'), Mosul, 630/1233. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 5658 (Landberg 71), fol. 66v-67r.
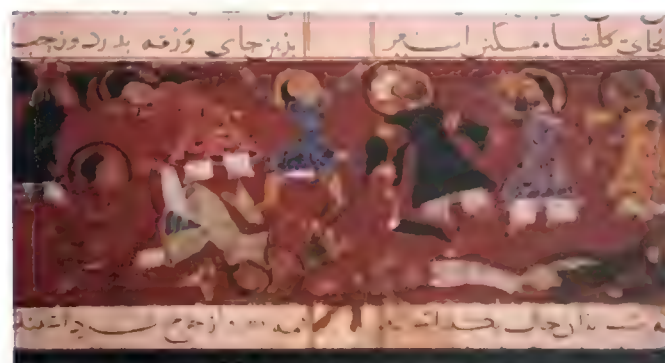
XXXV *Warqa wa Gulshah*, probably Iran, possibly late 12th century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Hazine 841, 9r.

XXXVI Ibn al-Sufi, *Risalat al-Sufi fi'l-Kawakib* (Al-Sufi's 'Treatise on the Stars'), probably North Syria, early 13th century(?). Tehran, Reza Abbasi Museum, M. 570, pp. 2–3 (double frontispiece). Two enthroned figures, one of them probably al-Sufi.

XXXVII Ibn Bakhtishu', *Na't al-Hayawan* ('Book of Animals'), probably North Jazira, c 1220. London, British Library, Or. 2784, f. 96r. Aristotle with a student.

XXXVIII Ayyubid capital, London art market (courtesy of Christie's).

XXXIX Khanqah al-Salahiyya: portal.

XL Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya.

XLI Al-Aqsa Mosque: portico dome.
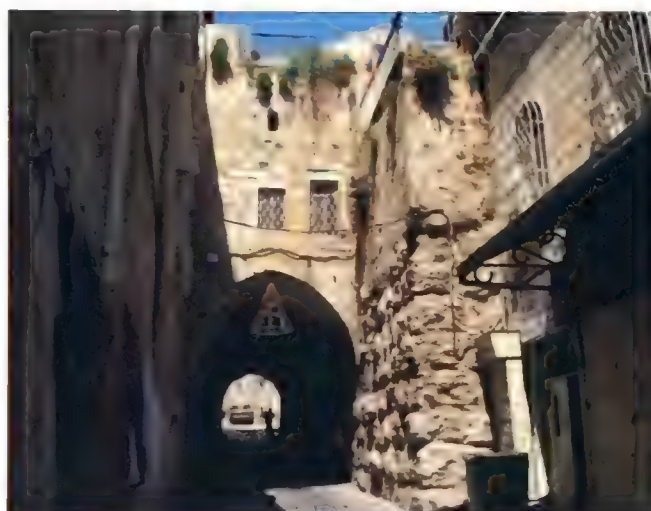
XLII Qubbat Sulaiman, looking south.

XLIII Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, looking east.

XLIV Bab al-Silsila: squinches.
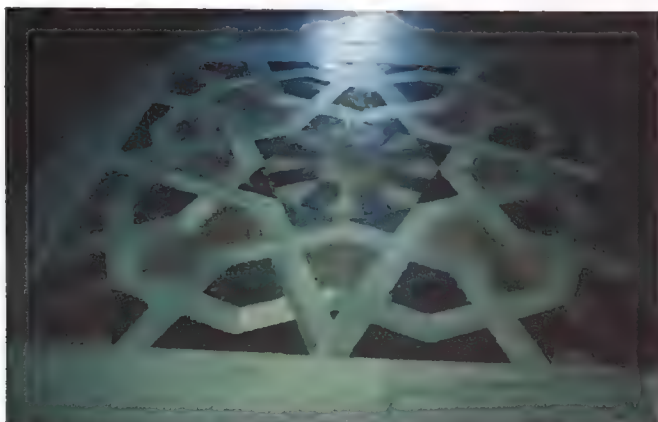
XLV Qubbat Musa: inlaid marble floor.

XLVI Qubbat Musa: marble slabs

XLVII Dome of the Rock, Ayyubid inscription

XLVIII Al-Aqsa Mosque, *mihrab*, main inscription panel.

XLIX Al-Aqsa Mosque, main façade. (Photo courtesy of L Korn)

L Al-Aqsa Mosque, main façade
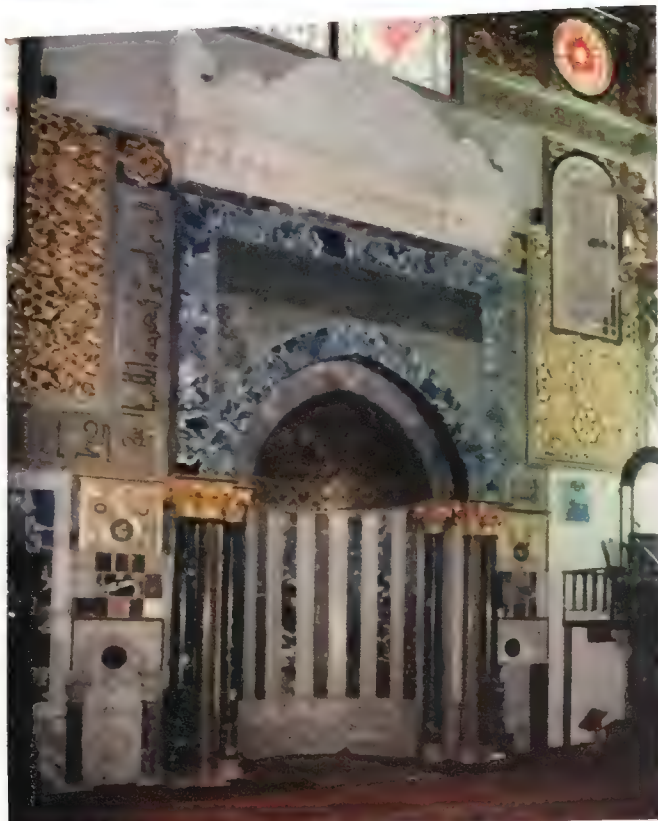
LI Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*.
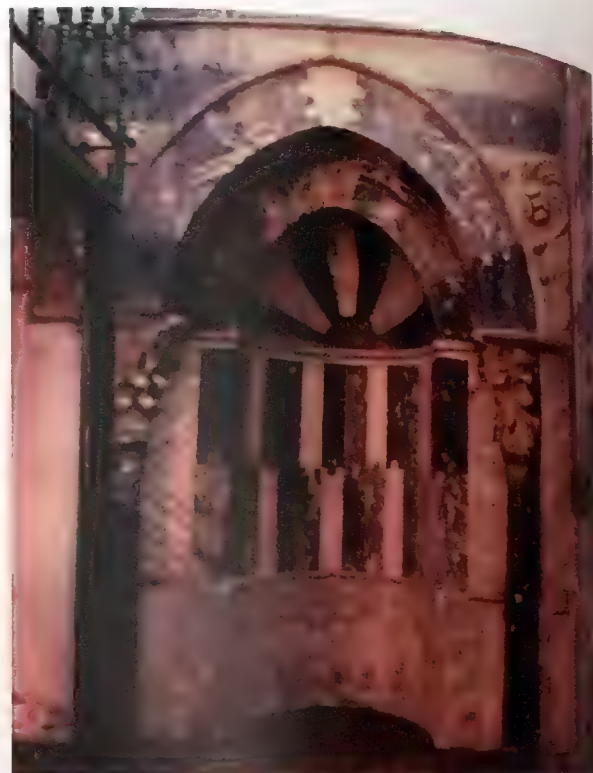
LII Al-Aqsa Mosque, minor *mihrab*.

LIII Al-Aqsa Mosque, portico.

LIV Al-Aqsa Mosque, *mihrab*, detail.
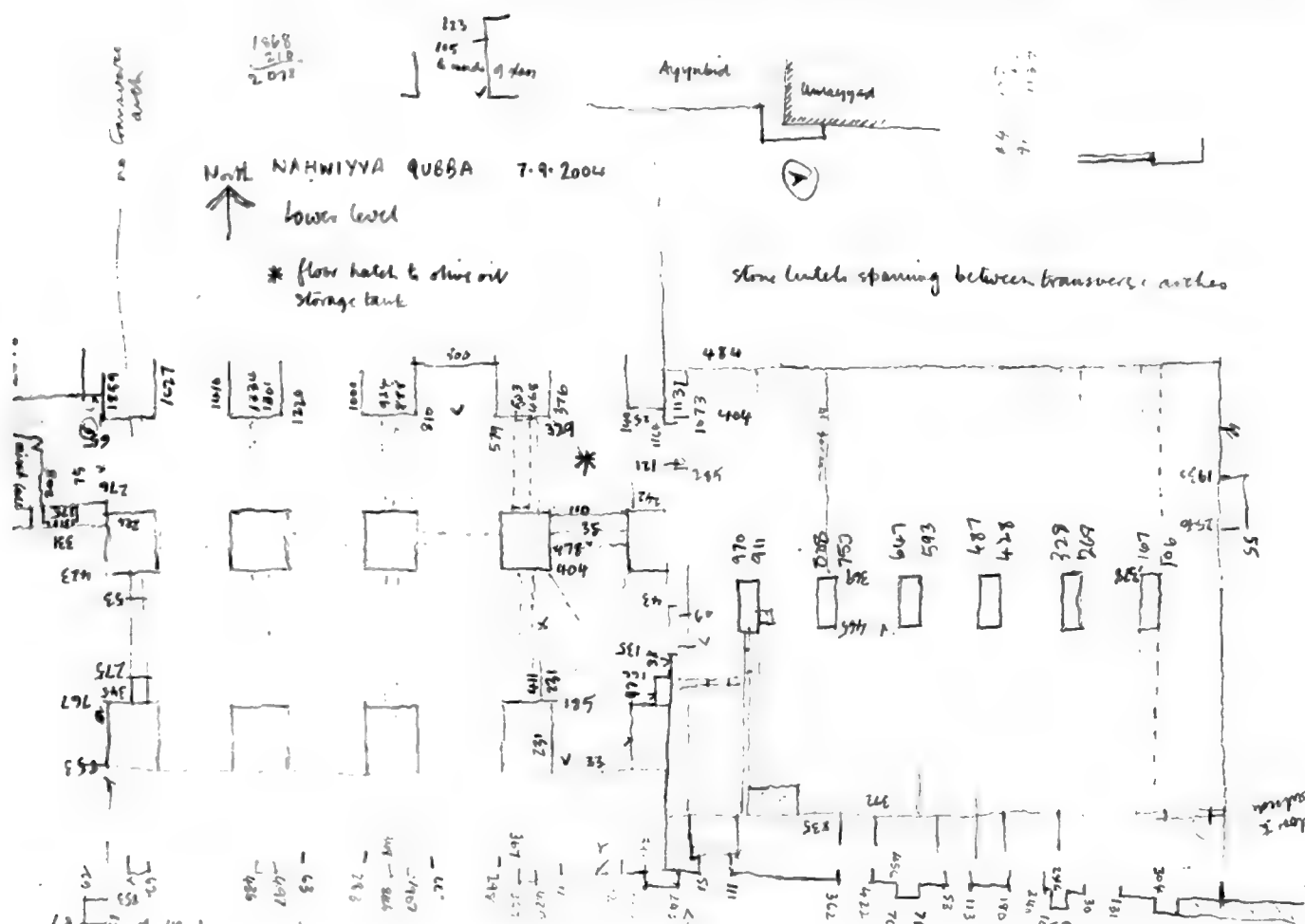
Fig. 8.9 Survey notes for plan of the substructure of the Grammar School

604/1207–08, discussed in the next paragraph. While sloping-topped buttresses first became popular under the Crusaders, I believe that this portico is Ayyubid. Similar sloping-topped buttresses are found in the central section of the North Portico of the Haram, which is attributed to al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in an inscription dated 610/1213–14.[26] Al-ʿUmari calls the portico under the Nahawiyya *al-riwaq al-muʿazzami*, 'the magnificent portico' or, rather, 'the portico of al-Muʿazzam [ʿIsa]' since he adds that it is 'below his *madrasa.*' Another structure with an inscription in al-Muʿazzam's name is found further north in the western extension to the upper terrace (see below). This is good evidence that all this extension is the work of al-Muʿazzam, albeit incorporating stones with distinctive diagonal tooling and masons' marks, which must have been salvaged from some previously demolished Crusader structure.

Yaqut's description of the Qubbat al-Miʿraj as 'on the wall of the upper terrace' suggests that he saw it after its construction in 597/1200–01 and before the westward extension of the upper terrace, which began not later than

604/1207–08. If the Qubbat al-Miʿraj stood at or near the edge of the earlier terrace, it seems likely that the western boundary of that terrace ran more or less parallel to the present west wall but about 18m to the east of it (fig. 8.10). Thus the stairways in the middle and at the north end of the west side originally must have projected out into the Haram esplanade like all the others. (The stairway at the south end was added later, see below.)

Not all parts of the interior of al-Muʿazzam's extension are accessible; we know nothing about most of this area except for two structures. One, about 40m north of the Nahawiyya, bears an inscription dated 607/1210–11, which commemorates the formation of a water tank (*sahrij*) in the name of al-Muʿazzam by a certain Muhammad ibn ʿUrwa b. Sayyar from Mosul.[27] Six years later, in 613/1216–17, this same man was to build a free-standing domed structure over a *sahrij* also in the name of al-Muʿazzam. This structure, now much altered and known as Sabil Shaʿlan, lies north of the western extension to the terrace.[28]

[26] Burgoyne and Richards 1987 104–08.

[27] Van Berchem 1925, 1927 68–72.

[28] *Ibid.*, 98–102.

Pl. 8.56 South elevation. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.58 Round arches of Umayyad substructure. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.57 Door from Umayyad substructure to Ayyubid one. (Photo © Joe Rock)
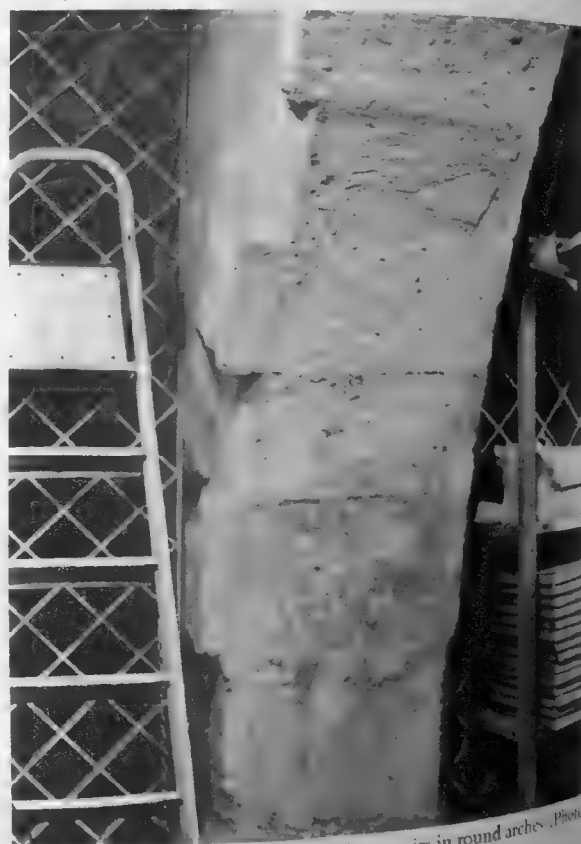
Pl. 8.59 Mixed plain and chamfered voussoirs in round arches. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Between these two water tanks, at the north end of the western extension where it meets the northwest staircase to the terrace, a short passage gives access to a cross-vaulted porch supported on two granite columns (pl. 8.62). Under the porch a door opens south into a vaulted chamber, part of the western extension. On the basis of information supplied by Conrad Schick, Warren described it as '... a small mosque under the platform, 42 feet 6

inches [12.95m] long and 23 feet [7.01m] wide, with a *mihrab* at the south end ...'[29] Mujir al-Din called it the 'place' *mande* of the popular holy man, al-Khidr, where there is a rock known as *bakhbakh* ('wonderful').' Early Muslim authors locate this

[29] *PEFQS* 1873, 37.

chamber under the west staircase,[30] but since access to the area under this staircase was blocked by al-Muʿazzam's extension of the upper terrace, its location was shifted north. Mujir adds that it was abandoned in his day, when it was used as a store for the Haram. Two openings in the south end of its pointed barrel vault, through which buckets might be drawn, suggest that this chamber, too, was once used as a water tank, notwithstanding windows in its west wall and entrance door in the north.

2. The West Domed Chamber

Vertical breaks in the masonry between the west chamber and the link block confirm that the two were built at different times. The west chamber, occupying the southwest corner of the extended upper terrace, consists of a simple masonry cube surmounted by a low drum and a lead-covered dome rising from a bracketed cornice to a ribbed apex finial, all built of limestone similar to that of the supporting portico (pl. 8.63).

A large window flanked by smaller ones opens in each of the north, west and south sides. Those in the north side have been blocked. All these windows have unusual stone canopies, isosceles trapezoid in shape, most but not all of them surmounted by pseudo-relieving arches some of which are embellished with counterfeit voussoirs (see, for example, pl. 8.64). The canopies bear a remarkable variety of carved decoration: a broad, tight-knit interlace in the left-hand canopy on the north side (pl. 8.65); an even more tightly-knit interlace on the middle one in that side (pl. 8.66); strapwork reticulation on the middle one in the south side (pl. 8.64); and a wide variety of imbrication on the remainder (pls 8.64 and 67). The canopies and their pseudo-relieving arches do not align with the adjoining courses of masonry, suggesting that they were salvaged from an earlier structure for re-use. Indeed, the pattern of window openings may have been dictated by the size and number of available blocks of carved stone, although one of the canopies in the north side appears to have been adjusted to suit the width of the window below it (pl. 8.65). Analogous window canopies are found at the Cradle of Jesus (Mahd ʿIsa) in the southeast corner of the Haram, which Pringle associates with Byzantine architecture of the 5th and 6th centuries in Palestine.[31] In the east side of the cube are a door and, south of it, a blocked window (pl. 8.68). The door has been substantially altered at some time: jambs, lintel and rear arch are later insertions in the wall. The window has a plain outer lintel without a canopy but with a pseudo-relieving arch and counterfeit voussoirs. The blocking has been done neatly in
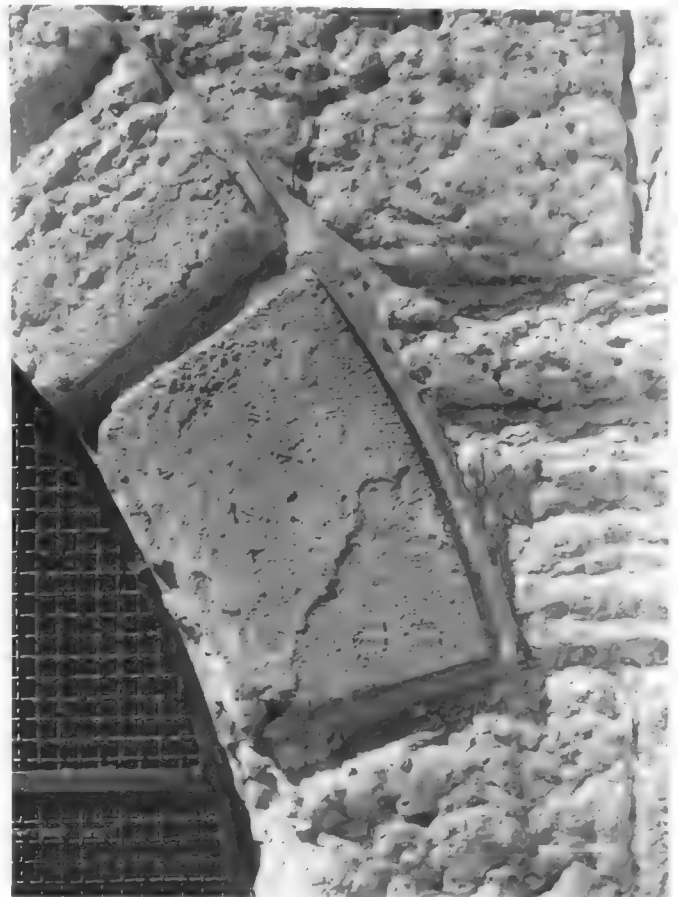
Pl. 8.60 Traces of plaster on square-edged boss of arch voussoirs. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.61 Sloping-topped buttresses at north end of west wall of upper terrace. (Photo © Joe Rock)

limestone some time after al-ʿUmari saw it when it was open. Two high-level windows, one in the south side and one in the west, are later insertions: they are missing in photographs taken before 1890 (see, for example, pl. 8.69). The cube base is topped with a wide cyma cornice on all four sides.

The drum has two tiers; the wider, lower tier having a sloping top. Its intention was evidently to cause rainwater dripping from the dome to splash away from the vulnerable joint between the drum and the flat roof of the cube. The narrower upper tier of the drum rises to a distinctive bracketed

[30] Kaplony 2002 693-96.

[31] Pringle, forthcoming. I am grateful to Professor Pringle for letting me see the draft of parts of this volume.

Pl. 8.62 Porch at entrance to the Place of al-Khidr. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.64 Windows in the south side of the west domed chamber (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.63 General view from the southwest in the early 1970s. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)
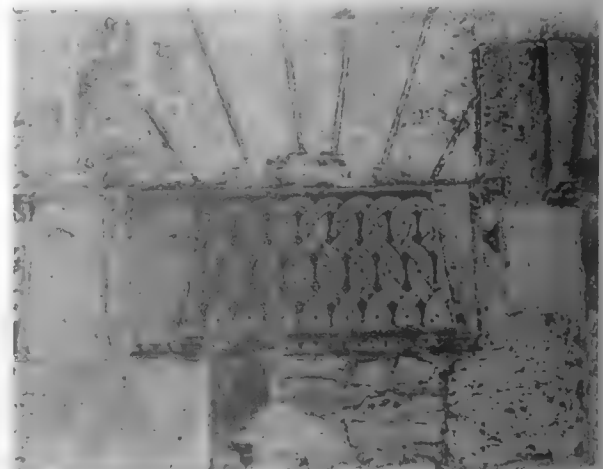
Pl. 8.65 Canopy of left-hand window in north side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

cornice, reminiscent of Crusader examples, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre for instance. The cornice brackets of the Nahawiyya are designed for the diameter of the circular drum, but without close inspection we cannot say whether they were cut in emulation of Crusader models or salvaged from a Crusader dome of similar size. The cornice is concealed by its lead covering.

The entrance door in the east wall opens into a bright interior, now used as an office for the Mufti of Jerusalem (pl. 8.70). All the lower windows have segmental rear arches set in pointed-arched recesses. The wider, taller middle recesses have moulded arches that terminate at springing level in a strange fashion, as if the arches once formed part of a continuous arcade.

A deep cyma cornice, similar to the external one, defines the top of the side walls. In the zone of transition, eight pointed arches enclose flat panels in the cardinal axes and plain, semicircular squinches in the corners (pl. 8.71). The panel in the north side contains the inscription stela (pl. 8.72)

Pl. 8.66 Canopy of middle window in north side. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.67 West end of the Grammar School. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.68 Looking west from eastern domed chamber. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.69 General view from the southwest in 1854, after Auguste Salzmann, *Jérusalem. Etude et reproduction photographique de la Ville Sainte depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours* 2 vols (1856, Paris), pl. 47 (Photo © Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Pl. 8.70 Interior of west domed chamber. (Photo © Joe Rock)

commemorating the 'foundation of this blessed dome and the construction that adjoins it' with the date 604/1207–08. The panel in the east side contains a carved roundel decorated with an intricate eight-pointed strapwork star interlaced with an eight-lobed rosette (pl. 8.73). The panels in the south and west sides have been removed to allow the later windows to be opened; these windows have been made by removing blocks of stone on the outside with little consideration for their internal symmetry, resulting in their being not quite central in the recesses (see above and pl. 8.71). The arches are moulded on both the faces and the soffits, and extend to hoodmoulds, all analogous to the arches of the Qubbat Sulaiman. Small fluted conches make the transition from octagon to dome, each with a continuous moulding rising over it (pl. 8.74). Flutings in each conch radiate from carved rosettes which appear to be of Crusader workmanship and, if so, the conches are too. The base of the smooth ashlar dome

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Pl. 8.71 West domed chamber zone of transition. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.74 Conch at base of dome. (Photo © Joe Rock)
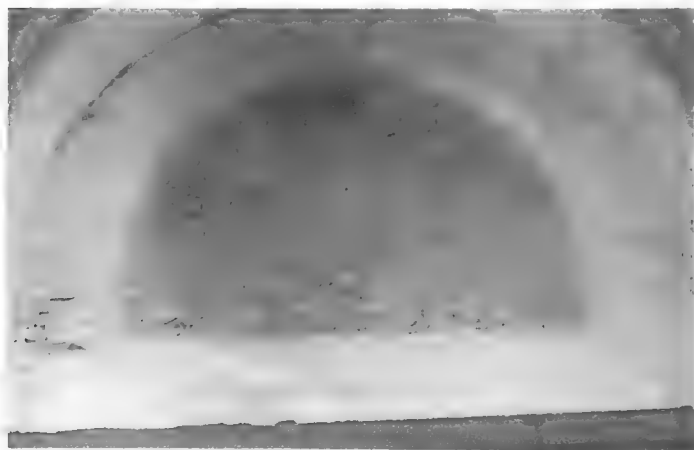
Pl. 8.72 Inscription in north side of zone of transition. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

Pl. 8.75 General view from the north, after Auguste Salzmann, *Jerusalem Etude et reproduction photographique de la Ville Sainte depuis l'epoque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours* 2 vols (1856, Paris, see pl. 8.69), pl. 50. (Photo : Bodleian Library, Oxford)
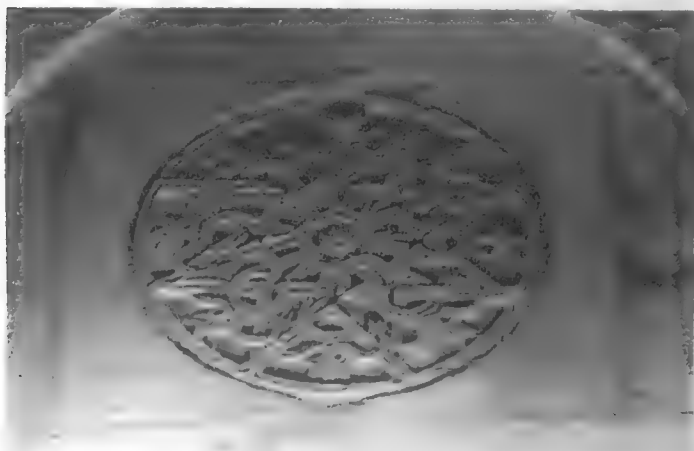
Pl. 8.73 Rosette in east side of zone of transition. (Photo © Joe Rock)

3. The Link Block

The link block has undergone various alterations. These have resulted in a structure which retains few features of its original form, but this can be reconstructed—in part at least –from the descriptions of medieval topographers, and from early photographs (pl. 8.75). Breaks in the masonry coursing at either end show that the link block was built at a different time from the domed chambers. Perhaps for similar, practical reasons (as postulated for the infilling of the arches of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj and the Qubbat Sulaiman after completion of the primary structure), the link block was inserted after the free-standing domes had been completed. The plain decoration of the east elevation of the west domed chamber, masked by the link block, tends to support this inference.

is marked by a quirked ogee moulding. Five square holes in the fifth course up from the bottom of the dome, plugged with stone (pl. 8.71), may be putlog holes used for carrying formwork during the dome's construction.

Pl. 8.76 North wall of link block in 1865, after C Wilson, *Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem. Photographs* [by Sergeant J McDonald] (1865, London), pl. 5b.

In its present form, the link block is divided into three cross-vaulted bays by transverse arches connecting six internal wall piers. A fancy doorway in Ottoman rococo style gives access to the middle bay, and a window in the same style opens to the south in each of the three bays. These are part of late-19th century alterations, perhaps made in preparation for the visit to Jerusalem of the German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm, in 1898.

Traces of an earlier structure with four arches opening in the north wall can be seen in old photographs of that wall (pls 8.75 and 76). The two middle arches were supported by intertwined double columns, the more elaborate of which al-ʿUmari describes as being 'composed of four individual parts, coiled like a serpent,' and plain columns at the ends of the two outer arches.[32] Two of the elaborately coiled columns have been re-used in the present entrance doorway (pl. 8.77) while the gently intertwined shaft of the central column was stored, until recently at least, in a collection of architectural fragments located outside the entrance door of the former Women's Mosque. A smaller column built into the west end of the north wall (pl. 8.78) belongs to a later, Ottoman fountain that once stood there (see below, Mahmoud Hawari, Chapter 12, p. 223). Al-ʿUmari calls the link block a 'portico' *(riwaq)*, even though the arches were built up by his day except for two doors, one in the second arch from the right (west), and one in the easternmost bay. The doors can be seen in pl. 8.75. The wall now has a modern moulded cornice continuing over the east domed chamber to meet an earlier cornice on the south wall of that chamber (pl. 8.63). Three windows in the south wall, visible in early photographs (pl. 8.69), have plain rectangular openings, the easternmost being a double window with a stone balcony, a broken stub of which survives in the present wall (pl. 8.63). The south wall also has a recent cornice. Of the gilded Syrian ceiling of thirteen 'squares' *(murabba')*

Pl. 8.77 Entrance to link block. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

Pl. 8.78 North elevation. (Photo © Joe Rock)

described by al-ʿUmari,[33] nothing survives; if, as seems likely, this ceiling was of timber—perhaps consisting of two rows of six coffers each and a 'central' thirteenth one—under a flat

[32] Al-ʿUmari, 1924, 145–46.

[33] The '13 square *dhira*s' [= 6.5m² (13 x 0.7m x 0.7m)] as some translations have it, is unlikely since the dimensions al-ʿUmari gives for the link block are 18.5 *dhira* long and 6 wide, an area of 54.4 m².
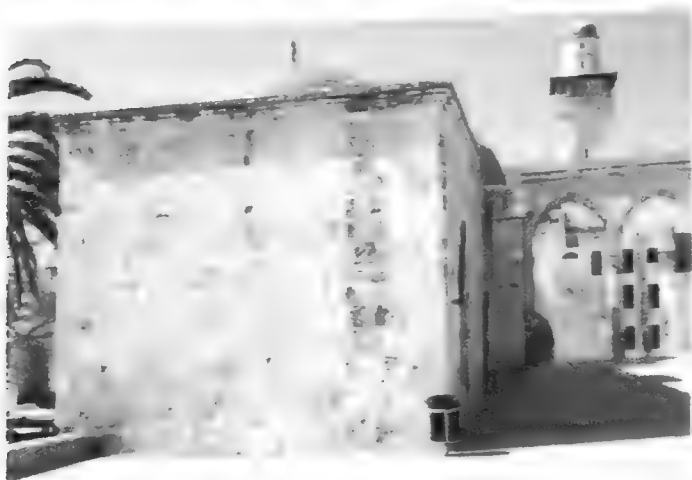
Pl. 8.79 East elevation. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

Pl. 8.81 South wall of east domed chamber. (Photo © Joe Rock)

Pl. 8.80 Looking east from link block to east domed chamber. (Photo © Joe Rock)

wooden roof, it may well have decayed relatively rapidly in Jerusalem's weather of wet winter months and not infrequent earthquakes. In fact, a pilgrim from Spain in about 738/1338 recorded an inscription commemorating the restoration of a ceiling in the building in 719/1319.[34]

Pl. 8.82 Window in south wall of east domed chamber. (Photo © Joe Rock)

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[34] A S Tritton 1959, 537–39.

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4. The East Domed Chamber

According to al-ʿUmari the east domed chamber served as a residence for the *imam* and the caretaker *(qayyim)* of the place, and as a store for oil.[35] It is aligned differently from the other parts of the building (see pl. 8.79). This may be explained by its position at the southwest corner of the Umayyad upper terrace whose alignment was not followed exactly by al-Muʿazzam's portico, nor by the west domed chamber and link block above it. The general form of the east chamber is typically Ottoman: a simple stone cube with a shallow dome on plain pendentives (see pl. 8.80) and a double window in the south wall with ogee fretwork over the outer lintels (pl. 8.81) and ogee rear arches surmounted by a recess containing a circular window with six panes of stained glass arranged in a floral pattern (pl. 8.82). The rococo doorway in the north wall is obviously contemporary with that in the link block. If the present chamber is Ottoman, there is some evidence of the one described by al-ʿUmari merely as 'smaller' or 'finer' *(altaf)* than the other [west] one. The present east chamber is indeed smaller than the west one, and it may share the footprint of an earlier one. A double-arched opening with a central column in the west side of the chamber, uncovered when the wall blocking it was removed during recent repairs, appears to belong to an earlier phase of construction than the link block which partly obscures it (pl. 8.80), implying that the link block—in its present form at least—was built against the east chamber. It is hard to guess when this arched opening was built. If it existed in the 14th century we might have expected al-ʿUmari to have mentioned it even though he makes no reference to any other entrance to the east chamber. Of course, the wall removed in the recent repairs might already have obscured the arch at that time. The architecture holds few clues: the arches are pointed, the marble column has a plain base and its bulbous cushion capital, while quite unusual, has no obvious parallel and may be the result of its original decoration having been effaced. A faint clue may be found, however, in the remains of a cavetto moulding beside the southern springing of the southern arch (pl. 8.68). A short length of analogous moulding survives in better condition about half-way up the outside of the south wall of this chamber (pl. 8.81), and a break in the masonry coursing below this moulding indicates that the south wall of the chamber incorporates remains of an earlier wall capped by a cavetto cornice.

This fragment of earlier wall at the southwest corner of the Umayyad upper terrace may be remains of a 'fence *(darafazin)*' around that terrace that Nasir-i Khusrau proceeds

Pl. 8.83 Carved birds between the volutes of a reused double capital at the entrance to the Grammar School. (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

to describe as 'forming an enclosure *(hazira)*' and 'beautifully made of marble.'[36] While Nasir-i Khusrau goes on to elaborate that the marble slabs are all green, with dots [in all colours], the possibility that the surviving early masonry belongs to a corner feature in the fence, perhaps a domed chamber, need not be discounted. Such a domed structure of unknown date once stood at the southeast corner of the terrace, described by al-ʿUmari as 'a small dome, whitewashed on the outside, a cell [used by] some of the leaders in the Haram al-Sharif, its entrance door opens to the north and windows in the other three sides overlook the Haram.' Mujir al-Din refers to a Dome of the Scroll (Qubbat al-Tumar) at the southeast corner of the upper terrace. It no longer survives.[37] Evidence of structures at the other corners of the upper terrace is lacking except for buttressing at the northeast corner, similar to that at the southwest corner described above (note 24).

The Market of Knowledge

As an appendix to our discussion of the Nahawiyya, we might recall the 'Market of Knowledge' (Suq al-Maʿrifa) that stood near the southeast corner of the Haram until it was demolished towards the end of the 19th century. Its form was similar to that of the Nahawiyya—two domed chambers linked by a portico—but its date of construction is unknown. According to Mujir al-Din, it was assigned by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa as a place of prayer *(musalla)* to followers of the Hanbali rite.[38] A chapel dedicated to St Simeon was built by the Crusaders in

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[35] Elsewhere (p. 164) al-ʿUmari states that oil was stored in the substructure beneath the east chamber. I was told that a hatch in the floor of the substructure under the link block gives access to a storage tank formerly used for olive oil for the lamps of the Haram.

[36] The word *rukham* 'marble' was occasionally used by medieval authors when referring to smooth or polished limestone such as the masonry of this surviving fragment of wall. No other trace of this 'fence' is known to survive.

[37] Al-ʿUmari, *op. cit.* (note 2), 147; Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali 1973, vol 2, 23.

[38] Jarrar 1998, 71-100.

Pl. 8.84 Collection of columns (at top of nearer left-hand wall) exposed in 2000 during excavations at the southeast corner of the Haram (Photo Michael H Burgoyne)

this corner of the Haram.[39] It is tempting to suppose that al-Mu'azzam adapted another existing structure to Muslim use by adding a second dome and a portico, as we have tentatively surmised at the Nahawiyya above, as it were incorporating an ancient shrine, however poorly understood, into the new sacred landscape of the Haram. If so, it seems likely that the roof of the chapel was replaced with a new dome, for old photographs show two more or less identical—and presumably contemporaneous—ashlar domes raised on moulded cornices and circular drums not dissimilar to the west dome of the Nahawiyya.

The 'Alley of Kissing'

The present southwest stair to the upper terrace and its arcade beside the Nahawiyya were built in the reign of Sultan Qa'itbay by the amir Nasir al-Din al-Nashashibi in 877/1472.[40] Before

that there was, according to al-'Umari, in front of the north windows of the west dome of the Nahawiyya at a distance of about seven *dhira'* (3.50m), a vaulted passage with 17 steps, each one *dhira'* (0.70m) wide, which gave access down to the Haram esplanade. From this description we may conclude that the vaulted passage descended from west to east in the area to the north of the inner series of cross vaults (fig. 8.8) of the portico below the Nahawiyya, an area that was inaccessible at the time of our survey. Mujir al-Din tells us that this passage was known as the 'Alley of Kissing' (Zuqaq al-Bus), a name that may be explained by its narrowness (0.70m), which will have made it impossible for those passing on the stairs to avoid close contact.

Conclusion

One of the striking features of these buildings is the quality of their construction. While the Ayyubid masons were occasionally reduced to somewhat rough-and-ready measures when re-using marble sculpture in new buildings, they were capable of cutting and dressing stone with great skill, producing finely-jointed masonry rivalling the high standards of their Frankish predecessors. Ashlar dome construction, for example, calls for special skills to cope with the complex three-dimensional profiles involved.[41] Most if not all domes in Ayyubid Jerusalem were built of smooth ashlars and all, with the exception of the pendentive dome in the Aqsa Mosque porch, rest on transition zones with squinches in the corners and shallow arches in the sides. There was, besides the ones in the Haram, another at the tomb of Shaikh Darbas and at the Afdaliyya Madrasa (demolished in 1967).[42] In other parts of the Ayyubid realm, domes were built differently, implying that the builders of the Jerusalem structures, in the early years of the 13th century at least, were locally based.

While the Ayyubid conquerors of Jerusalem would not tolerate overtly Christian buildings in the Haram, they clearly admired the sculpture used in their construction. It is remarkable that in reinstating shrines commemorating the Prophet and His Ascension, for example, or 'Solomon's Throne', it was deemed appropriate to make use of material taken from Crusader buildings or stoneyards. Indeed, such was the appreciation of Crusader sculpture that even figural representations that might have been expected to offend Muslim sensibilities were re-used, occasionally without defacement (pl. 8.83).

[39] Pringle, forthcoming.
[40] Burgoyne and Richards 1987, 570-71

[41] The difficulties in building and repairing ashlar domes are discussed in an unpublished report prepared in 1973 by Nicholas Halaby, 'Ashlar Masonry Dome Construction: Case Study of the Dome of the Katholikon Church of the Holy Sepulchre Jerusalem' a copy of which may be found in the library of the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem. See also Harvey1935.
[42] Burgoyne and Richards 1987, pl. 9.
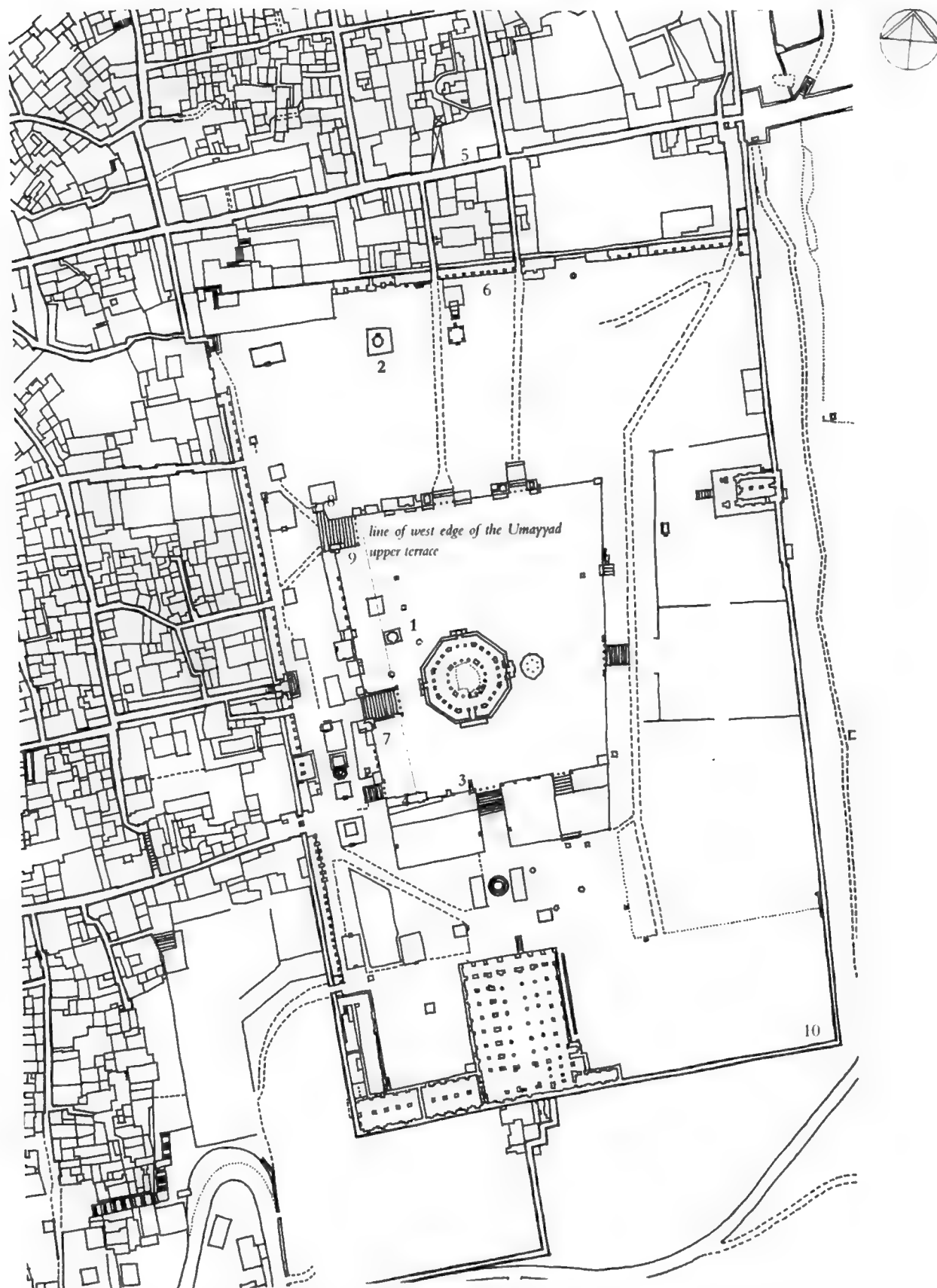
Fig. 8.10 Plan of Haram showing location of buildings discussed in the text.
1. Qubbat al-Miʿraj (597/1200-01) 2. Qubbat Sulaiman 3. Qubbat al-Mizan 4. Grammar School (604/1207-08) 5. Muʿazzamiyya Madrasa (endowed 606/1209-10, completed 614/1214-17) 6. North Portico (610/1213-14) 7. Sahrij (607/1210-11) 8. Sabil Shaʿlan (613/1213-14)
9. Maudiʿ al-Khidr 10. Market of Knowledge

Where that sculpture came from has not been determined. The location of the Frankish stoneyards and sculptural workshops is not known.[43] Crusader buildings outside the Haram tended to be converted to new uses with little alteration except for the provision of a *mihrab*. The Latin sources testify to a number of buildings erected by the Crusaders in the Haram, including the Templars' church to the west of the Aqsa Mosque and conventual buildings of the Augustinian canons somewhere to the north of the Dome of the Rock. These buildings no longer survive and must have been demolished as part of the intensive 'cleansing' process following the recapture. If the sculpture reused by the Ayyubids and their successors in and around the Haram comes from these buildings, they must

have been extraordinarily lavish in their decoration. We may infer, also, that they were not demolished truculently but rather carefully dismantled, allowing the sculpture and perhaps other building materials to be salvaged.[44]

Structures like the rostrum *(dikka)* in the Aqsa Mosque and *mihrabs* in the Aqsa and the Dome of the Rock are built almost entirely of salvaged Crusader sculpture, yet they serve specifically Muslim purposes and there can be no doubting that they were erected by Muslim, not Christian, builders. This, and the other arguments made in this chapter, allow us to propound the paradoxical principle that, for structures in and around the Haram, the more Crusader sculpture they contain, the more likely they are to be Ayyubid.

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[43] Arguments in favour of a 'Temple Area Workshop' in the Haram are circular, given that almost all Crusader sculpture in the Haram is in re-use.

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[44] Storage of the salvaged material must have posed problems for the dismantlers. An Ayyubid inscription, now in the outer face of the east wall of the Haram, probably not in its original location, states that 'This place encloses building stones placed [here] for the needs of the noble Haram' (Burgoyne, in Auld and Hillenbrand 2002 487). Intriguingly, recent major excavation—not recorded scientifically—in the southeast corner of the Haram revealed a cache of buried columns that might be some of the 'stones' referred to in this inscription (pl. 8.84). The place of their secretion must have been lost over time, possibly following repairs to the Haram wall, for it is likely that they would have been used had their presence been known.

Chapter 9
AYYUBID ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS AND THEIR NORTH JAZIRAN AND ᶜABBASID NEIGHBOURS

Anna Contadini

Our concern here is primarily with manuscript production attributed to Syria and Egypt from the late 12th century (Saladin [Salah al-Din], already in control of Egypt, took most of Syria around 1174) until the mid-13th (the end of Ayyubid power marked by the rise of the Mamluks in Egypt in 1250, and the Mongol invasion of Syria in 1260). The Ayyubid period was thus brief, but its political history was nevertheless complex, marked by internal rivalries, shifting alliances in the face of different external threats, and only intermittently successful attempts to subdue the Zangids and Artuqids in the North Jazira.[1] As a result we encounter a patchwork of competing dynasties in the Mardin-Sinjar-Mosul quadrant, so that it is sometimes difficult to determine whether or not a manuscript from this area was produced under the aegis of an Ayyubid ruler.

Exactly what might count as an Ayyubid manuscript, even when the provenance is known, is thus not always easy to determine. But matters are further complicated by the fact that the provenance of manuscripts of this period is often uncertain, and in any case there remains the fundamental question of exactly what might be the art-historical consequence of being able to employ the label 'Ayyubid' in relation to them. At one level this is part of the more fundamental problem of choosing appropriate taxonomies for the productive study of pre-modern Arabic manuscripts. Some scholars do indeed advocate dynastic groupings as the most useful, but while this approach may work for later periods, such as the Ottoman or Safavid, an emphasis on dynastic affiliations seems somehow unhelpful, if not potentially misleading, when dealing with a period in which patterns of patronage are often obscure and

undocumented, and the material itself does not yield relevant information. In fact, many of the manuscripts to be considered here not only fail to mention a patron, but also have no date and/or do not indicate geographical provenance.

At another level one might observe that Ayyubid rule was too short-lived and insufficiently cohesive to allow any distinctive set of conventions to emerge that might give the term significance other than as a chronological indicator. It would thus be prudent to begin by assuming that to define something as Ayyubid is in the first instance no more than a dating convention of limited usefulness. However, it implies at least reference to certain stylistic distinctions, for it is in part by appeal to these that scholars have sought to solve the problems of attribution that surround many early 13th-century illustrated Arabic manuscripts. Such differences imply in their turn lines of demarcation between what is, or is likely to be, Ayyubid, and what is better defined in other terms, so that the following discussion also provides a brief account of contemporary materials that may preferably be termed North Jaziran (Artuqid or Zangid), or that have been assigned to the so-called 'Baghdad school'. It is hoped that the coverage is sufficient for adequate characterisation of these various groupings, but while the discussion includes the major illustrated manuscripts, it should be stressed that what follows is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of all extant materials; this will best be done in a planned monograph.

Ayyubid manuscripts

In contrast to Baghdad and North Jaziran examples, there are manuscripts that exhibit facial types, postures and features of dress that connect them closely with Byzantine iconography and style. Because of this, they are generally considered to have been produced in Syria or Egypt, so that the designation Ayyubid appears appropriate. To this group belong the 1222

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[1] For an overview of this complicated period, see C Hillenbrand 1985.

Maqamat (B.N. arabe 6094)[2] (pls XXIV, 9.2-4) and the *Kalila wa Dimna* of *ca* 1200-1220 (B.N. arabe 3465) which is very similar[3] (pls XXVI, XXVII, 9.5), both of which have features in common with the 1180 Damietta Gospel Book[4] (pls XXIX, XXX) and another Coptic New Testament dated 1249-50[5] (pl. XXVIII). These relate above all to the postures of the human figures and often to the delineation of faces, while the *Kalila wa Dimna* in addition shares identical landscape features with the Gospel Book, and also includes Coptic glosses.

Taken together, these elements would seem to point to Egypt, and presumably Cairo, as the place of origin, and the *Maqamat* and *Kalila wa Dimna* have indeed been ascribed to Ayyubid Cairo.[6] However, Syrian production has been more frequently suggested—by Buchthal, Ettinghausen and Grube for the *Kalila wa Dimna*,[7] and by Buchthal, Ettinghausen, and Holter for the *Maqamat*, the latter opting specifically for

Damascus.[8] This preference may relate in part to Buchthal's conclusion that the Damietta Gospel Book has more in common with Syrian Christian manuscripts than with Cairene ones.[9] There is, however, the further complication that Buchthal hypothesises production in a minor Saljuq centre in North Jazira or Syria,[10] which would somewhat undermine the argument for a reasonably neat geographical distinction between eastern manuscripts with Saljuq affiliations produced in the North Jazira and Baghdad, and western manuscripts with Byzantine affiliations produced in Ayyubid Egypt and Syria. But, of course, contrasting styles do not necessarily point to different centres of production.

Given such general lack of certainty it is inevitable that in the following discussion problems of attribution and stylistic affiliation will recur, even if it concentrates on material for which there is a consensus that Egypt and Syria are the most likely centres of production. It begins, however, with the one manuscript that is incontrovertibly Ayyubid, albeit one that by virtue of its unique subject matter and visual style can hardly serve as a reference point for others.

Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub (A Manual on Warfare)*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264. Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin (pls XVII-XXIII).[11]

To the best of my knowledge, this is the only illustrated manuscript that can be called Ayyubid in the specific sense that it was made for one of the Ayyubid rulers. It is a treatise on arms and armour by Murda ibn ʿAli ibn Murda al-Tarsusi,[12] illustrated by fourteen striking miniatures and thirteen diagrams (giving a total of twenty-seven visual aids), and datable to the late 12th century. In the introduction it is dedicated to Saladin and at the end there is an inscription referring to Saladin's library. The text starts on fol. 2v (or 5v of the modern pagination in Western numerals) with the *basmala*, and we find the first mention of Saladin on fol. 3v (6v): 'Subduer of the power of the cross, al-Salah al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims, Abu'l-Muzaffar Yusuf ibn Ayyub, the restorer of the Caliph's dominion *(qamiʿ ʿabadat / al-sultan Salah al-Dunya wa 'l-Din sultan al-islam wa'l-muslimin / Abu 'l-Muzaffar Yusuf ibn Ayyub muhyi daulat amir al-muʾminin)*' (pl.

2   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094; see Blochet 1925, 185; Blochet 1926, 54-5 and pls IV-V; Holter 1937b, 11 no. 25; *Arts de l'Iran* 1938, 110-112; Buchthal 1940, 126-33 and figs. 1, 3, 6, 9, 13-14, 16-17, 19, 22, 29, 32, 37, 40, and 43; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 151 no. 25; Rice 1959, 215-18 and pl. VIa; Ettinghausen 1962, 79-80 and col. pl. on p. 79; James 1977, 15; Grabar 1984, 8-9 no. 2, and subsequent references in discussions of individual *maqamat*; Nassar 1985, 85, 86, 88, 92, 94 and fig. 4; New York 1997, 418-29 no. 287, and col. pl. on p. 429; Hunt 1998a, 271-73 and figs. 27-29; Hunt 1998b, 149 and fig. 8; A Vernay-Nouri in Paris 2001, no. 97; *L'Orient de Saladin*, col. pls on pp. 88 and 196.

3   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465; see de Slane 1883-95, 603; Blochet 1926, 55-6 and pls VI-VII; Holter 1937b, 11 no. 26; De Lorey 1938, 28, n. 31; Buchthal 1940, 128-33 and figs. 23, 24, 27-28, 30-31, 33-36, 38-39, 41-42, 44, 46; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 151 no. 26; Ettinghausen 1962, 61 and col. pls on pp 62 and 63; Müller 1979, which includes several reproductions of the miniatures; Nassar 1985, 86, 88, 92, 94, 96 and fig. 4; Grube 1990-91, 360 no. 1, 374 no. 1; Grube 1991, 43 and figs. 10, 15, 18, 24, 35, 61; Raby 1991, 26-8 and figs 10, 15, 18, 24; Rizkallah 1991; Paris 2001, 113 with two col. illustrations and 132 no. 95 (entry by A Vernay-Nouri); Hunt 1998a, 271-73 and figs 30-3; Hunt 1998b, 131-32, 149; O'Kane 2003, 218, Appendix 1. Holter 1937b, 11 no. 26, suggests that the manuscript is a Mamluk production of the 14th century. It appears to have been the prototype for a copy produced in the 17th century (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 3470), perhaps in Cairo. Grube 1990-91, 360 no. 1, 366 no. 80, 400 no. 80.

4   Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, copte 13. One of the three frontispieces is detached and in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, inv. no. 55.11; see Leroy 1974, 113-48 nos XVI and XVII, col. pls C and D and b/w figs. 41-73. See also Blochet 1926, 51 and pl. I; Buchthal 1940, 132-33 and figs. 45, 47-48; Nassar 1985, 94 and fig. 4; Hoffman 1993, 8-9 and fig. 8a-b; A Weyl Carr in New York 1997, 380-81, no. 251; Hunt 1998b, 115-57 and figs. 1-3; A Vernay-Nouri in Paris 2001, 131 no. 94.

5   This New Testament manuscript is now divided into the Gospels, which are in Paris, Institut Catholique, Ms. copte-arabe 1; and the Pauline and Catholic Epistles and Acts, which are in Cairo, Coptic Museum, M. Bibl. 94. See Leroy 1974, 157-74 no. XXI, col. pls E, F, G, and figs. 75-91; and Leroy 1974, 174-77 no. XXII, figs. 93-5 respectively. See also Rizkalla 1991, 105-7 and 111-12; Hunt 1998a, 248-79 and figs. 7-16; Hunt 1998c, 13-14; Hunt 1998c, 13-14.

6   Hunt 1998a, 271-73, 279; Hunt 1998c, 159.

7   Buchthal 1940, 131; Ettinghausen 1962, 61; Grube 1990-1, 374 no. 1; Grube 1991, 43.

8   Holter 1937b, 11 no. 25; Buchthal 1940, 131; Ettinghausen 1962, 79. James has likewise argued that the 1222 *Maqamat* was produced in Syria, on the evidence, he says, of 'the pronounced Byzantine character of the illustrations'; James 1977, 15.

9   Buchthal 1940, 132-33.

10 Buchthal 1940, 131. An attribution of the 1222 *Maqamat* and the roughly contemporaneous *Kalila wa Dimna* to a Jaziran centre of production is also favoured by Nassar 1985, 85, 97.

11 See Uri 1787, 102 no. CCCLXXI.

12 For a reading of the name Murda as Murdi, see Brockelmann *GAL* I, 495.
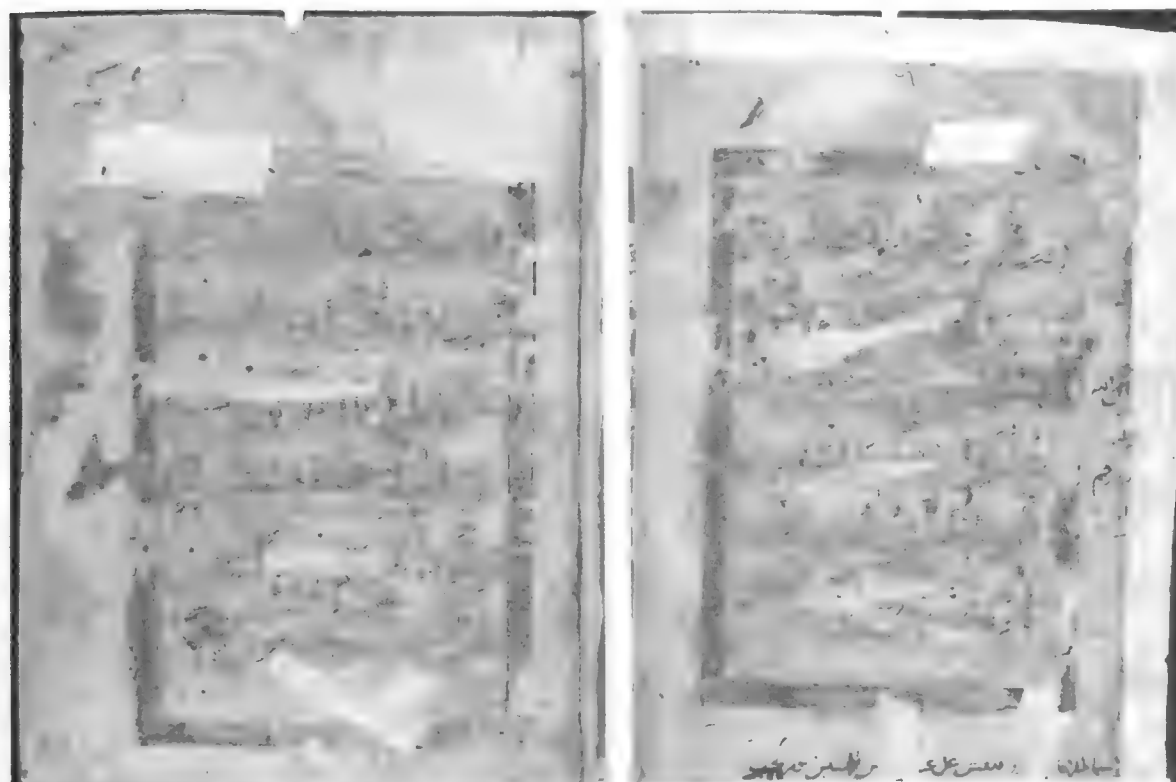
Pl. 9.1 Ibn Murda al-Tarsusi, *al-Tabsira fi 'l-Hurub* ('Manual on warfare'), Egypt or Syria, late 12th century, for the library of Saladin. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Huntington 264, ff. 208v-209r. Double finispiece, verso and recto.

XVII). At the end of the manuscript, on fol. 208v (213v) it is also stated that the manuscript was made for the library of Saladin: *bi-rasm khizanat al-malik al-nasir ... Salah al-Dunya wa'l-Din* (pl. 9.1).

Cahen notes that the introduction relates the text to the wars against the infidel (but whether before or after the capture of Jerusalem is not stated), but that otherwise nothing is known of the author, although the fact that the text is partly couched in the form of questions addressed to a known Alexandrian armourer, Abu'l-Hasan ibn al-Abraqi al-Iskandarani (on folios 77v, 87v, 89v, 97r, 105r, 111v, 128v), is another clear pointer to Egypt, and Cahen assumes that al-Tarsusi himself lived in Alexandria.[13]

If it were not for the reference to it in the colophon of the manuscript, the very existence of Saladin's library would be difficult to substantiate, and its whereabouts are unknown. Sources mention do not mention an Ayyubid royal library; on the contrary, it is recorded that Saladin was responsible for disbanding the celebrated palace library of the Fatimids, selling off or destroying most of its vast collection,[14] which is

said to have comprised well over a million and a half books.[15] Between 100,000 and 120,000 of these are recorded as having been either sold or bequeathed by Saladin to his chancellor, al-Qadi al-Fadil, a famed bibliophile who amassed an enormous number of books as spoils from the cities that had been conquered by the Ayyubids.[16] Al-Fadil's collection—with the remnants of the Fatimid royal library at its core—became part of the Fadiliyya *madrasa* that he founded in Cairo in 580/1184-5.[17] This institution appears to have constituted the largest and most important library in the Ayyubid empire—a reflection, it has been argued, of the rise at this time of the *madrasa* system as a buttress of Sunni orthodoxy.[18]

15. Ibn Abi Tayyi', as recorded in al-Maqrizi, reports that the Fatimid library held twelve hundred copies of al-Tabari's *Ta'rikh* alone, in addition to around 1,600,000 other books; Walker 1997, 196.

16. Pinto 1929, 217, 238; Stellhorn Mackensen 1934-35, 99-100; Eche 1967, 249-52; Heffening and Pearson 1991, 198. Among other sources for al-Fadil's collection was the library of the city of Diyarbakr (Amid), which Saladin took from the Artuqids in 579/1183. From it he appropriated a vast number of volumes, estimates ranging from 150,000 to the extraordinary figure of 1,040,000. Stellhorn Mackensen 1934-35, 99; Ward 1985, 78. The numbers given for the books appropriated by al-Fadil differ wildly in the sources and are often exaggerated. See Eche 1967, 251, 252-53 and 251 n. 3.

17. Pinto 1929, 225; Stellhorn Mackensen 1934-35, 99; Eche 1967, 252-54; Heffening and Pearson 1991, 198; Walker 1997, 196.

18. Stellhorn Mackensen 1934-35, 100; Eche 1967, 393-97; Walker 1997, 196. The library of the Fadiliyya *madrasa* was itself dispersed not long after its inception, so that by the time of al-Maqrizi (1364-1442), it was no longer in existence. It is recorded that the books were gradually stolen, and those

13. Cahen 1948, 103. Boudot-Lamotte, 33, points out that the author's *nisba*, al-Tarsusi, seems to indicate that he came from Tarsus in Syria. But this tells us nothing about the place of production, and at the moment a Cairene provenance seems more likely

14. The books not destroyed or given to al-Fadil are said to have been sold off at public auction over a period of ten years, Pedersen and Makdisi 1986, 1125, Pinto 1929, 238, Stellhorn Mackensen 1934-35, 99-100, Walker 1997, 196.

Significant as it was, however, the Fadiliyya library could hardly have been what is meant by the colophon of the manual. There is, then, considerable uncertainty surrounding this reference to a royal Ayyubid library. Nevertheless, the high quality of the manuscript's illustrations, script and paper is consonant with a royal commission, and we may therefore conclude that the work was indeed most probably produced at Saladin's behest for his own collection of books.

The miniatures are richly decorated drawings of the various arms and war machines discussed in the text (pls XVIII-XXIII). They are placed within the relevant page and drawn without frame or background or any narrative element. They are, however, beautifully decorated with geometrical and vegetal patterns, mostly of small scrolls or interlacing patterns and predominantly in gold, red and blue. The drawings themselves are quite elaborate and show well the various parts of the weapon in question, but they do not constitute explanatory drawings of how a weapon is constructed.

The manuscript has a new binding preserving older covers in brown morocco with gold tooling, has no flap, and has 209 folios plus flyleaves. The measurements (with the binding) are: height 25.5cm x 19cm; page height 24.6cm x 18.3cm; text area (which is not framed) *ca* height 18.3cm x 13cm. Margins have been trimmed or repaired. The script is a fine *naskh*, in black ink, of a type associated with manuscripts of the 12th century, 11 lines to the page, punctuated by rosettes of gold petals with red and blue dots around, similar to those commonly found later, in Mamluk manuscripts (pls XVIII, XIX, XXII). When a section ends and a new *fasl* begins, the rosette is more elaborate and bigger, with a gold flower in the middle, and a blue button in the centre of the flower, on a background of red varnish on gold, and blue dots, or sometimes spiky blue elements outside the rosette (pl. XIX).

The manuscript opens (fol. 1r, or 4r of the modern pagination in Western numerals) with a gold-framed cartouche with a big marginal rosette, the whole surrounded by a thin blue frame with the title of the manuscript in gold letters outlined by light black ink.

Fols 1v and 2r (4v and 5r) again have the title of the manuscript (fol. 1v) and the name of the author (fol. 2r): Murda ibn ʿAli ibn Murda al-Tarsusi (pl. XVII). The text is written in gold letters outlined in light black ink. The text on the double spread is framed (height 17.8cm x 12.5cm) on both folios with a gold interlacing pattern with an inner band

of dots in gold, blue and red (which has become brownish) and an outer thin blue frame which also surrounds the two marginal rosettes at either side. The background of the text is also illuminated with ink, brownish thin lines creating 'clouds' around the words.

The text is divided into the following sections (folio numbers are those of the more correct Arabic pagination, even though the following groups of pages have been misplaced—127v goes to 131r, 133v to 128r, 130v to 134r):

Fol. 1r: Title of the book in gold letters within a cartouche *al-tabsira fi 'l-hurub (Manual on Warfare)*.
Fol. 1v-2r: Double frontispiece again with the title of the book, and the name of the author (pl. XVII).
Fol. 3v: Dedication and mention of Saladin.
Fol. 8v: Sword *(saif)*, no miniature.
Fol. 27r: Bow *(qaus)* (5 miniatures, on fols 82r, 82v, 84v, 89r, 91r; pls XVIII, XIX).
Fol. 96r: Lances *(rimah)* (2 miniatures, on fols 97v, 99v; pl. XX).
Fol. 107r: Shields *(atras)* (1 miniature, on fol. 112v; pl. XXI of shielded crossbow).
Fol. 113r: Armour *(dunʿ)*
Fol. 119r: Clubs and maces *(al-latt, al-ʿamud, al-dabbus)*.
Fol. 125r: Mangonels *(al-manjaniqat)* (4 miniatures, on fols 128r, 129v-130r, 132r, 133; pl. XXII)
Fol. 134r: Battering rams, towers and shelters *(al-dabbabat, al-abraj, al-sata'ir)* (1 miniature, on fol. 136v of protective net; pl. XXIII).
Fol. 137v: Triangles *(muthallathat)*(1 miniature made of 6 elements, on fol. 138v).
Fol. 139r: Naphta *(nafut)*.
Fol. 148v: Burning mirrors *(al-maraya al-muhriqa)* (13 diagrams, on fols 163r, 164r, 165r, 169r, 171v, 172v, 176r, 178r, 182v, 183r, 184v, 186r, 187v).
Fol. 192v-197v: Qur'anic verses inciting *jihad*.
Fol. 205v: Conclusion.
Fols 208v-209r: Double finispiece with the inscription referring to the 'Library of Salah al-Din' (pl. 9.1).

Al-Hariri, *Maqamat (Assemblies)*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094 (pls 9.2-4).[19]

This splendid *Maqamat* is dated 619/1222 and has been attributed to Syria. It has a rather large format: book size 31cm x 26cm x 5.5cm, page *ca* 29cm x 21.5cm, with 13 lines to the page, written surface *ca* 23.5cm x 17cm. It contains 187 folios and 39 miniatures. These occupy a large proportion of the page, measuring between 14cm x 20.5cm (fol. 139r) and

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that remained were sold off by the students of the *madrasa* for food during the famine of 694/1294-5; Pinto 1929, 225; Stellhorn Mackensen 99; Eche 1967, 254. Another Ayyubid chancellor, the writer Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn al-Qifti (1172-1248), is also recorded as having had an important library, this time located in Aleppo. Upon his death, his collection passed by his will to the Ayyubid ruler of that city, al-Nasir II (r. 634-58/1237-60). Pinto 1929, 217; Murray 1994, 37, 161. For Saladin's patronage of *madrasas*, see Pedersen and Makdisi 1986, 1127.

19 See note 2.

Pl. 9.2 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), Egypt or Syria, 619/1222. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094, f. 13r. Al-Harith overhears Abu Zaid talking with his son as their caravan rests for the night (fourth *maqama*).

Pl. 9.3 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), Egypt or Syria, 619/1222. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094, f. 147r. Abu Zaid addresses an assembly in Najran (forty-second *maqama*).

18.2cm x 21.2cm (fol. 68r). The pages are very damaged and the borders have been restored, so that it is difficult to establish the exact size of the original.

The script is a beautiful *naskh* in black ink, with gold titles and many red rubrics. Some of the miniatures have been retouched, repainted, and inpainted at a later date. As with the al-Tarsusi manuscript, the miniatures are drawn without frames, and the paper serves as background. The palette is quite rich, with various shades of green, red, pink, white, blue, brown, gold, yellow, light blue and black. All the figures have a red outline.

The manuscript lacks *incipit* and colophon, but its date is given in two miniatures. One on fol. 68r contains a minute 'Kufic' inscription in white against the black body of the representation of a boat, and reads: '*umila sanat tis' 'ashra wa sittimi'a*'/'made in the year 619' (pl. XXIV). This folio (29cm x 23cm, miniature 18.2cm x 21.2cm) is part of the twenty-second *maqama* (*al-furatiyya*). The other inscription is on fol. 167r, this time in black ink on white paint (pl. 9.4); it is purposely not very accomplished, indeed, an appropriately childish hand, on the writing tablet of one of the children represented. It gives the same date of AH 619, and reads: '*umila fi sanat tis' 'ashra wa sittimi'a*. This miniature is part of the forty-sixth *maqama* (*al-halabiyya*). In the same miniature, another of

Pl. 9.4 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), Egypt or Syria, 619/1222. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 6094, 167r. Abu Zaid and al-Harith listening to children in a classroom (forty-sixth *maqama*).
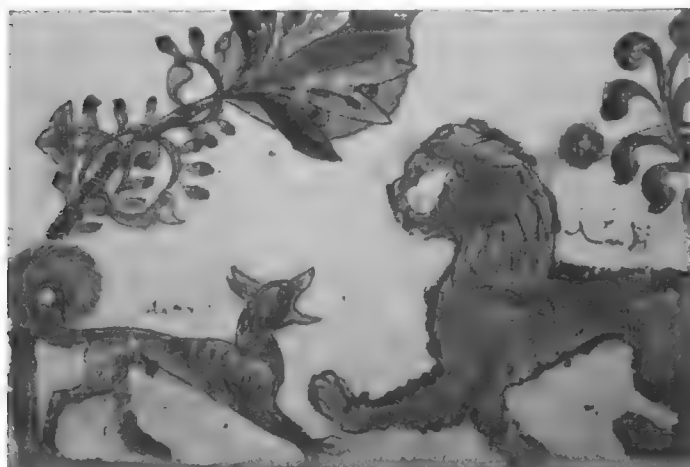
Pl. 9.5 Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kalila wa Dimna*, Egypt or Syria, *ca* 1220. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465, f. 49v. Dimna and the Lion.

the children's tablets contains a further inscription which says *ta/mma/ hadha al-kitab fi 'asharat ayyam*—'this book was finished in ten days.' This is puzzling, for it seems most unlikely that such a big and heavily illustrated manuscript could have been completed in such a short time.

Rice put forward the hypothesis that AH 619 is the date of the manuscript from which this particular one was copied, arguing that 'on paleographic grounds alone and for many stylistic details it seems to belong to the third quarter of the thirteenth century rather than the first.'[20] But he does not offer any further explanation. There is no evidence that the dates are later additions and it seems to me that the style of script, the book format, the style and size of the miniatures all point to an early 13th-century date. There is no good reason, in short, to query 619/1222 as the date of the manuscript.

We are, however, given no indication of where it was made. In 1933 De Lorey included it in his discussion of manuscripts belonging to the 'School of Baghdad'[21] but the relationship of its miniatures to Byzantine manuscripts is well established and, as noted above, Buchthal has hypothesised a provenance from a northern Syrian/Anatolian centre where 'direct contact with Christian art was frequent and easy. This would point to one of the minor courts of the local Seljuk princes in Syria or Asia Minor.'[22] He puts forward two main points in support: similarities of the (rather stylised) architectonic features in the manuscript with the contemporary architecture of northern Syria and Saljuq Asia Minor;[23] and similarities with the 1180 Damietta Gospel Book (pls XXIX, XXX), a manuscript which, according to him, has very little in common with earlier Coptic art, its miniatures being very reminiscent of those in manuscripts from early Byzantine times

produced in Syria or Asia Minor.[24] But the second argument fails to convince; the point at issue is not the iconographical source but the place of production, and, if anything, similarities with a manuscript produced in Damietta would suggest an Egyptian rather than a Syrian provenance. Indeed, Hunt has argued that the similarities shared by the manuscript with both the Damietta Gospel Book and the 1249-50 New Testament (col. pl. 9.1) make an attribution to Egypt—and specifically to Cairo—more than likely.[25] It is, however, possible to suggest that Damascus could have been the centre of production, as we have evidence for manuscript production in both Syria and Egypt at that time.

Ibn al-Muqaffa', *Kalila wa Dimna*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3465. Egypt?, *ca* 1220 (pl. 9.5, pls XXV-XXVII).[26]

The manuscript has 146 folios, a number of which are later additions, and 98 miniatures (eight added later—those on fols 3r, 3v, 22r, 25v, 138v, 139v, 141r, 143r). The pages are in a somewhat poor condition, and have been restored. It is clear that they have been cut at the margins, sometimes cutting off part of the miniature, so that it is difficult to know the exact measurements. However, an average size of the page is height 27cm x width 20cm; there are 15 lines to the page; the written surface is some 22cm by15cm; the miniatures occupy quite a large proportion of the page, measuring from *ca* height 14cm x 20cm (fol. 33r) to *ca* 20.6cm x 15.7cm (fol. 34r), to *ca* 18.1cm x 17.3cm (fol. 121r).

The miniatures have no frame and the background is the paper itself. They have been retouched, sometimes heavily, sometimes lightly, and inpainted. The texture of the original colour is very good. The palette is vivid and rich: bright red, many shades of green, blue, light blue, grey, white, brown, gold, pink, black, and yellow. Where the miniature is not damaged the colours are still very bright, compact, and shades of the same colour have been used. For example the leaves are painted in tones of very dark green, then lighter, then even lighter, then a thin touch of yellow. Often, the names of the personages or the animals are written over them. The figures have been outlined in red.

Datable on stylistic grounds to 1200 to 1250, this manuscript is the only known 13th-century illustrated copy of *Kalila wa Dimna*. It is stylistically related to the 1222 *Maqamat* (pl. 9.2-4, pls XXIV) as well as to the 1180 Damietta Gospel Book (pls XXIX, XXX) and the 1249-50 New Testament (pl. XXVIII). Indeed, several elements of the landscape in particular

Rice 1959, 216

De Lorey 1933, 11 and Fig 5

Buchthal 1940, 131. See also Ettinghausen 1962, 79-80; Nassar 1985, 85, 86.
Buchthal 1940, 131-32.

[24] Buchthal 1940, 132-33

[25] Hunt 1998a, 271-73, 279.

[26] See note 3.

evince strong similarities with Christian manuscripts (pls XVIII, XXIX, XXX). Also the posture and general iconography of human groups is Byzantine in style.

Regarding the stylistic similarities between the *Kalila wa Dimna* and the *Maqamat*,[27] we may notice, for example, that there is an analogous motif of the slender sage-like figure with mantle and hood, grey beard and moustache (pl. 9.3); there are also parallels in the posture of some of the figures, in the folds of the garments and the shape of the turbans (pls 9.3, XXV). The floral details are very similar (pl. 9.2), as are the architectural elements and the thrones (pl. 9.5). In both manuscripts there is a thin white line within the outline of the nose, but in the *Maqamat* manuscript in many cases there is also a line around the eyes. This is darker, giving a sense of depth, and is reminiscent of the particular dark green of Byzantine mosaics. As this additional feature suggests, the miniatures of the *Maqamat* are more refined than those of the *Kalila wa Dimna*; the drawings are much finer, and the colours are done with great care and more delicacy.

The connections with the two Christian manuscripts are remarkable, particularly, in my opinion, those between the *Kalila wa Dimna* and the Damietta Gospel Book of 1180. They relate not only to iconography and style, but also to specific landscape elements, notably the distinctive flowers with a domed cap (pls XXIX, XXX), and the way in which the strip of grass is rendered by painting each blade in black and then passing over a line of green. Exactly the same model and painterly technique seems to have been used in both manuscripts (pls XXVI, XXIX).

The *Kalila wa Dimna* has been attributed to Syria (Buchthal, Ettinghausen and Grube),[28] or to Egypt (O'Kane 2003) or specifically to Cairo (Hunt).[29] For Rizkallah, the Coptic numbering of the manuscript indicates that it was in Egypt during the Ayyubid period, but neither this nor its similarities to the 1249-50 New Testament prove an Egyptian attribution, and she suggests that it might have been produced either in Egypt or in Syria, on the assumption that political union would probably have generated a common artistic tradition.[30] But this, as explained in the introduction to this article, is hardly the case with the Ayyubids, and the strong common elements with the 1180 Damietta Gospel Book in particular make a powerful case for the manuscript having been produced in Egypt, probably during the early part of the 13th century.

One interesting aspect of this manuscript is its preservation of 'archaic' features, in particular the names of the various animals written on top of the figures, and the fact that the lion attacks the bull from the rear (fol. 71v) rather than from the front as it does in other, later representations. The iconography of a 'back attack' belongs to an ancient oriental tradition as seen in a Persepolis relief of the first half of the 5th century BC, and in even earlier examples.[31]

Anonymous, *Kitab ghara'ib al-funun wa mulah al-ʿuyun (Book of Curiosities of the Sciences and Marvels for the Eyes)*, late 12th–early 13th century, probably produced in Cairo. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Arab c.90 (pl. 9.20).

This is an important, newly-discovered Arabic cosmography. It was acquired by the Bodleian Library in 2002, and has thus only recently come to the attention of scholars.[32] It lacks a colophon, but on the basis of the script, and analyses conducted on paper and pigment, it is likely that the manuscript was copied in Egypt or Syria in the early 13th century.

It is a copy of a Fatimid text and is divided into two parts: celestial matters and earthly matters. This manuscript is highly significant for the history of cartography, containing many interesting maps and a particularly interesting picture of the town of Mahdiya (Tunisia; pl. XXXI).[33]

Possible Ayyubid manuscripts[34]

Al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalim (Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings)*, Syria? early 13th century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III, 3206 (pls 9.6, 9.7).[35]

Another manuscript which may be considered as Ayyubid is the only known illustrated copy of al-Mubashshir's *Mukhtar*

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27 For a detailed account of the similarities between the two manuscripts, see Buchthal 1940, 128-30.

28 Buchthal 1940, 131; Ettinghausen 1962, 61; Grube 1990-1, no. 1, 374; Grube 1991, 43.

29 Hunt 1998a, 271-73, 279; Hunt 1998c, 159; O'Kane 2003, 218, Appendix 1.

30 Rizkallah 1991, 111-12. See also al-Hamid 1967, 130 for further discussion in favour of an Ayyubid attribution.

31 This has already been signalled by Grube 1991, 42 and note 13; and illustrations 30-37.

32 The text has now been fully edited and translated and is available at http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/bookofcuriosities. See Savage-Smith E, and Y Rapoport 2008.

33 See Johns and Savage-Smith 2003, 17.

34 The Fustat fragment with a representation of a battle between Arabs and knights (London, British Museum 1938.3-12.01) has been recently attributed to the Ayyubid period, Egypt, 13th century: Sheila Canby in *L'Orient de Saladin*, no. 62. However, this attribution is doubtful, and the reasons for a Fatimid (Egypt or Ifriqiya) provenance adduced by Gray 1938 and Contadini 1998, 12 and fig. 14 still seem more convincing.

35 Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3206. For the text of this manuscript see Rosenthal 1937 and Rosenthal 1961. For this copy see Ettinghausen 1962, 74-9 and col. pls on pages 75-7; James 1977, 15; Nassar 1985, 86, 88, 92, 94; Rogers 1986, 32 no. 20, and col. pl. 20; Hoffman 1993, 12-16 and fig. 2; Hunt 1998b, 149; Hunt 1998c, 158-9 and fig. 4.

Pl. 9.6 Al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalim* ('Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings'), probably Syria, early 13th century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3206, f. 48r. Socrates with students.
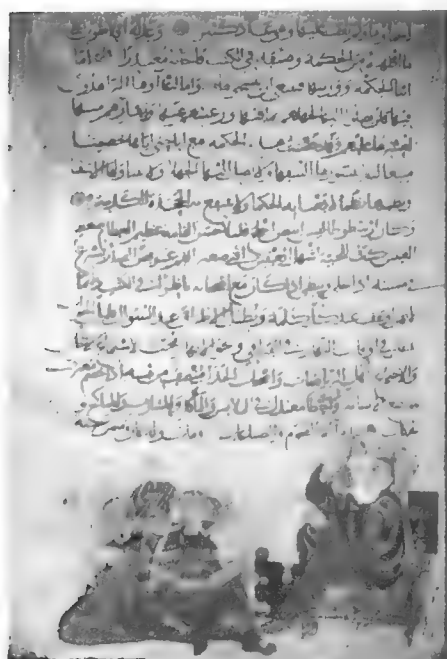
Pl. 9.7 Al-Mubashshir, *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa Mahasin al-Kalim* ('Choicest Maxims and Best Sayings'), probably Syria, early 13th century. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3206, f. 90r. Aristotle with students.

al-Hikam. The manuscript gives neither date nor provenance but it indicates that it was written for the secretary of an *atabeg* who, unfortunately, has not been identified,[36] and is therefore undatable, although the style of the miniatures points to the early 13th century. The *atabeg* connection together with the strong Byzantine affiliation of its miniatures makes it likely that this manuscript was produced in Syria. Some of the landscape features, such as the flowers and rock formation, are very similar to those found in the 1200 to 1220 *Kalila wa Dimna* B.N. arabe 3465 (pl. 9.5, pls XXV-XXVII). Further, the iconography of the miniatures, the costumes, facial features and other details, such as the low chair where—for example—Aristotle is seated (fol. 90r, pl. 9.7), can be related not only to the *Kalila wa Dimna* 3465 but also to the *Maqamat* 6094 and to the Christian manuscripts discussed above.

Ibn Butlan, *Da'wat al-atibba' (Banquet of Physicians)*, Syria? second quarter of the 13th century. Jerusalem, LA Mayer Memorial Institute (col. pl. 9.3).

This manuscript has come to the attention of scholars only recently, with an article by Eva Baer who has published all thirteen miniatures in colour.[37] Although the manuscript presents certain similarities to the Istanbul *Automata* (pl. 9.11, pls XXXIII) and the B.N. arabe 3929 *Maqamat* (pl. 9.18)—both discussed below—which should probably be considered Artuqid, Baer argues that there is not enough evidence for an Artuqid school of painting. Instead she suggests that on stylistic grounds the Jerusalem manuscript may have been produced in Syria in the second quarter of the 13th century. This would make it a possible Ayyubid manuscript, preceding the early Mamluk manuscript of the same text, dated 672/1273, now in the Ambrosiana Library.[38]

Dioscorides, *Khawass al-Ashjar (Properties of Plants)*, dated 642/1244, Egypt? Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. arab. 2954 (pls 9.8, 9.9).[39]

[36] An inscription in the manuscript says that it was copied for the library of Abu'l-Ma'ali Yunus al-Dawadar, in the service of the *atabeg* Yilmaz.

[37] Baer 2002. Though Baer's study was the first to deal with this manuscript in any detail, two of its miniatures had already been published in colour in Paris 1996, 69, 76, no. 20.

[38] Milan, Ambrosiana Library, A 125 inf. ff. 1-37r. See Ettinghausen 1962, 143-44 and col. pl. on page 144; Löfgren and Lamm 1946, Löfgren and Traini 1975, 50 no. LXX and col. pls I-VI.

[39] For this manuscript, see Buchthal, Kurz, Ettinghausen 1940, 162 no 1, Grube 1959, 179 and figs 15-17; Ettinghausen 1962, 66; Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, col. pls 715-22; Sadek 1983, 18 no.V 1, Touwaide 1992 79, 80 and figs 74-6; Saliba and Komaroff 2005. For Dioscorides in general, see Dietrich 1988, Rogers 1988, Sadek 1983 and Rogers 2007.

This is a very fine copy of Dioscorides' *Khawass al-Ashjar* (*Properties of Plants*), otherwise known as *De Materia Medica*; it is written in a good *naskh* in black ink with red rubrics. It contains no fewer than 475 illustrations, rather delicately drawn and shaded. The few human figures represented are in a Byzantine style, in particular the one on fol. 160r (pl. 9.8),[40] and are similar to those in the *Kalila wa Dimna* B.N. arabe 3465 (pl. XXV). The parallels between the two manuscripts extend also to the treatment of animals: the dog, for example, on fol. 66r of the Dioscorides recalls the depiction of the jackal on fol. 49v of the *Kalila wa Dimna* (pl. 9.5).[41] And just as the *Kalila wa Dimna* can be related to contemporary Coptic manuscripts, so too can this manuscript. Indeed, the iconography and stylisation of the frontispiece (pl. 9.9), which depicts a seated Dioscorides, flanked by Luqman and Aristotle (identified by inscriptions), are very reminiscent of certain Christian manuscripts. For instance, the miniatures of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John on folios 1v, 65v, 105v and 174v of B.N. copte-arabe 1 dated to 1249-50,[42] provide many parallels to the frontispiece portrait. Like the evangelists, Dioscorides is shown seated on a bench which is spread with a carpet, his legs astride so that the voluminous drapery of his clothing falls in long modelled folds into his lap. Above him, as in the Christian manuscripts, is an arch—round like that of Mark—which springs from slender columns, and from which hangs a drawn curtain.

In turning now to consider those contemporary manuscripts which are probably or definitely not to be associated with Ayyubid patronage, we shall begin with a cohesive group from the disputed territory of the North Jazira (for which the more appropriate labels may be Artuqid and Zangid).

North Jazira: Artuqid and Zangid manuscripts

Here we are fortunate in possessing a core group of manuscripts in which the colophon states the place of production, with locations ranging over territories ruled mostly by the Artuqid and Zangid dynasties. As before, it is on the basis of similarities with these that a regional provenance can reasonably be assigned to a number of other manuscripts.

The surviving manuscripts that can thus be classified as Artuqid deal with star charts, botany, and mechanical contrivances.[43] One is a copy of al-Sufi, *Kitab suwar al-kawakib al-thabita*, now in Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library and dated 525/1130-31. This was possibly made in Mayyafariqin, for
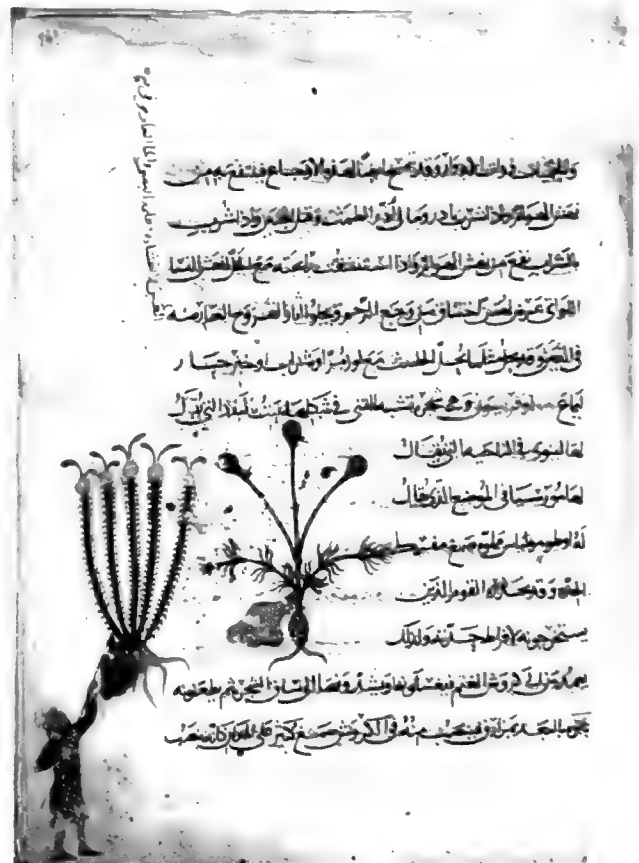
Pl. 9.8 Dioscorides, *Khawass al-Ashjar* ('Properties of Plants'), Egypt or Syria, 642/1244. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. arab. 2954, f. 160r. A man extracting balsam from plants.
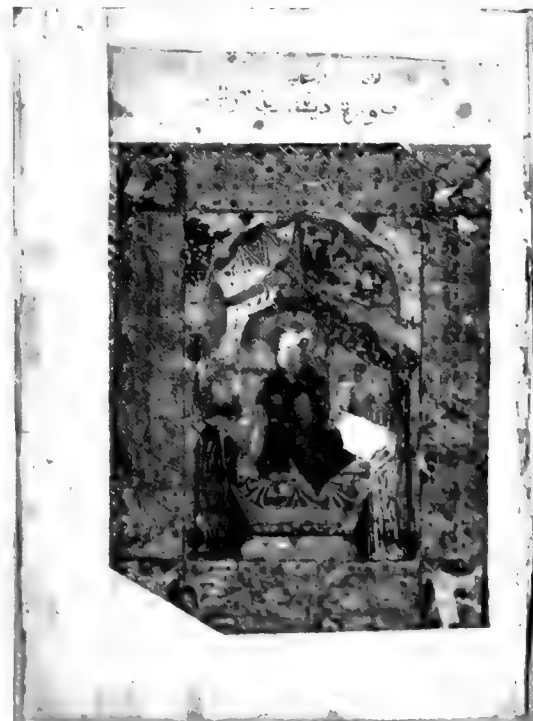
Pl. 9.9 Dioscorides, *Khawass al-Ashjar* ('Properties of Plants'), Egypt or Syria, 642/1244. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Cod. arab. 2954, f. 141r. Dioscorides, flanked by Luqman and Aristotle.

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[40] See Gabrieli and Scerrato 1979, col. pl. 717.

[41] See Ettinghausen 1962, col. pl. on page 63.

[42] See Leroy 1974, col. Pl. E, and figs. 75, 85, 89.

[43] For an attempt to characterise Artuqid painting, see Ward 1985, 69-80.
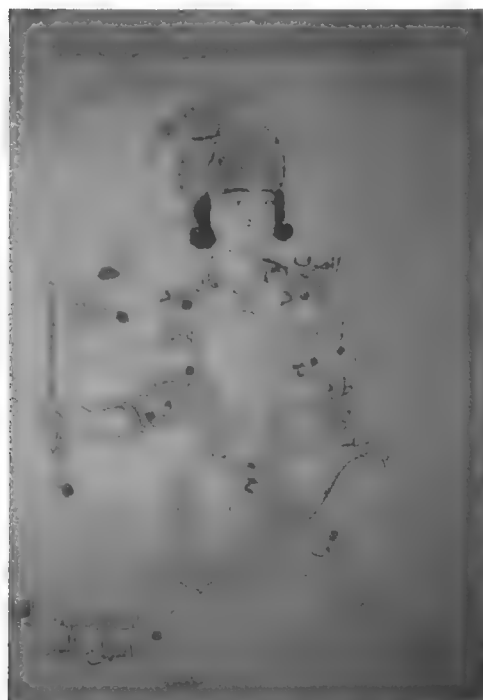
Pl. 9.10 Al-Sufi, *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* ('Treatise on the Constellations'), probably Mayyafariqin, 525/1130-31, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3493, f. 33v. Auriga.

Pl. 9.11 Al-Jazari, *Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya (Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices or Automata)*, Diyarbakr, 602/1206, Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3472, f. 98r. A water clock.

the colophon states that it was copied from a manuscript belonging to a certain Abu Tahir 'Abd al-Baqi, who may be identifiable with a dignitary of that city (col. pl. 9.4).[44] There is a later copy, now in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul,[45] dated 529/1134-35, which was made in Mardin.

Another is a treatise on Isma'il ibn al-Razzaz al-Jazari's Automata (*Kitab fi Ma'rifat al-Hiyal al-Handasiyya* [Book of Ingenious Mechanical Devices or Automata]*)* dated Sha'ban 602/April 1206 and produced in Diyarbakr (pl. 9.11, pl. XXXIII). This is the earliest surviving copy of the celebrated work on mechanical devices which was commissioned by the Artuqid ruler, Nasr al-Din Mahmud (r. 1201-22) from his court engineer, al-Jazari, probably at the turn of the 13th century, and presumably written and illustrated under al-Jazari's supervision.[46] The distinctive double finispiece (pl. XXXIII) of this *Automata* is of particular interest; rather unusually, its

greater part is decorated with an ornamental geometric pattern, while its border is formed of a bold Kufic inscription against a scrollwork background—a far more common device that occurs in a considerable number of the Zangid and Artuqid manuscripts.

The other subject areas of this group are represented by a Dioscorides kept in the Imam Riza Shrine Library in Mashhad. Its foreword states that it was copied by Mihran ibn Mansur for Najm al-Din Alpi, the Artuqid prince of Mayyafariqin, between 547 and 572 (1152-76).[47]

As for the Zangids, a copy of al-Sufi's *Kitab suwar al-kawakib al-thabita* dated 566/1171, now in the Bodleian, Hunt. 212, was most probably produced in Mosul as it appears to be dedicated to Saif al-Din Ghazi II, the Zangid ruler of Mosul from 564-572/1169-1176.[48] Like the Artuqid *Automata*, the manuscript features striking Kufic inscriptions overlaid on scrollwork backgrounds (pls XXXIII, 9.11).

There are also two copies of the *Kitab al-Diryaq*, one dated 1199 and now in Paris (pl. 9.15, 9.16),[49] and the other, datable to the first half of the 13th century, now in

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[44] This may be the same Abu Tahir who sponsored a medical *Risala* composed by 'Ubaid Allah ibn Jibril ibn 'Ubaid Allah ibn Bakhtishu', who we know died in Mayyafariqin: Contadini 1992, 66.

[45] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Fatih no. 3422. The scribe signs himself as Abdullah ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn al-Rahim ibn Sadaqa ibn 'Ali ibn Yusuf ibn Nassam al-Jabali. See Ettinghausen 1962, 162; Holter 1937b, 3 no. 3; Wellesz 1959, 22-3; Ward 1985, 80

[46] Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 3472. The manuscript was copied in Sha'ban 602/April 1206 by Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn 'Uthman al-Haskafi. Twelve of its folios are later additions. See Holter 1937a, 37 no. 3; Holter 1937b, 6 no. 10; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 148 no. 10; James 1977, 15; Nassar 1985, 85, 96; Rogers 1986, 30-1 nos 7-12 and col. pls 7-12, New York 1997, 427-28 no. 286 and col. pl. on page 428; London 2005, 111-2, no. 55 and fig. 33; Ward (1985, 69-80) and figs 1-4, 8) highlights the confusion that has surrounded the dating of this manuscript; some scholars have misinterpreted the colophon and consequently have placed the work several decades later. Of the earlier scholars Holter (1937a, 37 no. 3, 1937b, 6 no. 10) and Rogers (1986, 30-1 nos 7-12) are correct in dating the work to 1206. For al-Jazari's *Automata* more generally, see Ettinghausen 1962, 95-6, 162; Hill 1974; James 1977, 15

[47] For this manuscript see Day 1950, 274-76, 278-80, Grube 1959, 171-72 171 n. 39, 184-89 and figs 12-14; 13 no. 29 and 15-16 no. 37; and London 1976 323 no. 518.

[48] Uri 1787, 195 no. DCCCXCIC; Sezgin *GAS* Bd. 6, 214, Savage-Smith 1992a, 52, fig. 2 34. The dedicatory inscription is damaged, but the honorific titles are likely to be those of Saif al-Din Ghazi. In Uri, the date given is 966/1558 and this is also reported in Holter 1937b, 4 entry h. It seems to me that the reason for this error is due to a misunderstanding of the colophon which gives the date in numerals rather than in words, and the 5 of 566 was evidently mistaken for a 9 by Uri (see col. pl. 00.26). For this and the manuscript more generally, see Wellesz 1964, 89-91. See also Savage-Smith 1992b, 14-15 and fig. 8.

[49] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. arabe 2964. See de Slane 1883-95 530; Farès 1953; Ettinghausen 1962, 83- 6, 91-2 and col. pl. on pages 84-5, Melikian-Chirvani 1967, 13-16, 25-30 and figs 1-2, 7-12, who is alone in attributing the manuscript to Saljuq Iran; Hunt 1998a, 132, James 1977, 22 Nassar 1985, 85, 86, 88-90, 92, 94, 96 and figs 1, 2, 4; Paris 1996, 156 no. 87 and col. pls on pages 102-3, 156-57, 230, 233, Pancaroglu 2001, Kerner 2007 On the *Kitab al-Diryaq* in general, see the chapter by J Moulierac in Paris 1996, 101-3

Vienna.[50] Both were in all probability produced in Mosul. The grounds for thinking this are twofold—the presence of Kufic inscriptions within cartouches with a scroll background, which are very similar to those in the 1171 al-Sufi manuscript described above (pl. 9.10); and the strong stylistic affiliations both with metalwork produced in Mosul[51] and with the multi-volume 1216-1219 *Kitab al-Aghani (Book of Songs)* of Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahani, which was most likely produced in Mosul for Badr al-Din Lu'lu'. This is indicated by the words *Badr al-Din Lu'lu' b. ʿAbd Allah* on the *tiraz* bands of the princes represented on the frontispieces (pl. 9.17).[52]

Another copy of al-Sufi's *Kitab suwar al-kawakib al-thabita* is dated 630/1233 and was produced in Mosul (pl. 9.12). The scribe was a certain Farah ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Habbashi. It is now in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 5658.[53] This manuscript is a further testimony to the lively artistic life in Mosul under Badr al-Din Lu'lu'.

Common to all these manuscripts is that they exhibit facial types, styles of dress and headgear, as well as a rather frequent use of red for backgrounds (pls XXXIII, 9.11), that connect them to a Saljuq artistic environment, seen again in Mosul metalwork and in the Persianate (but Saljuq) illustrated manuscript of *Varqa va Gulshah* (pl. XXXV).[54]
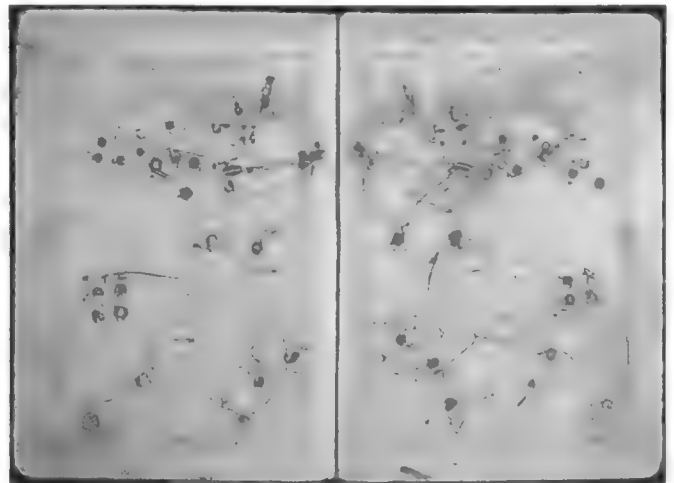
Pl. 9.12 Al-Sufi, *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* ('Treatise on the Constellations'), Mosul, 630/1233. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, 5658 (Landberg 71), fol. 66v-67r.

Problematic manuscripts

As was to be expected, some manuscripts appear to be transitional, sharing characteristics of one group or another, or else provide conflicting indications as to possible provenances. An example is a volume in Paris (B.N. arabe 3929) of al-Hariri's *Maqamat* (9.18).[55] This has no colophon and has been attributed to North Mesopotamia and Mosul,[56] while the dates that have been suggested are 1180-1200, the second quarter of the 13th, and the mid-13th century.[57] This *Maqamat* is a real puzzle; not only does it resemble the1206 *Automata* in certain respects (pls XXXIII, 9.11)—as signalled by Ward[58]—on the basis of which an Artuqid attribution might be proposed, but it also exhibits features that would connect it to the so-called Baghdad school of manuscripts (pls 9.12, 9.18–20), while in yet other respects—details of iconography and features of style—it stands apart.

Another example of a mixture of stylistic features that make provenance problematic is a copy of Dioscorides dated 626/1229 (pl. 9.19).[59] This has been associated by Ettinghausen with a North Jaziran centre of production, which would

[50] Vienna, National Bibliothek, NF 10. See Holter 1937a, 1-15, pls I-II and figs. 1-10; Holter 1937b, 15-16 no. 37, who argues that the miniatures are stylistically related to glass painting in Aleppo, and that the manuscript might therefore have been produced in that city; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 154 no. 37; Ettinghausen 1962, 92, 145, 147 and col. pl. on page 91; Melikian-Chirvani 1967, 3-4, 21-30 and figs 16-23, who is alone in attributing this manuscript to Saljuq Iran; James 1977, 22; Nassar 1985, 85, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 96 and fig. 4; Hoffman 1993, 7 and fig. 3; Paris 1996, col. pls on pages 40, 100.

[51] For the connections between Jaziran/Ayyubid metalwork and painting, see for example, Holter 1937a, 42-3; Rice 1952-58; James 1977, 24; Nassar 1985, 86-95, 97 and figs 1, 2, 3; Nassar in *L'Orient de Saladin*, 140-41 no. 114.

[52] Of this twenty-volume edition, only six volumes survive. It was copied by Muhammad ibn Abi Talib al-Badri. The six volumes are now dispersed: vols II, IV and XI are in Cairo, National Library, Adab Farsi 579; vols XVII and XIX are in Istanbul, National Library, Feyzullah 1565 and 1566; vol. XX is in Copenhagen, Royal Library, no. 168. Volumes XI and XX are dated respectively 614/1217 and 616/1219-20. For these volumes, see Holter 1937a, 37-8 no. 4, and pl. VI; Holter 1937b, 15 no. 36; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 153-54 no. 36B; Rice 1953c; Farès 1957, Farès 1961; Ettinghausen 1962, 61-5, 147 and col. pls on pages 58, 65; Stern 1957; Melikian-Chirvani 1967, 3-4, 16-21, 25-30, 32-3 and fig. 5, who again rejects the scholarly consensus and argues for an Iranian provenance; London 1976, 322-23 nos 515-17; James 1977, 22-4; Nassar 1985, 85, 90-1, 94, 96 and figs 2, 4; London 2005, no. 54

[53] Ahlwardt 1893, no. 5658

[54] Seen in the illustrated manuscript of *Varqa va Gulshah* by ʿAyyuqi, possibly Konya c. 1250; now in Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Muzesi H.841. For this manuscript, see Melikian-Chirvani 1970; Daneshvari 1986; Rogers 1986, 50 nos 21-24, and col. pls 21-24; London 2005, 111 and col. fig. 32. For discussion of the Perso-Saljuq influences on Jaziran painting, see Ettinghausen 1962, 61-6, 91-2; James 1977, 24; Nassar 1985, 86, 88, 92

[55] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, arabe 3929. See de Slane 1883-95, 639; Blochet 1926, 53-4 and pls II-III; Holter 1937b, 9 no. 18; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 150 no. 18; Rice 1959, 215-18 and pl. 4a; Grabar 1974, 92-7, 103 and pls VI-VII, IX-X; Grabar 1984, 8 no. 1 and subsequent references in discussions of individual *maqamat*.

[56] Respectively by Blochet 1926, 53 and Ettinghausen 1962, 83.

[57] Respectively by Blochet 1926, 53; Ettinghausen 1962, 83; and Grabar 1984, 8 no. 1

[58] Ward 1985, 76-7.

[59] Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Library, Ahmed III, 2127. See Grube 1959, 178-79; Ettinghausen 1962, 67-74 and col. pls on pages 68-9, 71-3; James 1977, 15; Sadek 1983, 17 no. IV.1; Nassar 1985, 86-8, 92; Rogers 1986, 31-32 nos 16-19 and col. pls 16-19; Hoffman 1993, 8-12 and figs 1a-b, 9; Paris 1996, col. pl. on page 96; New York 1997, no. 288, 429-33 and col. pls on pages 430-31; Hunt 1998b, 149 and fig. 7; Hunt 1998c, 154-57 and figs. 2-3.

Pl. 9.13 Al-Sufi, *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* ('Treatise on the Constellations'), probably Mosul, 566/1171. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 212, ff. 40v, 41r. Coordinates for, and a drawing of, the constellation Cassiopeia.
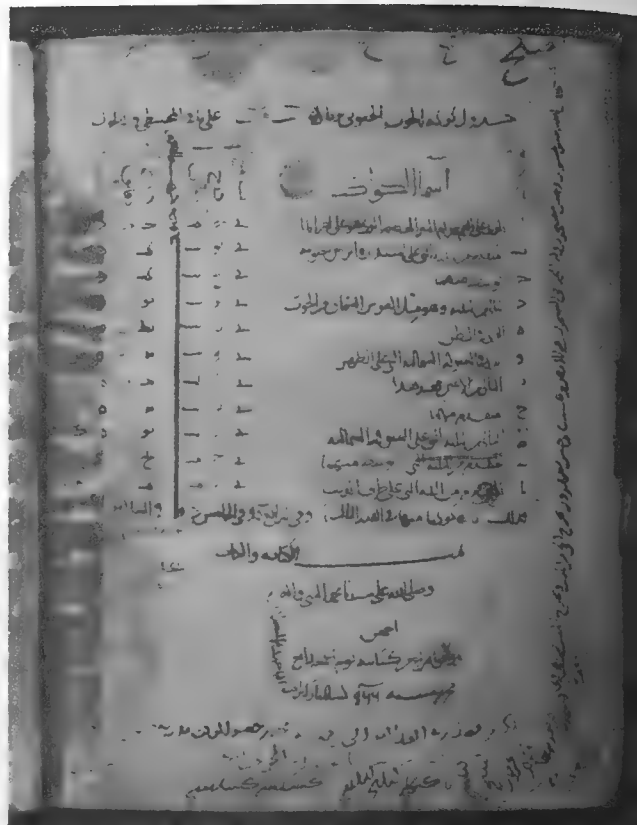
Pl. 9.14 Al-Sufi, *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib al-Thabita* ('Treatise on the Constellations'), probably Mosul, 566/1171. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 212, f. 173v. Colophon.

Pl. 9.15 Pseudo-Galen, *Kitab al-Diryaq*, probably Mosul, 595/1199. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arabe 2964, p. 27. The poisoned favourite at the king's pavilion.

Pl. 9.16 Pseudo-Galen, *Kitab al-Diryaq* (Book of Antidotes), probably Mosul, first half of the 13th century. Vienna, Nazionalbibliothek, AF 10, f. 1r (frontispiece). Scenes of courtly life.

tend to place it in the Artuqid/Zangid camp. But Christian links are suggested by the presence of a Syriac blessing in the colophon, and the manuscript exhibits very pronounced Byzantine influences. The manuscript was copied for Shams al-Din Abu'l-Fada'il Muhammad by Yusuf Bihnam ibn Musa ibn Yusuf al-Mausili, who—according to Linda Komaroff[60]—was a Christian; this may have been a factor behind the strongly Byzantine character of the manuscript. In this way, although it may well have been produced in Northern Mesopotamia or Syria, it exhibits features that align it less with the previous manuscripts than with Ayyubid ones, with their Byzantine affiliations. It is thus ultimately to that group that it might better be assigned.

'Abbasid manuscripts: the Baghdad School of painting and related problems

The starting point in Western art history for this designation is a pair of manuscripts of the *Kitab al-Baitara (Book of Farriery)* by Ahmad ibn al-Husain ibn al-Ahnaf. The colophon of the earlier one specifies the name of the scribe, its date (1209), and also that it was produced in Baghdad;[61] while the colophon of the later one names the same scribe and gives the date 1210,[62] but does not mention the place of production (pl. 9.20). Because of the closeness in date, the fact that it was written by the same scribe, and the strong stylistic similarities in the miniatures of both, this too can be confidently attributed to Baghdad.[63] There is, nevertheless, one crucial feature which indicates that the 1210 manuscript is far from being a straightforward copy. It has a different cycle of miniatures, which could therefore point either to differences in the text (an aspect yet to be studied), to different painters, or possibly to different ateliers.

But discussion of the characteristics of the 'School of Baghdad' usually centres on three manuscripts, the third being the 1237 *Maqamat* by al-Wasiti (pl. 9.21),[64] which has

Pl. 9.17 Al-Isfahani, *Kitab al-Aghani* ('Book of Songs'), vol. XVII, probably Mosul, *c.* 1218–19. Istanbul, National Library, Feyzullah Efendi 1566, f. 1r (frontispiece). A prince (possibly Badr al-Din Lu'lu') enthroned.

in common with the other two faces of an 'oriental' type; styles of hair and costumes; distinctive landscape conventions; and a similarly naturalistic rendition of animals (especially horses) distinct from that in the Saljuq-influenced Zangid and Artuqid manuscripts referred to above, where animals tend to be depicted less naturalistically and with some parts of their body marked in different colours (pl. 19.13).

It is on the basis of some degree of similarity across these features that several other unprovenanced manuscripts have been attributed to Baghdad, including in the first place the St Petersburg *Maqamat* (pl. 9.22, 9.23).[65] Here the stylistic

[60] In New York 1997, 433 no. 288

[61] National Library, Cairo, Khalil Agha F8. This manuscript was copied in Ramadan 605/March 1209 by 'Ali ibn Hasan ibn al-Hibatallah. See Froehner 1936, 39–55 and figs on pages 43–55; Holter 1937b, 11 no. 24; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 150–51 no. 24; Buchthal 1942, 19–20 and fig. 2; Ettinghausen 1962, 97–100; Grube 1967, 3140–44 and pl. 3143 A–D. James 1977, 19.

[62] Istanbul, Topkapı Library, Ms. Ahmet III 2115. For this manuscript, see Ettinghausen 1962, 100 and col. pl. on page 97; Grube 1967, 3140, 3144–47 and pls 1523–24 A–E; James 1977, 19; Rogers 1986, 31 nos 13–15, and col. pls. 13–15.

[63] Ettinghausen 1962, 100

[64] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. arabe 5847. This manuscript is dated 6 Ramadan 634/3 May 1237, and was both written and illustrated by Yahya ibn Mahmud ibn Yahya ibn Abi 'l-Hasan ibn Kuwarriha al-Wasiti. See Blochet 1925, 125–26; Blochet 1926, 56–58 and pls X–XIII; Holter 1937b, 13 no. 31; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 152–53 no. 31; Buchthal

1942, 35–7 and figs 32–33, 37–38; 40; Rice 1959, 215, 216–18 and pl. III; Ettinghausen 1962, 104, 114–24 and col. pls on pages 114, 116–19, 121–22; Grabar 1974, 85–6, 87–8, 92, 94, 97–9, pls I–II, V, VIII, XI; James 1974, 304–6, 307–9, 313–15, 316–17 and figs 1, 5; James 1977, 20–22; Grabar 1984, 10–11 no. 3 and subsequent references in discussions of individual *maqamat*; Hoffman 1993, 15 and figs 6a–b.

[65] Academy of Sciences, Ms. S 23. See Holter 1937b, 13–14 no. 32; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 153 no. 32; Rice 1959, 215, 217, 218 and pl. I; Ettinghausen 1962, 104–11 and col. pls on pages 106–8, 111–113; Grabar 1974, 97–8 and pl. III; James 1974, 305–6, 314–16 and fig. 4; James 1977, 20–2; Grabar 1984, 11 no. 4 and subsequent references in discussions of individual *maqamat*; Pétrosyan 1994, 116–27, which include 16 colour reproductions.
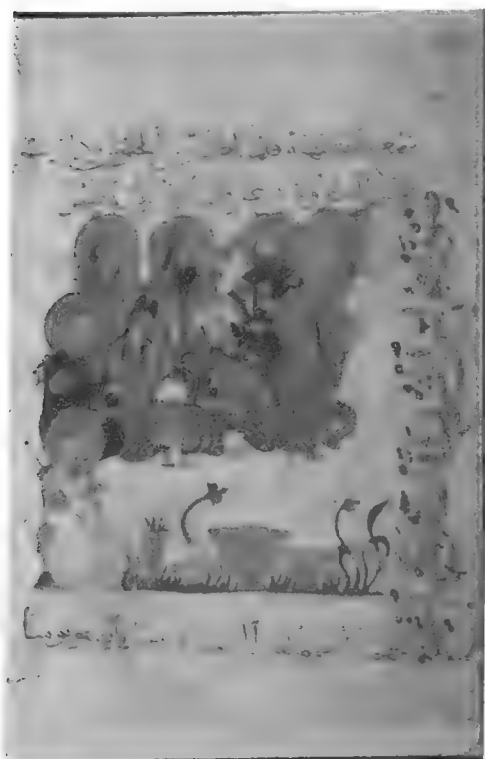
Pl. 9.18 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), perhaps North Jazira, early 13th century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arabe 3929, f. 165v. An outdoor party (twenty-fourth *maqama*).

Pl. 9.19 Dioscorides, *Khauass al-Ashjar* ('Properties of Plants'), Northern Mesopotamia or Syria, 626/1229. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 2127, ff. 1v-2r (double frontispiece). Dioscorides with students.

Pl. 9.20 Ahmad ibn al-Husain ibn al-Ahnaf, *Kitab al-Baitara* ('Book of Farriery'), Baghdad, 606/1210. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarai Library, Ahmet III 2125, f. 57r. Two riders on horseback.

Pl. 9.21 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), probably Baghdad, 634/1237. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Arabe 5847, f. 138r. Al-Harith and Abu Zayd meet a youth as they ride into a village (forty-third *maqama*).

Pl. 9.22 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), probably Baghdad, c. 1225. St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, Ms. S 23, p. 174=f. 88r. Abu Zayd approaching al-Harith, whose camel has been stolen (twenty-seventh *maqama*).

Pl. 9.23 Al-Hariri, *Maqamat* ('Assemblies'), probably Baghdad, c 1225. St Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, Ms. S 23, 288 = f. 145r. A Bedouin shows Abu Zayd a sandal bought in Hadramaut (forty-third *maqama*).

similarities are so close that the hypothesis has been put forward that it may in fact have served as a model for the al-Wasiti *Maqamat*.[66] Other manuscripts that have recently come to light include another al-Sufi *Kawakib* dated 1125, this time produced in Baghdad, its provenance being established in its long and unusually informative colophon.[67] There is also a Dioscorides dated 637/1239, for which the colophon also gives the name of the scribe, al-Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Nashawi, and an even more specific place of production, a Nizamiyya *madrasa*, presumably the one in Baghdad.[68]

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[66] James 1974, 306; Contadini 1995, 29.

[67] This copy of the *Kitab Suwar al-Kawakib*, which includes the *Qasida* of Ibn al-Sufi, was sold in London on 29 April 1998, and is now in the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha, Qatar. Its colophon informs us that its calligraphy and illustrations are by 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Jalil ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad at Baghdad for himself, between Muharram and Safar 519 (February-March 1125). The scribe-painter moreover states in the colophon that the text and images of his copy are modelled on those of a (now lost) copy dated 427 (1036), with certain alterations being made on the basis of another earlier edition that had been corrected and added to by al-Sufi himself. See Sotheby's 1998, 32-48.

[68] Oxford, Bodleian Cod. Or. d. 138. The colophon does not mention Baghdad, as often reported in the literature. On f. 2v of the manuscript is found an author portrait. For this manuscript see Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 164 no. 11; Grube 1959, 179 and fig. 9; Robinson and Gray 1972, 9-10 no. 2; London 1976, 325 no. 522; James 1977, 19; Sadek 1983, 18 no. V2; entry by L Komaroff in New York 1997, 433 no. 289 and col. pl. on pages 402, 432; Hunt 1998b, 150 and fig. 9.
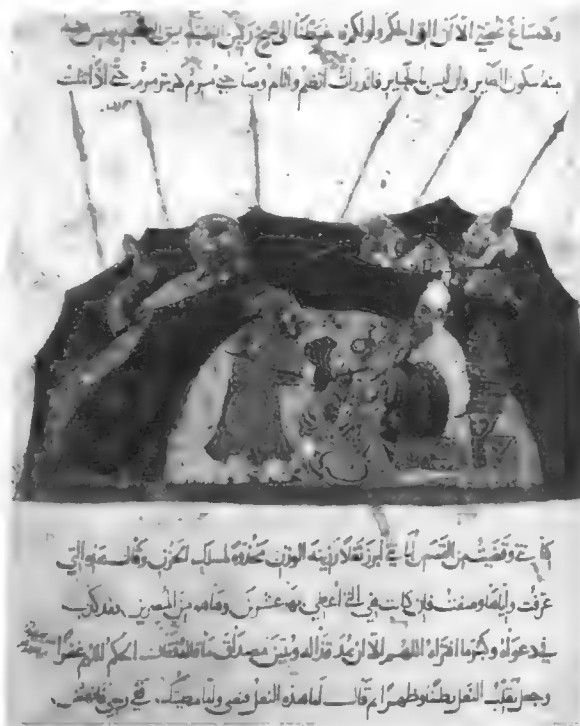
Pl. 9.24 Dioscorides, *Khawass al-Ashjar* (Properties of Plants), probably North Jazira, 621/1224. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art, F1947.5. Erasistratos with an assistant.

Problematic manuscripts

Complications also arise in relation to the so-called 'Baghdad school'. On the basis of certain similarities with manuscripts known to have been produced in Baghdad, several other manuscripts without a provenance have been attributed to this school, among them the Dioscorides dated 621/1224 (pl. 9. 24)[69] and the *Kitab Na't al-Hayawan* of *ca* 1220 (pl. XXXVII).[70] However, closer examination of these two reveals a more complex picture. The *Na't*, for example, can be related iconographically to manuscripts produced near Mosul in a Christian monastic environment, most notably the 1219-1220 Mar Mattai Syriac Gospels,[71] which suggests that the manuscript may well have been produced in a more northerly region. This, in turn, has implications for the 1224 Dioscorides which is very similar stylistically. In short, certain attributions to the so-called Baghdad school may need to be revised.

We may conclude with a Tehran manuscript without a provenance that has only recently come to the attention of Western scholars and raises yet further problems (pls XXXVI). Although entitled *Risalat al-Sufi fi 'l-Kawakib (Al-Sufi's Treatise on the Stars)*, the text consists of the *urjuza* poem that sometimes follow the treatise and is ascribed to a certain Ibn al-Sufi.[72] The main issue here, however, concerns not the text but its double frontispiece (pl. XXXVI) and the style of the constellation drawings. These bear a striking resemblance to the *Kitab Na't al-Hayawan* (pl. XXXVII),[73] which would therefore suggest a date in the early 13th century, whereas the one given in an inscription in the manuscript is 554/1159. But this inscription does not follow a standard formula, and it seems to have been added later. Further, the known illustrated manuscripts which are close to this date, whether from an Artuqid, Zangid or Fatimid environment, all have a different style in depicting human figures, whereas the earliest of those showing similar features is the *Kitab al-Baitara* of 1209.[74]

But whatever the final verdict on this particular issue may be, and whatever revisions may have to be made to assessments of stylistic affiliation and provenance among the other manuscripts discussed, taking this and the previous group together it is indisputable that we have a considerable number of manuscripts almost certainly produced in Iraq and the North Jazira. These, then, complement those that can be more securely ascribed to centres of production under Ayyubid control to produce, for the period in question, a fuller map of Arab manuscript illustration, its range of subject matter, and the variety of stylistic affiliations it exhibits.

[69] The bulk of the manuscript is in the Süleymaniye Library of Istanbul (Ayasofya 3703), with a number of its folios being dispersed in other collections. The colophon names the scribe as 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl, and gives the date Rajab 621 (July-August 1224). See Holter 1937b, 11-12 no. 27; Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 151-52 no. 27; Buchthal 1942, 20-34 and figs 4-31, 42; Grube 1959, 172-78 and figs 1-4; Ettinghausen 1962, 87-90 and col. pls on pages 87, 89; and James 1977, 20. For a discussion of certain folios, see British Museum 1935, 88-90 and pl. XXIV; Day 1950, 271-80; London 1976, 324 nos 520-21; Sadek 1983, 14 no. 11; Touwaide 1992; Paris 1996, 254 no. 194 and col. pls on pages 46, 82, 85, 87, 92, 98-99, 254.

[70] London, British Library, Or. 2784. For this manuscript see Contadini 1992, Contadini 1994, Contadini 2003, Contadini 2004, Contadini 2007a. One folio is published in London 1976, 325 no. 523, where the title is erroneously given as *Manafi al-Hayawan*. Another folio is reproduced in colour in Paris 1996, 66 no. 13. See also Holter 1937b, 14 no. 33 (where the work is again mistitled); Buchthal, Kurz and Ettinghausen 1940, 153 no. 33; Buchthal 1942, 34-5 and figs 34-36, 39, 41; Ettinghausen 1962, 136-37; and Hunt 1998b, 150 and fig. 10.

[71] Vatican Library, Syr. No. 559; see Jerphanion 1940; Leroy 1964, 280-302 and col. pl. between pp. 4 and 5; Hunt 1998c, 11. For the connections between Christian painting of the Mosul area and Islamic painting, see Buchthal 1939, 146-50.

[72] Tehran, Reza Abbasi Museum, M. 570. See Wellesz 1959, 1, n. 2. For a full discussion of this manuscript, indicating its reconstruction and its artistic affiliations, see Contadini 2006.

[73] In the Tehran manuscript, on pages 2 and 3 (in this manuscript the pages are numbered rather than the folios), on the right, an enthroned figure holds an astrolabe; on the left, a similarly enthroned figure holds a book. The two face each other in a semi-profiled position. This theme is found in many scientific manuscripts and is that of the transmission of knowledge: it does not necessarily identify any particular person. The corresponding frontispieces in the *Na't* are those on fols 3v and 4r (two figures enthroned). But there are also similarities of postures and style with the miniature of Ibn Bakhtishu' and a student seen on fol. 101v. Other striking similarities are with the animals, such as, just to give one example, the lions in the *Na't* (fol. 100v) and the constellation Leo in the al-Sufi (p. 16).

[74] For 13 reproductions of the 39 miniatures of the *Kitab al-Baytara* of 1209, see Froehner 1932-36.

Chapter 10
RELIGIOUS CIRCLES IN JERUSALEM IN THE AYYUBID PERIOD

Anne-Marie Eddé

The fall of Jerusalem to Saladin, on Friday 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187, was celebrated by Muslim religious circles as 'a great victory, witnessed by a vast crowd of men of religion, Sufis and mystics. The reason for this was that, when people heard of the conquest of the coastal lands that God had effected at Saladin's hand and his intention to move against Jerusalem became widely known, the ulema from Egypt and Syria made their way to him, so much so that no-one of any note failed to be present.'[1] Such enthusiasm on the part of the *'ulama'* was hardly surprising, since propaganda in favour of Jerusalem had been highly developed in the second half of the reign of Nur al-Din (1146-1174), and Saladin (1174-1193) had continued the work of his predecessor by making Jerusalem the supreme aim of his *jihad* against the Franks. The works of *Fada'il al-Quds* vaunting the merits of the Holy City and its privileged place in the bosom of Islam, known as early as the 11th century, were multiplied from 1160 and were often the subject of public readings.[2] The circulation of this literature, and the very strong pressure exerted by Saladin's entourage for him to undertake the reconquest of Palestine, developed a vast movement of religious mobilization around Jerusalem; this explains the numbers of pious men and ascetics in Jerusalem in October 1187. By attending personally to the restoration of the fortifications of the Holy City, by founding several religious and charitable establishments, and by appointing his closest advisor Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad *qadi* of Jerusalem, Saladin hoped to give the city prominence, and to attract pilgrims, *'ulama* and students. He himself did not live long enough to be able to appreciate the fruits of his policy, but one may question whether his objectives were achieved by his successors. Did numerous pious men visit and settle in Jerusalem? Were religious and legal studies revived in the city?

Jerusalem was, as is known, the focus of bitter negotiations between Muslims and Franks in the first half of the 13th century. At this time the city was suffering severely as a result of political events. The walls were demolished in the first days of the year 616/March 1219 by order of al-Muʿazzam, ruler of Damascus, who feared the city would be impossible to defend against the Franks; in 1229 the city was handed over to the Emperor Frederick II by Sultan al-Kamil, thanks to the treaty of Jaffa; taken back by the Muslims in 1239, it was again returned to the Franks in 1240, and, finally, plundered and reconquered by the Ayyubids of Egypt in 1244. Could a Jerusalem, thus rent asunder, continue to sustain a cultural and religious life? The religious classes could not remain indifferent in the face of these dramatic events, but did they succeed in making their voices heard?

Among the indications which allow an assessment of the cultural and religious life of a city, the number of *'ulama'*, ascetics, students, and pilgrims who stopped, settled, taught or studied there should be taken into consideration. Very significant too are construction or restoration works undertaken on religious and charitable monuments such as mosques, Sufi cloisters, Qur'anic schools, *madrasas* and hospitals, an area in which the action of the ruler can be decisive. In this way, from information gleaned from biographical dictionaries, chronicles and stories about Jerusalem, pilgrims' guides and epigraphy, we shall attempt to distinguish the religious climate of Jerusalem in this first half of the 13th century.[3]

At first the return of Muslim authority over Jerusalem aroused great religious fervour. Victory was celebrated, as was right and proper, in al-Aqsa Mosque and to emphasize the solemnity of the event, Saladin asked the Damascene chief *qadi*, Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Zaki (died 598/1202), one of the most eminent Shafiʿite jurists of Syria, to deliver the first Friday sermon *(khutba)*. It proved to be a speech in which he recalled,

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[1] Ibn Shaddad 2001, 77-8.

[2] Cf. Sivan 1968, 107-8, 115-19; C Hillenbrand 1999, 162-65 and 188-92.

[3] This study is based on some thirty biographies of *'ulama'* who lived in Jerusalem, and on twenty-three inscriptions. On religious life in Jerusalem in the Ayyubid era, see Little 1989.

in grandiloquent style, the importance of Jerusalem as the home of Abraham and the prophets, the point of departure for Muhammad's ascension to heaven, and not only the first *qibla* but also the site of the Last Judgment. Zain al-Din ʿAli ibn Naja (died 599/1203),[4] the *waʿiz*-preacher, a prominent figure of Egyptian Hanbalism, spoke next and moved the audience to tears. More than sixty letters, a dozen poems and several sermons composed on this occasion bear witness to the importance given to Jerusalem in Muslim religious propaganda.

It is not surprising that the religious classes welcomed the fall of Jerusalem with joy, that they hurried there to celebrate the event, and that they wrangled for the honour of delivering the first *khutba*. However, an analysis of their behaviour once the excitement of victory evaporated appears more interesting. Neither Ibn al-Zaki nor Ibn Naja decided to stay in Jerusalem. The former returned to Damascus[5] and the latter to Cairo. Ibn Shaddad, to whom Saladin entrusted the function of chief *qadi* in 1192, also remained in Jerusalem only a short time. Called to Damascus to the bedside of his dying master in March 1193, he entered briefly into the service of his son al-Afdal before going to rejoin al-Zahir Ghazi in Aleppo in 591/1195.

On the other hand, it is true that some other major figures chose to settle in Jerusalem. These included such men as the Aleppan jurist, Majd al-Din Tahir ibn Jahbal (died 596/1199-1200) and his disciple Ahmad ibn Rustam al-Dailami al-Dimashqi (died 621/1224), and the *qadi* al-Ashraf al-Shaibani, father of the famous biographer Jamal al-Din ibn al-Qifti (died 646/1248), who was appointed inspector *(nazir)* in 591/1194-5 by Saladin's son al-ʿAziz.[6] But most of them did not stay in the city for long. If Ibn al-Qifti and his father left Jerusalem in 598/1201-2 after al-ʿAdil's victory in Damascus, fearing they would have to work under the authority of his vizier Ibn Shukr, many other leading figures fled the city after the demolition of its walls in 1219—that is to say barely thirty-two years after its reconquest. The *ʿulama* did not escape this massive exodus of the population, and the surrender of Jerusalem to the Franks in 1229, even if the Haram al-Sharif remained under Muslim supervision, only accelerated the movement. The main place of refuge for these men and their families was Damascus and to a lesser extent Aleppo. Indeed, Damascus retained strong ties to Jerusalem during the whole Ayyubid period. Many Damascenes held posts in Jerusalem before returning home to Damascus. The geographical proximity, and especially the fact that Palestine was part of the Ayyubid principality of Damascus, accounts in the main for this close relationship. Moreover, Damascus, which was the main Sunni centre in the region, was at this time at

the height of its religious and cultural development and acted as a strong magnet for *ʿulama* of all origins.

All four Sunni legal schools were represented in Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period; there was, however, a distinct balance in favour of Shafiʿism. The highest legal office, that of chief *qadi*, was for a short time in the hands of a Shafiʿite, Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad, who in turn appointed Sadr al-Din Ibrahim ibn ʿUmar al-Shahrazuri as his deputy.[7] There followed jurists who were mostly descended from important families in Damascus: Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah ibn al-Shirazi[8] (died 635/1238), Shams al-Din Yahya ibn Sani al-Daula (died 635/1238),[9] and Shams al-Din Salim ibn Yusuf ibn Saʿid al-Bahili. This man was mentioned in 606/1209-10 and then again in 620/1223.[10] Several members of the family are quoted in the sources either as *qadi* of Jerusalem or as *qadi* of Jerusalem and Nablus: ʿAla' al-Din ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Saʿid ibn al-Salm in 626/1228-9 and then again in 643/1245-6,[11] Sadid al-Din Muhammad ibn Saʿid ibn al-Salm in 648/1248, and Najm al-Din Muhammad ibn Shams al-Din Salim in 650/1252.[12] Finally, Shihab al-Din Ahmad (or Muhammad) ibn al-Khuwaiy (died 693/1294) was *qadi* of Jerusalem in the years preceding the fall of the Ayyubids in 1260.[13] Most of these men were bound to Damascus. Appointed by the chief *qadi* of Damascus, they were often destined to succeed him, and the office of *qadi* of Jerusalem appears several times to be a stepping stone towards the office of chief *qadi* of Damascus.

After having reconverted the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque into Muslim monuments, Saladin gave his attention to developing charitable works and Shafiʿite studies.[14] In a church near the Holy Sepulchre and the residence of the Hospitallers, he founded a hospital in which the physician Rashid al-Din Abu'l-Mansur ibn al-Suri (died 639/1241-2 in Damascus) practised from 610 to 612/1213-5.[15] He also opened a Qur'anic school intended for orphans and the poor;[16]

[4] Ibn Rajab 1952-1953 I, 436-42; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VI, 554-55.

[5] Chief *qadi* of Aleppo from 579/1183, he was appointed chief *qadi* of Damascus in 588/1192. Cf. Eddé 1999, 350-51 and Pouzet 1988, 121 and 412.

[6] Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 II, 743; Yaqut 1980 XV, 188; Eddé 1999, 312, 352 and 479.

[7] Mentioned as such in the *waqf* of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya which he confirmed in 590/1194.

[8] Appointed towards 594/1197-8 in Jerusalem as deputy of the chief *qadi* of Damascus, Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Zaki (died 598/1202); he was later *qadi* of Damascus in 631/1234. Cf. Abu Shama 1974, 166; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 304-5; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 119-20; Pouzet 1988, 412.

[9] Appointed in 598/1202 by Muhyi al-Din ibn al-Zaki, *qadi* of Damascus, then confirmed by his son Zaki al-Din al-Tahir. He was later *qadi* of Damascus from 631/1234 to 635/1238. Cf. Abu Shama 1974, 166-67; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 310; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 120; Pouzet 1988, 413.

[10] Mentioned in 606/1209 as deputy of the *qadi* of Damascus, Zaki al-Din al-Tahir ibn al-Zaki (died 617/1220). It was doubtless he who confirmed the deed of al-Salahiyya in 620/1223. Cf. Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 119; Subki 1355/1936-7 II, 127.

[11] Al-ʿAsali 1983, 89; Subki 1355/1936-7 II, 127.

[12] Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 120.

[13] *Qadi* of Damascus from 686/1287 to 693/1294. Cf. Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 739-40; al-ʿAsali 1983, 89; Pouzet 1988, 414.

[14] Al-Isfahani 1972, 396 and, for more details, cf. Frenkel 1999.

[15] Al-ʿAsali 1981, 294; Richards 1994, 70-83. On this physician, see Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa 1965, 699-703.

[16] Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, RCEA 1937-1953 IX, no. 3514.

and in 588/1192, in the church and convent of Saint Anne, he founded a *madrasa* to which he gave his name (al-Salahiyya). The endowed properties—which included land, gardens, springs, houses, baths, shops, a mill, and an oven—were first repurchased by Saladin from the public treasury of Jerusalem, thus making them his private property. The teaching conditions were carefully laid out:[17] the professor, in charge both of teaching and administration of the *madrasa*, was to begin his lessons every morning by reciting a part of the Qur'an and by a prayer in favour of the founder and all Muslims. His lectures on law were to be followed by disputed questions and could be completed by lectures on religious sciences. The professor himself had to teach and was allowed to use a deputy only in case of necessity. Assistants to the professor (*mu'ids*) were responsible for repeating the lesson with the students, who had to live in the *madrasa* if they were unmarried. It was the professor's responsibility to supervise the work and behaviour of the jurisconsults, the number of whom varied according to the revenue of the *waqf*, and to reward or reprimand them according to the circumstances. He was also to designate his successor, but if he had been unable to do this before dying, the judge (*al-hakim al-asli*) of Jerusalem took care of this. The professor was paid by the *waqf* up to fifteen *dinars* and two *ghirara* of corn per month.[18]

If Ibn Shaddad taught in this *madrasa*, he did so only for a short time. As early as 590/1194 he was no longer residing in Jerusalem, as is suggested by the confirmation by his deputy at this date of the *waqf* concerning the Sufi cloister founded by Saladin.[19] Among his successors are to be found several important Syrians, a sign that the *madrasa* continued to enjoy the great prestige attached to its founder. We have already named the Aleppan jurist Majd al-Din Tahir ibn Jahbal (died 596/1199-1200).[20] Fakhr al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn 'Asakir (died 620/1223), nephew of the great Damascene traditionist, succeeded him, probably in the first years of the 13th century.[21] Fakhr al-Din lived sometimes in Jerusalem in the Salahiyya Madrasa, and sometimes in Damascus where he also taught, holding several different positions, a plurality of offices which was not exceptional.

Towards 610/1213-4, a jurist of the Shahrazuri family succeeded him—Taqi al-Din 'Uthman ibn al-Salah

(died 643/1245).[22] The demolition of the town walls in 1219 provoked his departure for Damascus, but the *madrasa* remained active. The father of the historian Ibn Wasil, *qadi* of Hama, obtained permission from al-Mu'azzam to go and teach there from 621/1224; when in 625/1228 he wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, it was his son who replaced him in office.[23] Probably the *madrasa* had to close between 1229 and 1244, as the Franks regained their churches with the exception of the buildings situated on the Haram al-Sharif. But in 643/1245, the *qadi* of Nablus reconfirmed its *waqfiyya*, which indicates that the *madrasa* was probably in use again under the Ayyubids of Egypt, who had just regained control of the town; however no professor is known to us until the end of the Ayyubid dynasty in Syria in 1260.[24]

Several other Shafi'ite *madrasas* were founded in Jerusalem. The Maimuniyya was established by one of Saladin's old *amirs*, Faris al-Din Maimun ibn 'Abd Allah al-Qasri, in a church situated outside Bab al-Sahira, to the north-east of the town.[25] Two Shafi'ite *madrasas* were founded under the rule of al-Mu'azzam: one by an unknown person whose name is almost completely obliterated on the inscription which has come down to us,[26] and the other by a Kurdish *amir* close to al-Mu'azzam, Badr al-Din Muhammad ibn Abu'l-Qasim al-Hakkari (died 614/1217), who was known for his generosity and his piety. This *amir* died whilst defending the fortress of Mount Tabor against the Franks and his body was buried in Jerusalem in the mausoleum which he had had built in the Mamilla cemetery to the west of the town.[27]

If Shafi'ism was thus encouraged by Saladin and by some *amirs* and eminent jurists, Hanafism was developed specifically on the initiative of al-Mu'azzam (1218-1227). As early as the first years of the 13th century, al-Mu'azzam's father entrusted him with important responsibilities in Palestine and particularly in Jerusalem, a town to which he paid particular attention. The first inscriptions bearing his name in the Holy City date from 601/1204; these appear to indicate the period from which he lived in Jerusalem. Al-Mu'azzam is an exceptional figure within the Ayyubid dynasty, which was in the main Shafi'ite, because of his very strong attachment to the Hanafite *madhhab*, to a point where his biographers qualified

[17] Cf. Subki 1355/1936-7 II, 126-27; Makdisi 1981, 93-4; al-'Asali 1981, 61-79; foundation inscription in Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 IX, no. 3453; see also Frenkel 1999, 8.

[18] The *ghirara* of Jerusalem, a unit of weight used for grain, equalled 626.220kg at the end of the medieval period. Cf. *EI²*, Vol.VI, 117-21, E Ashtor, 'Makayil' This grain was intended for sale as well as for consumption.

[19] Cf. *supra* fn. 7

[20] Cf *supra* fn. 6. List of professors in Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 101-105; Halm 1974, 224-25.

[21] Abu Shama 1974, 137; Ibn al-'Imad 1986-1995 VII, 163-64; Ibn Khallikan 1968-1977 III, 135. He taught there, doubtless before 610/1213-4, at which date his successor Ibn al-Salah al-Shahrazuri arrived in Jerusalem.

[22] Ibn Khallikan 1968-1977 III, 243-45; Sourdel 1949-1951, 89, no. 30; Eddé 1999, 382.

[23] Ibn Wasil 1972, 141-42 and 208.

[24] Al-'Asali 1981, 77-9. Under the Mamluks, the *madrasa* was revived and remained active until the second half of the 18th century. Between 1915 and 1917 it was temporarily re-established by the Ottoman authorities under the name of 'Salah al-Din Faculty'.

[25] Abandoned at the end of the 15th century. Cf. Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 48; Sauvaire 1876, 166-67 and 185.

[26] [...] ibn Rafi' ibn [...]; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 X, no. 3817. Donald Richards (1994, 75 fn. 21) has suggested that this might have been Yusuf ibn Rafi' ibn Tamim, that is Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad.

[27] Abu Shama 1974, 108; Sibt ibn al-Jauzi 1951-1952, 592; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 47.

him as a 'Hanafite *faqih*'.[28] The historian Ibn Wasil reports that when one day al-ʿAdil said to his son 'How could you have chosen the *madhhab* of Abu Hanifa when all your family is Shafiʿite?', al-Muʿazzam replied scathingly, 'O Lord, do you not want there to be among you one single [true] Muslim?'[29] A learned prince, educated in the arts and religious sciences, al-Muʿazzam had made, for his personal use, a compilation in ten volumes of Hanafite *fiqh*, and he himself wrote several legal works. He applied himself to developing Hanafite teaching in Jerusalem as early as 606/1209 by founding a *madrasa* (al-Muʿazzamiyya), which was not completed until 614/1217-18.[30] In addition, he replaced the Shafiʿite *imam* at al-Aqsa Mosque by a Hanafite jurist from Baghdad, a certain Shihab al-Din, and even if he allowed the Shafiʿite preacher to speak in the Dome of the Rock, he ordered all the *muʾadhdhins* of the Haram to follow the Hanafite preacher.[31] This Shihab al-Din was also a professor in another Hanafite *madrasa*, doubtless founded, at al-Muʿazzam's instigation, for his half-brother al-Amjad Hasan. The latter, who died during his father al-ʿAdil's lifetime, was buried there before being transferred to the village of Muʾta, to the south of Karak. According to tradition, it was here that a cousin of the Prophet and two other companions, who died in the battle against the Byzantines in 629, were buried.[32]

As early as 604/1207, al-Muʿazzam had also built a domed edifice (Qubbat al-Nahwiyya) in the south-west part of the Haram platform, intended for the teaching of grammar and the seven readings of the Qurʾan. Only Hanafites could be professors there according to the *waqfiyya*, which stipulated that its revenues could be paid only to members of this legal school.[33] The powerful *amir* ʿIzz al-Din Aibeg al-Muʿazzami (died 645/1247-8), major-domo (*ustadar*) of al-Muʿazzam and lord of the fortress of Salkhad, also decided to found a Hanafite *madrasa* in Jerusalem. Prevented from doing so by the the treaty of Jaffa of 1229, in spite of everything, he founded his *madrasa* in the Great Mosque of Damascus on condition that it would be removed to Jerusalem once the Muslims regained possession of the city. This happened a few years later.[34]

Contrary to Shafiʿism and Hanafism, under the Ayyubids Hanbalism in Jerusalem proved slow to develop. It was, however, in Jerusalem that Syro-Palestinian Hanbalism made great strides in the 11th century, under the influence of Abuʾl-Faraj al-Shirazi (died 486/1093), who had lived in the city before settling in Damascus.[35] We also know the important role played in the 12th century by the Banu Qudama, natives of a small village in the vicinity of Jerusalem, hence their *nisba* 'al-Maqdisi'. The whole family had emigrated to Damascus in 551/1156, fleeing the Frankish occupation of Palestine; it was in there that they founded a new district, on the slopes of Mount Qasyun, which was given the name of al-Salihiyya. The Hanbalite school of Damascus met with great success thanks to their remarkable religious activity, and in the second half of the 13th century the town had no less than eight *madrasas* and two Hanbalite *zawiyas*.[36] We also know that the Hanbalites often showed great ardour for *jihad* and did not hesitate to risk their own lives, as in 1187 when Muwaffaq al-Din ʿAbd Allah ibn Qudama (died 620/1223), his brother Abu ʿUmar Muhammad (died 607/1210) and their cousin ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi (died 600/1203) fought alongside Saladin for the conquest of Jerusalem. Several of them also drafted treaties in favour of the *jihad* in Damascus and Aleppo;[37] one such was the preacher al-Nasih ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn al-Hanbali (died 634/1236), who was descended from a well-known Damascene family and well acquainted with the Ayyubid princes. In particular he was close to Saladin with whom he had fought the Franks in 1187, and who liked to consult him on legal questions.[38]

Did any of these *ulama* demonstrate the wish to return to live in Jerusalem after 1187? Apparently not. In the biographical dictionary of the Hanbalites by Ibn Rajab, the numerous leading figures carrying the *nisba* 'al-Maqdisi' during the Ayyubid era were resident in Damascus and not in Jerusalem, a sign that the descendants of Palestinian immigrants of the 12th century, who thereafter were well-established in Damascus, showed no eagerness to return home. Even more significant, members of the *ulama* who were born in the Nablus region towards the end of the 12th century or at the beginning of the 13th century chose to go and live in Damascus rather than in Jerusalem. Finally, the absence of any mention of a Hanbalite *madrasa* in Jerusalem at this time is an additional indication that this *madhhab* was not developing in strength in the Holy City.

As to Malikism, it never did occupy a pre-eminent position in Syria and Palestine, and remained essentially attached to Andalusian and Maghribi immigration. The settling of immigrants in the Orient often took place on the occasion of their pilgrimage to Mecca, and the progress of the

[28] Pouzet 1988, 67-70; *EI*, Vol. VII, 273-74 R S Humphreys, 'al-Muʿazzam'.

[29] Ibn Wasil 1972, 211.

[30] Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 X, no. 3801. This *madrasa* was restored in 673/1274-5 by his son al Qahir ʿAbd al-Malik (died 676/1277), who was the administrator (*nazir*). Cf. *RCEA* 1937-1953 XII, no. 4687.

[31] Ibn Wasil 1972, 211.

[32] Cf. *EI*, Vol. VII, 756-57 F Buhl, 'Muʾta'.

[33] Ibn Wasil 1972, 211-12; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 X, no 3629; al-ʿAsali 1981, 104-6. But students could belong to different schools Ibn Wasil said he had attended lessons in this *qubba*, which still exists today. The old Zawiya al-Nasriyya founded in the second half of the 11th century, near one of the eastern gates of the Haram, was restored by al-Muʿazzam in 610/1212-3, and was equally assigned to the study of the Qurʾan and grammar; at the beginning of the 16th century it was in ruins. Cf Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 34; al-ʿAsali 1981, 96-9.

[34] Ibn Shaddad 1956, 216-17. This *amir* founded two other Hanafite *madrasas* in Damascus

[35] Cf. Laoust 1959, 67-128.

[36] Ibn Shaddad 1956, 255-59; Pouzet 1988, 80-96.

[37] Sivan 1968, 191 and 200 fn. 1; C Hillenbrand 1999, 223; Eddé 1999, 481.

[38] Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 289; Ibn Rajab 1952-1953 II, 193-201.

Christian 'Reconquest' in Muslim Spain in the 13th century undeniably accelerated their departure. Little is known about these few Malikites of western origin who were to be found in Jerusalem during the Ayyubid era. Some were simply passing through, like Abu 'l-Hasan ʿAli al-Harali al-Marrakushi al-Andalusi (died 637/1240-1), who moved frequently between the Maghrib (where he came from) and Egypt, Mecca, Syria and Palestine.[39] Others were a preacher in al-Aqsa Mosque,[40] *imam* in the Dome of the Rock,[41] secretary, or poet.[42] In spite of their relatively small numbers, in Jerusalem the Malikites had a *madrasa* (al-Afdaliyya) at their disposal; this had been built for them by Saladin's eldest son al-Afdal in 590/1194, only one year after he assumed power in Damascus.[43]

If juridical and cultural activities, which had been flourishing until 1219, began to wane after this date, Jerusalem, being a holy city, continued to attract a great many pilgrims, ascetics and pious people. Many Muslims stopped there on their way to pilgrimage to Mecca. Even at a time when Jerusalem was under Frankish rule in the 12th century, the Muslim pilgrimage was not forbidden in the city. The relevant information from Usama ibn Munqidh (died 584/1188) and al-Harawi (died 611/1215) is well known. In al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, the latter was even able to admire the numerous inscriptions in Arabic which the Franks had left intact.[44] The example of the Hanafite *wali* Rabiʿ ibn Mahmud Abu 'l-Fadl al-Mardini (died 602/1205), who went to live in Jerusalem at the time of the Franks, is also significant. While he was there, his association with the Christians of Mardin (his native town) made it possible for him to lodge with some oriental Christians and to be employed as a day labourer in a monastery. He used his savings to pay the entry fee charged by the Franks to Muslims who wished to pray in the Dome of the Rock. This ascetic, to whom 'miracles' *(karamat)* were attributed, was one of those who foretold Saladin about the fall of Jerusalem. After 1187, he spent his time between Mecca, Iraq and Syria, but he had made up his mind to die in Jerusalem. When he fell ill and felt the end was approaching, he asked to be transported to the Holy City and there he died a few days

after his arrival. He was buried in the cemetery in Mamilla, to the west of the town.[45]

Muslim pilgrimage to Jerusalem increased considerably once the city had been reconquered. Iraqis, Syrians, Egyptians and Andalusians went there on the way to pilgrimage to Mecca or on an embassy to Syria or to Egypt. Numerous biographies confirm this and we will simply quote here the pilgrimages of several well-known men, such as the Andalusian reader of the Qur'an, Abu Muhammad al-Qasim al-Shatibi (died 590/1194),[46] the Baghdadi Sufi Diya' al-Din ʿAbd al-Latif ibn Ismaʿil ibn Shaikh al-Shuyukh (died 596/1200),[47] the scholar ʿAbd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (d. 629/1231)[48] and historians such as Sibt ibn al-Jauzi,[49] Ibn al-ʿAdim,[50] Ibn al-Athir[51] and Abu Shama.[52] Once they were in Jerusalem, all these pilgrims visited the numerous sites listed by Arab authors, particularly by al-Harawi in his guide to places of pilgrimage.[53] The most important was, of course, the Haram al-Sharif, but others included the tombs of Muslim holy figures, and the many places linked by popular tradition to the memory of Jesus, his family, and other biblical figures, such as Solomon's Stables,[54] the grotto supposedly containing the cradle of Jesus, the well of the Jacobite church where Jesus washed himself, the Church of the Ascension (Kanisat al-Saliq),[55] the Church of Zion, the *mihrab* in the Tower of David, the spring of Siloam, and the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kedron Valley. As early as 1187, Saladin had the buildings of the principal objective of the pilgrims—the Haram al-Sharif—restored,[56] and between 608

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[39] Al-Maqqari 1949 II, 387-89; al-Dhahabi 1988 Section 64, 315-16.

[40] Zain al-Din ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Maliqi (died 605/1208-9; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 32; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 135; Yaqut 1955-1957 V, 43; al-Dhahabi 1988 Section 61, 183; al-Mundhiri 1981 I, 61 and 108).

[41] Abu Ibrahim Ismaʿil ibn Muhammad ʿUbbadi al-Andalusi, known by the name of al-Burhan (died 656/1258 in Jerusalem: al-Safadi 1974 211-12; Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 IV, 1820-1821; al-Maqqari 1949 II, 222-23).

[42] Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad ibn Faris al-Maghribi al-Mahalli (died 610/1213-4 in Jerusalem: al-Mundhiri 1981 II, 290; al-Safadi 1959, 313).

[43] Al-Afdal also founded a *masjid* in 589/1193 south of the Holy Sepulchre, and endowed the Maghribi district of Jerusalem to provide for the needs of the people ('with no distinction of origin, men and women')—an indication that the majority of the Maghribis were pious people and ascetics. Cf. Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 IX, no. 3464; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 46 (Sauvaire 1876, 163); al-ʿAsali 1981, 116-17.

[44] Al-Harawi 1953-1957 25-8, (trans.) 63-9; Hitti 1987, 163-64.

[45] Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 VIII, 3591-603.

[46] Ibn Kathir 1932-1939 XIII, 10; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VI, 494-95.

[47] Abu Shama 1974, 17; Sibt ibn al-Jauzi 1951-1952, 473; al-Dhahabi 1997, 253-54.

[48] Ibn Abi Usaibiʿa 1965, 687.

[49] In 600/1203-4, when he first came to Syria and Palestine. Later, between 635 and 638/1237-41, he lived for some time in Jerusalem after being in Karak and before returning to Damascus. Cf. Sibt ibn al-Jauwzi 1951-1952, 517, 714 and 734.

[50] In 603/1206-7 and 608/1211-2. Cf. Eddé 1999, 363.

[51] Ibn Khallikan 1968-1977 III, 348; Ibn al-Athir 1963, 170.

[52] In 624/1227. Cf. Abu Shama 1974, 151. Other examples of pilgrimages in Ibn Shaddad 2001, 36; Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 II, 788 and IV, 1648; Abu Shama 1974, 84; al-Mundhiri 1981 III, 335-36 and 399; al-Dhahabi 1988 Section 61, 151-52; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VI, 494-95; Pouzet 1988, 251

[53] Al-Harawi 1953-1957, 24-8, (trans.) 62-9. On places in Jerusalem venerated by the Muslims, see too Le Strange 1965, 83-171 and 209-23, and Elad 1995.

[54] Vaulted substructures at the south-east angle of the Haram, doubtless dating from the Umayyad era. Cf. al-Harawi 1953-1957, 27 (trans.) 66; Le Strange 1965, 167; *New Encyclopedia* 1993, 792.

[55] This does not refer to the Holy Sepulchre, which the Muslims called Kanisat al-Qumama (the Church of Refuse, a pun on Kanisat al-Qiyama, the Church of the Resurrection), but rather is a small church situated on the Mount Olives. Cf. Vincent and Abel 1914-1926 Fasc. I-II, 400-1 and 404-5. While Islam does not recognize the death of Jesus on the cross, it does recognize his ascension to heaven from Jerusalem

[56] An inscription dated 585/1189-90 is preserved *in situ* in the Dome of the Rock (Le Strange 1965, 134); another is situated on the Qubbat Yusuf within the Haram esplanade; a third commemorates the restoration of al-Aqsa and its *mihrab*. Cf. Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 IX, nos 3423 and 3447.

and 614/1211-7 new repairs were undertaken by al-Muʿazzam to restore al-Aqsa Mosque and the arcades of the Haram.[57]

Besides pilgrims, Jerusalem attracted a great many Sufis, ascetics and 'friends of God' *(wali)* to whom 'miracles' *(karamat)* were sometimes attributed. Saladin founded Sufi cloisters in several towns after they had been regained from the Franks. In Jerusalem, in 585/1189, he founded such a place (al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya) in the old Patriarchs' Palace, near the Holy Sepulchre. The *waqfiyya* specified that this establishment was intended to house Sufis with no resources, who were either young or old, married or single, Arab and non-Arab; they were to recite the Qur'an, say their prayers, and to participate in the collective invocation of God *(dhikr)* in favour of Saladin.[58] Other ascetics preferred to live alone, withdrawn from the world, in a small oratory,[59] cave or grotto. Saladin took various measures to encourage them to remain in the Holy City. For example, he allocated revenues from the Mount of Olives for the upkeep of two of these men,[60] and in 587/1191 he installed Shaikh Jalal al-Din Muhammad al-Shashi in an old Byzantine building to the south of the Haram al-Sharif (the present Zawiya al-Khatniyya).[61] For six years, one of these pious men lived withdrawn from the world in Solomon's Stables.[62] *Sufis* and ascetics came from different countries: Andalusia, Egypt, Iran, Syria and Palestine. Some had travelled widely and had settled after long journeys to end their days in the Holy City. People came to listen to them, to consult them, or to entreat their prayers; often after their death, their tombs became a place of pilgrimage.[63] The biography of one of them illustrates

to a fair degree the place they held in the religious life of the city. Abu ʿAli al-Hasan ibn Ahmad al-Awaqi (or al-Awahi) was a Sufi from an Iranian village situated between Zanjan and Hamadhan. First, around 570/1174-5, he went to Alexandria to complete his education before undertaking his pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1187, the day after Saladin's reconquest of the region, he left for Acre before returning to Ashqelon. Here he made his home in a Sufi cloister recently founded by Saladin, the Duwairat al-Khadra'. But in September 1191 when Saladin, afraid of being unable to defend the town against the Franks, had the place destroyed, al-Awaqi chose Jerusalem for his new residence. People came from afar to listen to him reciting the Qur'an and transmitting Prophetic traditions. Ibn al-ʿAdim, al-Mundhiri, Yaqut and many others listened to his words in al-Aqsa Mosque. He lived not far from there, to the south of the mosque, fasting by day and keeping watch by night, in a *duwaira* for Sufis.[64] He refused to leave in 1229 when Jerusalem was returned to the Franks. At the end of his life, free of worldly belongings, he preferred to await his death in the Holy City, and it was there that he died in 630/1232. He was buried in the cemetery of Mamilla, besides another great pious man, the *wali* Rabiʿ al-Mardini. And there pilgrims passing through Jerusalem came to pray by his tomb.[65]

Al-Awaqi is a typical example of these pious men who were both mystics and ascetics, who travelled throughout the Muslim world studying *hadith*, accomplishing their pilgrimage and finally settling down to spend their time in prayer and sometimes in transmitting their knowledge. Al-Awaqi's choice of Jerusalem was not his first and was made because of political and military circumstances. Acre was besieged by the Franks, Ashqelon destroyed, so Jerusalem provided his refuge. But once settled, he spent almost forty years there, and the demolition of the city walls in 1219 and the handing over of it to the Franks did not persuade him to leave.

'Whoever is buried in Jerusalem is buried in heaven' affirm certain apocryphal *hadiths*.[66] To have their tomb in Jerusalem was the wish of a great number of Muslims—religious men, but also men in power, *amirs*, administrators and tradesmen. Saladin had his faithful companion buried there, the Kurdish *faqih* ʿIsa al-Hakkari, killed in battle near Acre in 585/1189,[67] and there were many others, well-known and

[57] Cf. Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 X, nos. 3685 and 3718; C Hillenbrand 1999, 213 and 382.

[58] Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 47; Little 1989, 180; al-ʿAsali 1983, 81-104.

[59] During the Ayyubid era the term *zawiya* (later a synonym for *khanqah*) often designated a simple shelter for an ascetic: cf. Eddé 1999, 425. One *zawiya* (al-Jarrahiyya) was founded to the north of the walls of Jerusalem by Husam al-Din al-Husain al-Jarrahi, one of Saladin's *amirs*, who died in 598/1201 and was buried there (Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 48). Another, known as Zawiya al-Dargah (of the Palace), was set up in 613/1216 in the residence of the Hospitallers near Saladin's Hospital by al-Muzaffar Ghazi, brother of al-Muʿazzam, who was lord of Mayyafariqin (Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 47; Sauvaire 1876, 165; Richards 1994, 72 and 76). Al-ʿAziz, Saladin's son, installed an ascetic in a small monastery outside the city and allocated the revenues from a small neighbouring village for his upkeep (Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 144-45).

[60] Two Kurds of the Hakkari family, Wali al-Din Abu'l-ʿAbbas Ahmad ibn Abi Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allah and his son Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli. But the *waqf* was not signed until 584/1198 (Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 61).

[61] Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 34 and 144; Sauvaire 1876, 140-41; al-ʿAsali 1981, 100-3.

[62] Ghanim ibn ʿAli ibn Ibrahim ibn ʿAsakir al-Maqdisi al-Nabulusi (died 632/1235); Saladin had appointed him to the directorship of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya (Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 146; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 270-71; al-Dhahabi 1988 Section 64, 101-3).

[63] Among them were Abu ʿAbd Allah Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Qurashi al-Andalusi (died 599/1203 in Jerusalem: al-Maqqari 1949 II, 260-63; al-Mundhiri 1981 I, 468, Ibn Khallikan 1968-1977 IV, 305-6; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 245); ʿAbd Allah al-Armani (died 631/1233-4 in Damascus: Sibt ibn al-Jauzi 1951-1952, 686-91; Ibn Kathir 1932-1939 XIII, 141-42; Ibn al-

ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 255); Abu 'l-Qasim al-Asʿardi (Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 VIII, 3602); Saif al-Din ibn ʿUrwa al-Mausili (died 620/1223: Ibn Kathir 1932-1939 XIII, 101-2; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 146); ʿAli ibn Ahmad al-Qadsi (al-Maqqari 1949 II, 324); the *sharif* Badr al-Din ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf (died 650/1252-3: Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 146-47).

[64] Perhaps the present-day Zawiya al-Khataniyya, founded by Saladin in 587/1191.

[65] Ibn al-ʿAdim 1988 II, 969 and V, 2284-288; al-Mundhiri 1981 II, 123 and III, 334; Yaqut 1955-1957 I, 283; Ibn al-ʿImad 1986-1995 VII, 238 and 749.

[66] Matthews 1935, 72; Ibn al-Murajja 1995, 198.

[67] Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 143-44.

less well-known.[68] Even the Khwarazmian chief, Berke Khan (died 644/1246) was entitled to a mausoleum in Jerusalem. In 1244 he had helped al-Salih Ayyub (1240-1249) to regain Jerusalem from the Franks in a bloody battle. Considering themselves badly rewarded, the Khwarazmian troops had then turned against al-Salih before being beaten by the Aleppan army in 1246. Berke Khan was killed in the battle and his head exhibited at the gate of the citadel of Aleppo. Was it his wife, the sister of al-Salih Ayyub on whom Jerusalem depended at the time, who had her husband's remains buried in this mausoleum? In any event, his two sons, Kara Beg (died 661/1263) and Badr al-Din Muhammad (died 678/1279) were later buried there beside him.[69]

Did the serious political crises that Jerusalem underwent give rise to any reaction by the religious classes of the town? The first two, in 1219 and in 1229, were instigated by the Ayyubid sovereigns themselves and, as was to be expected, triggered significant conflicts, the echo of which have come down to us by way of Damascene writings. Al-Mu'azzam was accused—even by his friend, the historian Sibt ibn al-Jauzi—of having caused an upheaval comparable to the Last Judgment, 'such as Islam had never known'.[70] In Jerusalem itself, the population demonstrated its despair in the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa Mosque. These were filled with hair, cut off as a sign of mourning, and even if no record from the religious classes of Jerusalem has reached us, it is probable that they too were hostile to this decision.

In 1229, the *imams* and the *mu'adhdhins* of the Haram al-Sharif openly demonstrated their opposition to the treaty of Jaffa by making the call to prayer in front of al-Kamil's tent at an unusual hour.[71] In the same way in Jerusalem, at the very time when the Emperor Frederick II took over the town, a *mu'adhdhin* made the call to prayer on the Haram, adding two polemical anti-Christian verses to the usual turn of phrase, an initiative which was not due just to the *qadi's* lack of attention.[72] Moreover, we know of the extremely hostile reactions caused by the treaty of Jaffa in Damascus which were for religious reasons but also, and perhaps especially, for political reasons. Al-Nasir Da'ud, ruler of Damascus since the death of his father al-Mu'azzam, was fighting openly against al-Kamil, who only a few weeks after having concluded an agreement

with Frederick II, went with his troops to besiege the city.[73] Considering these events and the reactions they provoked, it can be seen once again how closely the destinies of these two towns were linked.

Two distinct periods can be thus distinguished. Religious life in Jerusalem, stimulated by Saladin and then al-Mu'azzam, experienced an important revival between 1187 and 1219. Of the eight known Ayyubid *madrasas* in Jerusalem, seven were founded during this period and the eighth was created by an *amir* of al-Mu'azzam. Many *'ulama'* returned to Jerusalem: *qadis*, *madrasa* professors, jurisconsults, traditionists,[74] ascetics and Sufis. Paradoxically, one of the sovereigns who worked the hardest for the re-building of Jerusalem, the only one to have lived in the city, was also the one who ordered the demolition of its walls in 1219, thus inaugurating a far less fertile period. Ten years later, the surrender of Jerusalem to the Franks was to result in the loss of its cultural drive, even if, in the eyes of the population, pilgrims and pious men, it retained its religious importance. Nor were the sack of the town in 1244 by the Khwarazmians, al-Salih Ayyub's lack of interest in Jerusalem,[75] the fall of the Ayyubid dynasty in Egypt in 1250, the animated political context of the 1250s in Syria and Palestine, and finally the Mongol invasion in 1260 and the fall of the Ayyubids in Syria, more favourable to the development of religious studies in the Holy City. It is striking to note that the city is hardly mentioned in the privileged teaching centres for the *'ulama'* of this time. In the list of the *'ulama'* of Aleppo that we have established, the name of Jerusalem as their teaching centre appears only four times, whilst that of Damascus is quoted thirty-two times.[76] Even if this number is merely an indication and would probably be higher for the *'ulama'* of Damascus, it is evidence of a relatively reduced intellectual activity. It was only after the arrival of the Mamluks in 1260, and the final departure of the Franks in 1291 and with it greater political stability, that new buildings embellished the town. In the 14th and 15th centuries Jerusalem attained remarkable religious and cultural heights, which the troubled political context of the Ayyubid era had not allowed it to reach.[77]

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[68] See examples in Ibn al-'Adim 1988 IV, 167; al-Mundhiri 1981 I, 136 and 168; II, 344; al-Dhahabi 1996, 299; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 48; Sauvaire 1876, 167-68.

[69] Cf. Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 XI, no. 4255-256; XII, nos 4504 and 4774; Eddé 1999, 140.

[70] The account by Sibt ibn al-Jauzi was taken up again by Abu Shama. Here one can read about the extremely hostile reaction of the former Hanafite *qadi* of Mount Tabor, who became a *madrasa* professor in Damascus.

[71] Al-Makin ibn al-'Amid 1955-1957 138; (trans.) 41.

[72] According to Sibt ibn al-Jauzi, the *qadi* had forbidden the call to prayer to be made in the emperor's presence, 1951-1952, 656; Sivan 1968, 147.

[73] On these events and the hostile reactions to the treaty of Jaffa, see Humphreys 1977, 193-208; Sivan 1968, 147-48; C Hillenbrand 1999, 216-22.

[74] Among them were Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn 'Isa al-Andalusi al-Iskandarani (died 596/1199-1200 in Alexandria: al-Mundhiri 1981 I, 345) and two members of the Banu 'Asakir, Baha' al-Din al-Qasim (died 600/1203), son of the well-known traditionist (al-Mundhiri 1981 II, 9) and one of his cousins, 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad (died 591/1195: al-Dhahabi 1997, 68).

[75] Even if he went to Jerusalem in 645/1247 and had built there, two years later, the Qubbat Musa on the Haram (Ibn Kathir 1932-1939 XIII, 173; Mujir al-Din 1968 II, 21-22; Combe, Sauvaget and Wiet, *RCEA* 1937-1953 XI, no. 4305). In his testament intended for his son, he declares himself ready to abandon Jerusalem if necessary (Cahen-Chabbouh 1977, 107).

[76] Eddé 1999, 605-34.

[77] Cf. *EI²*, Vol. V, 322-44 S D Goitein-O Grabar, 'al-Kuds', Little 1989, 186-96; Burgoyne 1987 and Meinecke 1992.

Chapter 11
AN AMBIGUOUS AESTHETIC: CRUSADER *SPOLIA* IN AYYUBID JERUSALEM

Finbarr Barry Flood

Introduction[1]

When the armies of Saladin recaptured the city of Jerusalem in 583/1187, the Ayyubids were faced with a series of practical choices stemming from the physical transformations that the architecture and sacred topography of the city had undergone during the eight decades of Crusader rule. The Ayyubid response to the 'Christianisation' of the third holiest city in Islam amounted to a highly selective series of interventions in the urban landscape, beginning with the reconsecration of the shrines on the Haram al-Sharif, extending to the confiscation and conversion to Muslim use of a few significant monuments associated with Latin rule, and culminating in the foundation or restoration of some twenty-five monuments in the decades between 583/1187 and 642/1244.[2]

The clearing of Crusader structures erected on the Haram platform, and the other alterations that followed the reconquest evidently resulted in the availability of a considerable amount of finely wrought architectural materials, for the re-use of Crusader *spolia* in the monuments built in the decades after the reconquest is so extensive that Myriam Rosen-Ayalon has identified it as a defining characteristic of the Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem.[3] The role of such material in Ayyubid monuments is not merely structural but applied, and aesthetically constitutive. The congestion of the area around the Haram precluded the undertaking of large-scale architectural projects by Ayyubid patrons, and instead, 'narrow Haram frontages were transformed into panels of virtuoso decoration to compensate for the absence of volumetric expression.'[4] Dissociated from their primary contexts, richly carved Crusader *spolia* played a

major role in such virtuoso assemblages, articulating exterior façades, and massed around entrances. In the interiors of the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque Crusader *spolia* comprised elements of liturgical furnishings that provided an interior visual focus, or were hung 'like paintings' to ornament vertical wall surfaces.[5] Among the architectural members most commonly employed were columns (plain, interlaced, and double interlaced), capitals (single, double and even triple), dwarf arcades, window tracery, marble panels carved with acanthus, and archivolts variously decorated.

Over the past few decades, the researches of Buschhausen, Folda, Jacoby and others have made much of this material available to scholarship.[6] However convenient these publications are for their encyclopaedic approach to Crusader material in Jerusalem, their main focus is on the production and primary context of the *spolia*, and the light that they shed on the development of the plastic arts during the Frankish occupation of the city. This is often reflected in the tendency to abstract the *spolia* from the contexts in which they are re-used, reinforcing their 'Crusader' identity.[7] My aim in this paper is neither to detail every instance of re-use in Jerusalem, nor to describe each re-used carving, but by focusing on the monuments of the Haram, to offer a broad overview that considers the nature of the pieces chosen for re-use, the contexts of their redeployment, and the compositional strategies that determined its parameters.

Unfortunately, the medieval sources that are so forthcoming on the reconsecration of the monuments of the

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[1] My thanks are due to Dr Michael Burgoyne, Professor Jaroslav Folda and Professor Bianca Kühnel for permission to use some of their drawings and photographs to illustrate this article.

[2] Tamari 1968; Schaefer 1985, 200-6; Little 1997, 180, 215-16; C Hillenbrand 1999, 298-303.

[3] 1990, 308. For the clearing of the Crusader structures see Massé 1972, 55.

[4] Jarrar 1998, 71.

[5] Jacoby 1992, 15.

[6] Folda 1968; Buschhausen 1978; Jacoby 1979; Jacoby 1982a & b; Folda 1995.

[7] This is witnessed in the fragmentary approach to the visual evidence. If one looks for example at the images of the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina that appear in Buschhausen's magisterial opus (1978, pls. 124-57), the gate is presented as a series of details abstracted from their immediate architectural contexts. The same is true of the Mihrab of 'Umar in the Aqsa Mosque in most publications. See, however, Jacoby (1992) for a discussion of the adaptation of Crusader *spolia* to their secondary contexts.
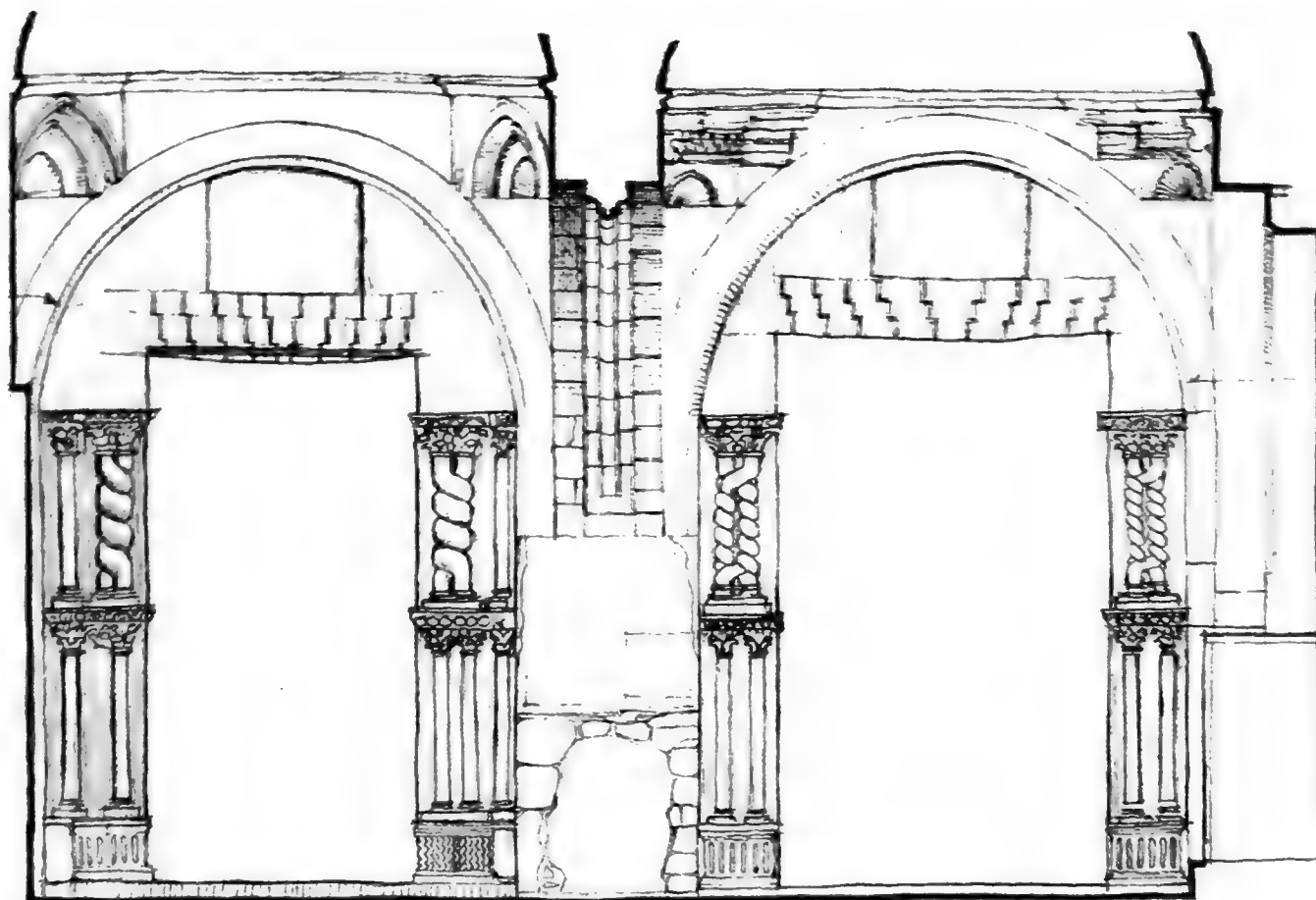
Fig. 11.1 Elevation of the Bab al-Sakina (left) and Bab al-Silsila (right) (after Burgoyne, 1992).

Jerusalem Haram are generally silent on the topic of re-used material. Existing scholarship cites three basic explanations for the prominence afforded Crusader *spolia* in medieval Islamic monuments: pragmatism, aesthetics, and the visual articulation of Muslim victory, with the emphasis generally on the latter.[8] Considering the possible meaning of Crusader *spolia* in Ayyubid contexts, I will emphasize the evidence for the aesthetic value placed upon them, arguing that their use is best understood as part of a broader pattern of Ayyubid engagement with antecedent architectural traditions in both Syria and Egypt.

It should be stated at the outset that it is not always possible to date the monuments within which Crusader *spolia* appear with precision; in many cases the structures into which they were incorporated are undated, and even the date of the re-used carvings themselves, which might provide a *terminus post quem*, are sometimes disputed.[9] Crusader *spolia* enjoyed

a long currency in Jerusalemite architecture, and was still available several centuries after 583/1187 for both Mamluk and Ottoman architects to draw upon. The picture has been further complicated by the removal of Crusader *spolia* from the monuments of the Haram during modern restorations. Given these limitations, and the impossibility of undertaking the archaeological and forensic investigations needed to transcend them, some of the conclusions offered below are necessarily of a preliminary nature.

Sites and sources

Re-used Crusader materials are found in Ayyubid structures within and without the Haram, but there is a particular concentration in and around it.[10] A re-used miniature arcade consisting of trefoil arches borne on columns crowned with acanthus capitals appears in the interior of the Bab Hitta, at the northern end of the sanctuary, which a lost inscription in the name of the Ayyubid prince al-Mu'azzam 'Isa dated

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[8] C Hillenbrand 1999, 384.

[9] The major disagreement concerns whether the majority of *spolia* were carved before 583/1187 or, as Buschhausen (1978) has argued, in the 630s/1230s, when the city was again accessible to Christians. Burgoyne and Folda (1981: 322) have argued convincingly that the former is the case; the fact that many of the *spolia* are incorporated into monuments built in the first few decades after the reconquest of the city would support an earlier dating. See also Boase 1977, 91; Jacoby 1982b.

[10] Among the Ayyubid monuments outside the Haram one might mention the entrance of the Afdaliyya Madrasa, whose cushion voussoirs may be Crusader *spolia*; Burgoyne 1982 49, pl. 9.

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to 617/1220;[11] the trefoil arches are comparable to those
that appear on the 'Summer Pulpit' of the Haram, assembled
from Crusader *spolia* probably in the late 6th/12th century.[12]
In both quantity and diversity, however, it is the western Bab
al-Sakina/Bab al-Silsila that witnesses the most extensive use
of Crusader material at any of the entrances to the Haram
(fig. 11.1). The gate was built into an older double gate,
probably in the last decade of the 6th/12th century.[13] Pairs
of Crusader columns and capitals support the archivolt of the
gate's outer opening,[14] but a more diverse array of Crusader
spolia is massed on either side of the double openings that
lead directly into the Haram.[15] The more northerly of the
two, the Bab al-Sakina, is flanked by two superimposed rows
of re-used Crusader columns and capitals capped by narrow
entablatures carved with vegetal ornament. On the topmost
row, single interlaced columns are flanked on their exterior
by columns of plainer type, similar to those in the lower row
of columns below. A similar arrangement is followed in the
adjoining Bab al-Silsila, but with a double rather than a single
interlaced column flanking the gate on the upper level. The
broad symmetry of the entire arrangement is breached by the
appearance of a single extraneous column in the lower level
of the Bab al-Sakina.

Within the Haram itself, Crusader *spolia* appear in
several structures dated or datable to the Ayyubid period.
Standing at the south-western edge of the platform, the Qubbat
al-Nahwiyya, a *madrasa* founded by al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa
in 605/1207-8, makes extensive use of Crusader *spolia* on its
façade. In addition to cavetto mouldings (which may be *spolia*)
on corbels, the large double interlaced columns flanking the
entrance are of Crusader workmanship. Although the façade has
clearly been refurbished or remodelled, the use of such columns
around entrances is characteristic of Ayyubid monuments in
the Haram, suggesting that these are in (or have been returned
to) the positions that they occupied in the original structure.[16]
These are the sole remains of what was once a more extensive
use of Crusader *spolia*, for al-ʿUmari (died 750/1349) describes a
series of such columns on the north side of the building, similarly
framing its two entrances.[17] A photograph taken in the 13th/19th
century before the destruction of this part of the building shows
a blocked arcade supported on monumental interlaced columns
similar in form and proportions to those re-used in the Mihrab
of ʿUmar in the Aqsa Mosque (pl. 11.7).[18]

Pl. 11.1 Interior of the Dome of the Rock with the 'Table of Hamza'
to the right (after Wilson, 1880).

Crusader *spolia* were also prominent in several of the
domed structures that stand on the Haram platform, which have
been dated on stylistic grounds to the later 6th/12th century,
among them the 'Summer Pulpit' and Qubbat Sulaiman.[19] The
most extensive use of such material was in the Qubbat al-Miʿraj,
which an inscription dates to 597/1200-1. Whether this is the
date at which the structure was constructed or refurbished is a
matter of debate. Against the resemblances in form and exterior
articulation between this structure and the Crusader Church
of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives must be measured
the lack of Crusader masons' marks on the capitals, which
suggests that they have been reworked.[20] A total of fifty-four
carved stone capitals appears within the structure, including
those in the lantern (itself probably a Crusader spolium) and
the thirty that encircle the exterior of the monument. Despite
the apparently disparate arrangement of Crusader capitals on
the exterior, there is a broad logic to their disposition, with
pairs of plain stylized foliate capitals being sandwiched between
capitals of more elaborate form bearing registers of acanthus or
braided ornament. The southern corners flanking the *mihrab*
projection are exceptions, with only a single example of the

Boase 1977, pl Xc; Rosen-Ayalon 1990, 311; Burgoyne 1992, 112-13
Burgoyne 1987, 319-20

Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 323; Burgoyne 1992, 118-19.

Folda 1995, pl 8A.7a-b

Buschhausen 1978, 191-97, pls 128-57; Folda 1995, pl. 8A.7c-f. For a view
of the superstructure, which also contains Crusader *spolia*, see Rosen-Ayalon
1990, 308, pl 29B

Van Berchem 1927, 59-60, Jacoby 1982b, 361, fig. 61; Burgoyne 1987, 91;
Tamari 1987, Rosen-Ayalon 1990, 309

Al-Umari 1924, 145-46, Mayer 1931-32, 48-9

Boase 1967, 19; Buschhausen 1978, 199-200, figs 122-23; Tamari 1987, 220.

Burgoyne 1987, 47-8, 319-20

Boase 1977, pl Xa-b; Burgoyne 1987, 48; Folda 1995, 253-66.

Pl. 11. 2 Dome of the Rock, the cave beneath the rock with the Mihrab Ibrahim on right (after Wilson, 1889).

more elaborate capitals appearing in conjunction with a pair of the plain foliate type.

The quantity of Crusader *spolia* re-used in the Dome of the Rock is difficult to determine with certainty, since at least some of this material was removed or covered in the centuries after it was set in place. Among the Crusader material in the Sakhra removed to the Islamic Museum during restorations in the last century was a composite structure known as the 'Table of Hamza' which was constructed from at least six different fragments of Crusader *spolia*. The 'table' was comprised of a narrow fragment of an acanthus frieze placed atop a panel carved with two conchoid niches, the ensemble supported on three small interlaced columns, two double, one single. The columns and conchoid niches are similar to those that appeared in the tomb of Baldwin V (died 581/1185), suggesting that they may have derived from a tomb or pulpit.[21] Before their removal, these elements were set into the base of the north-western pier, below the 'Buckler of Hamza' (pl. 11.1).[22]

In addition to this composite *mihrab*, similar conchoid niches, also Crusader *spolia*, were used to form a *mihrab* near the western entrance to the Dome of the Rock.[23] Crusader capitals were also set around the Mihrab of Abu Hanifa, located opposite the portal leading to the cave beneath the Rock. The *mihrab* bears an undated inscription in glass mosaic and, if not Mamluk, may be Ayyubid.[24] Further examples of Crusader *spolia* were used in the construction of the Mihrab Ibrahim, one of two set within the Cave, on either side of the stair

[21] Buschhausen 1978, 165–67, figs 72–6, 89–90; Jacoby 1979, 9, fig. 9.

[22] Wilson 1880, 59. For a good photograph of the structure still in place see Strzygowski 1936, pl. 3. This was evidently not a *mihrab*, for the orientation would have been incorrect; see Clermont-Ganneau 1899, 'K' on plan on page 154

[23] Buschhausen 1978, 186, fig. 162.

[24] Buschhausen 1978, 184, figs 324–29; Rosen-Ayalon 1986, 557.

Pl. 11.3 Dome of the Rock, Portal with re-used Crusader material (after Folda, 1995).

that descends into it (pl. 11.2). The *mihrab* is constructed from two pairs of double interlaced columns and acanthus capitals supporting a trefoil arch with rosette spandrels; the arrangement is similar to that found in the Mihrab of Zakariyya in the Aqsa Mosque, which will be described shortly.[25]

The largest example of Crusader carving in the Dome of the Rock is the portal that leads to the cave beneath the Rock (pl. 11.3). Although the tympanum consists of Crusader *spolia* cut down and altered to fit, the portal itself may have remained *in situ* after the reconsecration of the Templum Domini to Muslim use.[26] The presence of an Arabic inscription notwithstanding, the portal is comparable in structure and decorative syntax to Crusader portals in the Holy Sepulchre,

[25] Strzygowski 1936, 500, pl. 2; Buschhausen 1978, figs 77–80; Jacoby 1979, fig. 11; Jacoby 1982b, 328.

[26] Boase 1967, 19; Boase 1977, 88–9; Jacoby 1982b, 328, pl. 7; Folda 1995, pls 10.15a–d.

Pl. 11.4 Al-Aqsa Mosque, central portion of the façade. (Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva)

and is especially reminiscent of the south entrance to the grotto in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.[27] The well-known Crusader portal from Acre, later incorporated into the Madrasa of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo (703/1303-4), provides a parallel for the re-use of such features.[28] If the Jerusalem portal is still *in situ* it would not, strictly speaking, represent a Crusader spolium but would, like the iron grille of Crusader workmanship left in place around the Rock after 583/1187, represent continuity between the Crusader and Ayyubid periods.[29]

In terms of quantity, quality and diversity, the Aqsa Mosque houses the most impressive array of Crusader material to be found among the monuments of the Haram. Much of the Crusader work in the eastern aisles of the mosque and the long vaulted chambers adjoining was altered or removed in the restorations of 1357-61/1938-1942,[30] but considerable quantities remain on the façade, along the *qibla* wall, and in the *mihrabs* and *dikka* of the mosque. This is in addition to the elements of Crusader work that appear in and around the mosque, reminders of its role as the headquarters of the Knights Templar; these include the remains of several portals on the east side of the building, and the tracery of a rose window incorporated into the eastern area of the mosque that houses the Mihrab of Zakariyya.[31]

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[27] Boase 1977, pl. XIVa; Folda 1995, pl. 7.8k.

[28] Creswell 1978 Vol. 2, 234–35; Jacoby 1982a.

[29] Folda 1995, 136, pls 6.7b–c, 8A.3c.

[30] Boase 1977, 87.

[31] Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 220; Van Berchem 1927, 446, nos. 68 and 300; Hamilton 1949, pl. XIV; Burgoyne 1987, 47.

Pl. 11.5 Al-Aqsa Mosque, central *mihrab*. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C. 500)

The façade of the portico, whose three central bays were added or remodelled by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 609/1217-8, incorporates a range of Crusader material, both visible and hidden (pl. 11.4). The chevron moulding of the archivolt of the portico has been carved on the reverse of Crusader masonry, which itself bore carved ornament.[32] Such mouldings are common in Crusader monuments, and we seem to have here the appropriation of both a decorative vocabulary and the materials to execute it.[33] The opening of the arch is flanked by engaged columns that bear foliated capitals of Crusader type, and the imposts of at least one of the corbels bear figural ornament.

In the interior of the mosque, panels of Crusader marble carved with wet-leaf acanthus have been integrated into the *mihrabs* and surrounding decorative scheme of the *qibla* wall, along with fragments featuring arcade motifs with conchoid niches and spandrels carved with acanthus.[34] The date at which these were set in place has not been determined, but at least some of the decorative scheme is likely to date from the refurbishments of 583/1187, when the main *mihrab* was redecorated (pl. 11.5).[35] Crusader columns and foliate capitals flank this *mihrab* on either side and are set within it; at its base are set a pair of panels with double arches extracted from a slender arcade.[36] On either side were smaller *mihrabs* flanked by smaller columns topped by re-used Crusader capitals. The main *mihrab* is surmounted by a re-used composite miniature arcade borne on alternating straight and zig-zag spiral columns. The re-use of such miniature arcades in and around *mihrabs* in the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque may have been informed by the presence of similar features in major Syrian monuments of the period. The interior of the main *mihrab* of the Great Mosque of Damascus, seen by Ibn Jubayr when he visited in 580/1184, was, for example, decorated with a series of miniature arcades.[37]

Greater massing of Crusader *spolia* is used to spectacular effect in other *mihrabs* of the Aqsa, most noticeably in two monumental *mihrabs* that stand in the eastern part of the mosque. The Mihrab of Zakariyya is a composite arrangement of Crusader *spolia* in which a trefoil arch is supported on pairs of Crusader columns, the spandrels of the arch filled with two separate acanthus carvings, while an unrelated portion of a rectangular frieze of scrolling acanthus shorter than the

width of the *mihrab* is set into the wall above as a terminal ornament (pl. 11.6). The use of wet-leaf acanthus reliefs and the care taken with assembling the re-used pieces relates the *mihrab* to other instances of *spolia* construction in the Haram, as Folda has noted:

> This extraordinary effort at piecing together numerous fragments of the wet-leaf acanthus sculpture for later Moslem decoration can be seen in many examples of which the Zachariye *mihrab* in the Aqsa Mosque is an important example. Here the paneling of the interstices over the trefoil arch and on the sides, without counting the parts of the voussoirs or the columnlike corner pieces, consists of fourteen separate segments.[38]

The Zakariyya *mihrab* is undated, but based on palaeographic and stylistic grounds van Berchem attributed it to the refurbishments of Saladin.[39] Crusader *spolia* was also incorporated into the Mihrab of ʿUmar, which has been tentatively dated to the same period.[40] The *mihrab* is flanked by double figural capitals surmounting massive double interlaced columns set on inverted capitals also of Crusader origin, one of which imitates Byzantine wind-blown acanthus (pl. 11.7).[41] Flanking the interior opening of the niche are two columns with foliated capitals of plainer type, but also of Crusader origin.

The *dikka* of the Aqsa Mosque, an elevated rectangular platform approximately twelve feet long by six feet wide, is a monumental assemblage of Crusader *spolia*, most of it apparently from the Templar workshop based in the area of the mosque (pl. 11.8).[42] Over fourteen pieces of carved stone of various sizes have been used in constructing the balustrade, and sixteen in the cornice, while the platform itself is comprised of five separate slabs. The decorated fragments include narrow friezes of scrolling and wet-leaf acanthus borne on re-used acanthus capitals, with triplex columns and capitals cut down to support the corners of the structure, except on the north-eastern corner where three single capitals have been used.[43] Like many of the interior fixtures of the Aqsa

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[32] Hamilton 1949, 39-44, pls XXII-XXV.

[33] Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 221. An archivolt of similar form is part of the Crusader portal re-used at the main entrance to the Great Mosque of Tripoli in Lebanon; Salam-Liebich 1983, 18 fig. 4. See also Allen 1984, chapter 4. Similar mouldings appear on the Qubbat Yusuf on the Haram, which recent research has placed in the Ottoman period, despite its inclusion of a re-used Ayyubid inscription; Natsheh 2002, 938.

[34] Buschhausen 1978, 186, 205, figs 160-3, 198, 207-11, 319, 325; Jacoby 1979, 10 fig. 10; Jacoby 1982b, 326 figs 4, 8.

[35] Van Berchem 1927, 403, no. 280; Boase 1977, pl. VIIIb; Jacoby 1982, pl. 5.8a.

[36] Rosen-Ayalon 1986, 553-6; C Hillenbrand 1999, pl. 5.6.

[37] Flood 1997, 64.

[38] 1995, 596 n. 184. See also van Berchem 1927, no. 300, pl. CXIX; Buschhausen 1978, 199-200, figs 172-4, 179-80; Jacoby 1982b, 326, figs 1, 10.

[39] Van Berchem 1927, 448; Hamilton 1949, 21.

[40] Korn 1998, 223.

[41] Buschhausen 1978, 198, figs 109-14; Folda 1995, pl. 8A.8c. One of the capitals is closely related to those re-used in the Bab al-Sakina, the other to Crusader capitals in the Holy Sepulchre; Wilson 1880, 68; Hamilton 1949, 44. For a rare photograph of the *mihrab* in its entirety see Rosen-Ayalon 1989, ill. 16.

[42] Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 217-18; Boase 1977, 89, pl. VIIIa; Buschhausen 1978, 218-24, figs 185-95; Folda 1995, 442-51, pls 10.13a-w. For a rare comprehensive view see Jacoby 1992, fig. 2. The *dikka* has been moved several times in the past century; Folda 1995, 596n.

[43] Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 322.

Mosque, the date of the *dikka* is hard to determine, but the quantity and quality of the Crusader *spolia* that comprise it speaks in favour of a date soon after the Ayyubid conquest, when material of this quality could have become available as the result of clearances on the Haram; van Berchem suggested quite plausibly that the construction of the *dikka* was part of Saladin's refurbishment of the Aqsa mosque.[44] Material of similar range and quality, including triplex capitals, was used to construct a small domed structure to the south-west of the Dome of the Rock that today serves as the 'Summer Pulpit': Burgoyne ascribes the construction of the domed core to the late 6th/12th century.[45]

From this brief survey it is clear that there is a certain consistency to the contexts in which Crusader *spolia* are deployed and to the compositional strategies that determine the manner of their deployment. Interlaced columns are frequently used to flank entrances and *mihrabs*, often in combination with trefoil arches and conchoid niches. Horizontal acanthus friezes are either inserted into vertical wall surfaces or used to form entablatures. The repetitious use of similar types of *spolia*, most obviously columns and capitals not only imbues the Ayyubid monuments in and around the Haram with a sense of rhythm, but lends them a visual coherence. For example, interlaced marble Crusader columns flanked the entrances of the Bab al-Sakina/Bab al-Silsila in the western portico of the Haram, and several of the entrances to the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya (604/1207-8) at the south-western corner of the Haram platform.[46] Re-used double capitals similar to those used on the Bab al-Silsila also appear on the façade of the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya, on the Aqsa façade rebuilt by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, and in the Mihrab of 'Umar within the Aqsa.[47] As Folda has noted, the non-figural double capitals re-used in the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina are also closely related to those re-used in the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, 'in the types, sizes, and proportions of capitals, motifs, vocabulary of forms, style of foliate design, and technique of execution', further establishing visual links between these two structures, rebuilt or remodelled in the Ayyubid period.[48]

The sources of the Crusader material re-used in Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman Jerusalem are largely a matter of conjecture. Some of the smaller elements scattered around the Haram—the miniature arcades of plaited columns and conchoid arches for example—evidently come from either

Pl. 11.6 Al-Aqsa Mosque, Mihrab of Zachariyya. (Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva)

liturgical furnishings or funerary monuments; in this respect, it is worth remembering John of Würzburg's reference to Crusader funerary structures on the Haram platform.[49] The Crusader monuments on the Haram platform that were demolished by Saladin in 583/1187 are likely sources for some of the *spolia*. Some of the capitals re-used in the Qubbat al-Mi'raj may have come from the monastery of the Augustinian canons or its colonnade, which was destroyed at this time, and it has been suggested that the double interlaced columns re-used in the Bab al-Sakina, the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya and elsewhere came from the destroyed atrium of the Templum Domini.[50] It is now generally accepted that the three historiated capitals re-used in the Ghawanima minaret (*ca* 697/1298) were originally carved for the Chapel of Repose, a small

44 1927, 415
45 Burgoyne 1987, 319. See also Buschhausen 1978, 225-32; Jacoby 1982b, 345, figs 52, 88
46 As Burgoyne and Folda (1981, 322) have pointed out, one of the problems in discussing the relationship between different instances of re-use lies in a lack of information on sale, both absolute and comparative. For this reason, I have confined my remarks to the formal qualities of the re-used material.
47 Folda 1995, 272
48 Folda 1995, 260

49 Burgoyne 1987, 47. Since the date of many of the structures referred to above is uncertain, it is possible that some of the material stems from the Khwarizmian sack of Jerusalem in 642/1244, when some of the church furniture in the Holy Sepulchre was dismantled and the tombs of the Latin kings ransacked; Jacoby 1979, 9.
50 Enlart 1925-28, 209, 216; Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 323; Jacoby 1982b, 378-80; Folda 1995, 260, 441-2. It has also been suggested that the Crusader carvings incorporated into the Bab al-Silsila and into later Ottoman *sabils* came from the nearby Church of St Gilles; Boase 1977, 273.
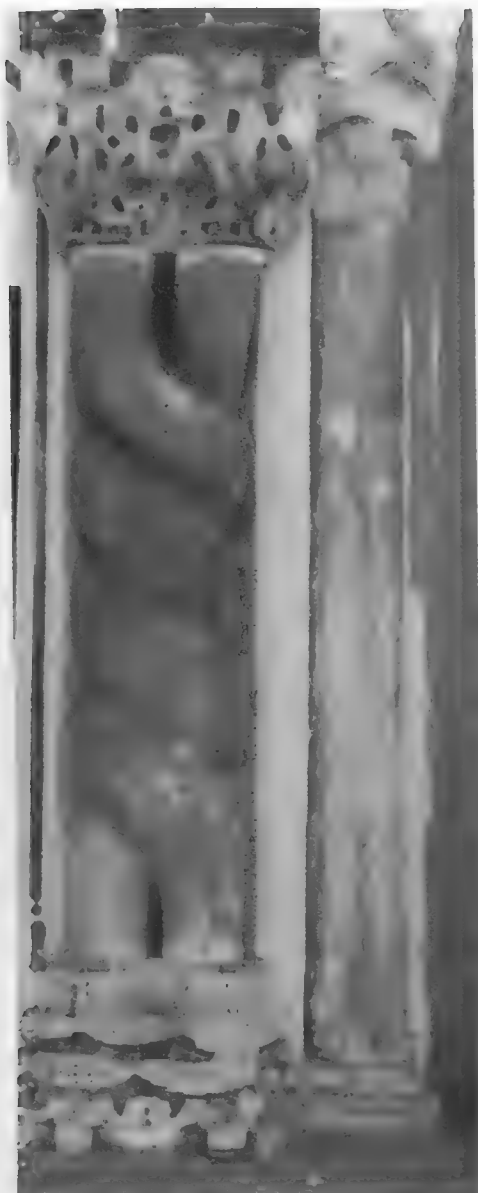
Pl. 11.7 Al-Aqsa Mosque, Mihrab of 'Umar, double interlaced column and figural capital on eastern side (after Folda, 1995).

Pl. 11.8 Al-Aqsa Mosque, *Dikka* (after Folda, 1995).

The question of figural *spolia*

In spite of frequent assertions that all Crusader figural carving fell victim to the iconoclastic zeal of the Ayyubids,[53] in fact a surprising range of such material was incorporated into the post-conquest monuments of Jerusalem. Crusader figural carvings appear in several locations in the Jerusalem Haram, but there is a particular concentration in and around the Aqsa Mosque, with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic material being re-used on the entrance façade, around interior *mihrabs* and on the *dikka* of the mosque. A capital with intertwined

12th-century chapel that stood nearby, and that had fallen into disuse by the time the minaret was built; whether the capitals were taken directly from the chapel or were used in some intervening monuments is not clear.[51] As Boase points out, some of the re-used material is unfinished, suggesting that it may have come from the Crusader workshop known to have been based in the Haram area and whose work is believed to be represented in the Aqsa *dikka*.[52]

Folda 1977, 273

[52] Boase 1977, 89, Folda 1995, 451

[53] Boase 1977, 73, 274. The erroneous identification of images of swine within the Christian Templum Domini by Muslim authors suggests that it was the content and nature of representation rather than figuration *per se* that was at issue; Massé 1972, 55; C Hillenbrand 1999, 290. Judging from the well-known metalwork and enamelled glass vessels bearing Christian imagery, Christian iconography was not in itself objectionable to Ayyubid patrons, although the context in which these were made and circulated is far from certain. Given the widespread assumption that iconoclasm is an essentially Muslim practice, it is worth noting the irony that many of the medieval French *comparanda* for the Crusader figural material from the Levant survives in defaced and fragmentary condition (if at all), victims of revolutionary iconoclasts

griffins appears on the portion of the façade ascribed to al-Mu'azzam 'Isa.[54] Marble Crusader capitals carved with fish and birds also appear on the exterior of the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya, and eagle and lion capitals were re-used on the exterior of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj.[55] The possibility of a talismanic or apotropaic function attaching to the re-use of figural ornament on exteriors cannot be ruled out: in the medieval Mediterranean re-used zoomorphic carvings were particularly favoured in such contexts.[56]

In the interior of the Aqsa, an eagle appears on a Crusader capital flanking the small *mihrab* beside the *minbar* of the mosque (pl. 11.9). The face of this eagle has been carefully reworked to assume the form of an abstract ovoid boss, leaving the body intact.[57] The faces of eagles and lions that appear on a double capital to one side of the Mihrab of 'Umar have been similarly reworked to obscure their features by the over-carving of a simple cross-hatched design (pl. 11.10). Such defacements accord with the treatment for figural ornament prescribed in the *hadith*, and follow a practice well established in the Dar al-Islam. Images of eagles that appeared on Byzantine capitals re-used in the Fatimid mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo (363/973) were similarly defaced, but by decapitation rather than recarving.[58] The same method was used for the figures that appeared on the Crusader foliate capitals of the portal leading to the cave beneath the Dome of the Rock, and for the angel or bird that once decorated the carving re-used in its tympanum, of which only the traces of wings remain.[59] The 'Table of Hamza', a composite of re-used Crusader sculpture, also bore a range of defaced figural ornament including a bird, a dog and an angel.[60] Elsewhere in the same monument a more drastic course was followed, with a fine Crusader carving of an acanthus scroll inhabited by nude male figures being inverted and used as one of the steps descending into the cave beneath the Rock.[61] The date at which this was done is unclear, but if contemporary with the alterations just discussed, it suggests that the reception of the Crusader material was shaped by a range of attitudes towards figuration.

The proscriptions on figuration found in the *hadith* and elsewhere were historically honoured more in the breach than the observance, but in general medieval mosques remained free of figural ornament. Exceptionally, columns

Pl. 11.9 Al-Aqsa Mosque, detail of altered eagle capital, small *mihrab* in the western half of the south wall (after Folda, 1995).

added to the main *mihrab* of Nur al-Din's mosque in Hama towards the middle of the 7th/13th century include a band of zoomorphic carving, reinforcing the impression that attitudes to figuration in Ayyubid and Mamluk Syria were more diverse than sometimes imagined.[62] Such exceptions apart, both proscription and practice ensured that when architectural members bearing figural ornament were re-used in medieval mosques, steps were taken to render such ornament innocuous. From a theological perspective defaced material would have been entirely acceptable, since defacement or decapitation effects a deanimation of the representation and its capacity to possess *ruh* or spirit.[63] As Jacoby has pointed out, this can lead to surprising 'anomalies': the buxom siren that appears among the Crusader material re-used on the 'Summer Pulpit' of the Haram has had her head removed, but is otherwise very much intact, underlining that the concerns of medieval iconoclasts were directed towards the issues of animation or figuration in general rather than at the body or nudity in particular.[64]

In those cases where faces were carefully altered, the re-used figural material was evidently intended to be visible. By contrast, one of the Crusader figural capitals framing the Mihrab of 'Umar in the Aqsa is decorated with a pair of intertwined birds that appears remarkably intact.[65] It is possible that some of these figural carvings were once covered with plaster: 19th-century accounts mention the presence of plaster concealing some of the figural carvings re-used in the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque, where the application

[54] Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 221, Kuhnel 1994, 36

Boase 1977, 272, pl. Xb, Hawari 1994; Kühnel 1994, 36, fig. 16; Folda 1995, pl. 8A 5n-o

[55] Flood 2003

Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 324

[56] Barruc and 2002, 50, fig. 13

[57] Jacoby 1992, 15, fig 4, Folda 1995, 451, pl. 10 15b.

[58] Boase 1977, 90, Buschhausen 1978, 166, figs 98-100 These were noted by Clermont-Ganneau (1899, 151), who saw them when they were briefly divested of the whitewash that covered them.

Jacoby 1992, 18, fig 6 The trampling of such material is a standard trope of pre-modern iconoclasts within and without in the Islamic world; Flood 2002, 644, 650

[62] Herzfeld 1943, 45, fig. 17 It has been suggested, somewhat controversially, that re-used Byzantine capitals decorated with images of animals and birds in the *qibla* bay of the Umayyad Aqsa Mosque were defaced only in the Abbasid period, Wilkinson 1992, 134-9.

[63] Flood 2002

[64] 1992, 18. See also Boase 1977, 89, Buschhausen 1978, 231, fig 290; Jacoby 1982b, fig 52

[65] Boase 1977, 90, pl. IXa, Buschhausen 1978, figs 112-13.

Pl. 11.10 Al-Aqsa Mosque, Mihrab of 'Umar, eagle and lion capital (after Kühnel, 1994).

of stucco and careful recarving had earlier helped to transform anthropomorphic or zoomorphic designs on Byzantine material into more innocuous 'abstract' patterns.[66]

The degree and nature of physical interventions upon re-used Crusader sculpture are to some extent related to issues of context and visibility. Crusader figural capitals, including a fine representation of Daniel in the Lion's Den, were set at the entrance to the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina when it was remodelled in the late 6th/12th century.[67] Boase suggested that the undamaged condition of the figures on these capitals reflects their elevated position,[68] but the care taken to erase the features of the bearded man and bull's head depicted on the elevated consoles flanking the apse in the Church of St Anne (transformed into a *madrasa* after 583/1187) indicates that such physical limitations did not deter iconoclastic interventions.[69] It may be that the presence of figural ornament could be more

easily tolerated at the gate, outside the entrance to the Haram and without the confines of a mosque or *madrasa*.[70]

Nevertheless, the issue of visibility is relevant to some other apparent anomalies in the alteration of figural ornament. The treatment of the Crusader figural material re-used in the construction of the *dikka* of the Aqsa Mosque is particularly instructive. The details of two human faces have been carefully erased so that they resemble smooth bosses; the same is true of the animal heads on the corners of the abaci supporting the archivolt of the Crusader portal in the Dome of the Rock.[71] There is less consistency in the treatment of animal figures: a lion carved on the narrow horizontal frieze comprising the north side of the *dikka* has been decapitated, while the heads of an eagle and ram on the abacus of the south-west corner both survive unscathed, presumably because they were less visible in this position.[72]

Where facial features were altered, the care taken recalls an interesting observation made by Clermont-Ganneau in connection with the historiated Crusader capitals later re-used on the Ghawanima minaret:

> I think that the comparative respect which has been shown to these fragments, and more especially to the capitals in our minaret, can be explained by the fact that a large number of the masons were Christians, and that it must always have been so. It is probable that during the course of the work committed to their charge, they took care to preserve as far as they were able all stonework connected with their religion.[73]

Evidence to support this interesting suggestion is not forthcoming but it is entirely conceivable that stonemasons who had formerly worked for the Franks continued to work in various capacities for Ayyubid patrons after the reconquest of Jerusalem. 'Imad al-Din al-Isfahani tells us that many of the Christians who remained in Jerusalem after 583/1187 entered into Muslim service in various capacities, and it is at least possible that some were masons.[74] Crusader prisoners were used in the construction of Ayyubid monuments in Cairo, and there is no reason to assume that the same practice was not also

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[66] Clermont-Ganneau 1889, 151; Wilkinson 1992, 130.

[67] Buschhausen 1978, pls 137, 141; Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 322, fig. 1; Folda 1995, 266, pls 8A.7e–f.

[68] 1977, 87.

[69] Visible in Deschamps 1964, 61; Jacoby 1992, 20.

[70] As Folda points out (1995, 596n.), the presence of the siren capital on the outdoor *minbar*, but not within the monuments of the Haram may indicate a process of selection based on context.

[71] Jacoby 1982b, 347, figs 44, 50; Jacoby 1992, 15, fig. 3; Folda 1995, 451, pls 10.13n, 10.13r, 10.15c–d.

[72] Folda 1995, pls 10.13q, 10.13s, 10.13v.

[73] 1899, 152.

[74] Massé 1972, 50. See also Burgoyne and Folda 1981, 322. One might also think of the indigenous Christians known to have worked on Crusader period architectural projects: Hunt 1991.

followed in Jerusalem.[75] There is, however, no need to have recourse to Christian masons, for the high profile that Crusader *spolia* assume in the Ayyubid monuments of Jerusalem and the care taken with their assemblage and reworking point to their investment with an aesthetic value that would itself offer an explanation for the desire to deface without deforming.[76]

Constructing a context for Crusader *spolia*

In published discussions of Crusader *spolia* found in the Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk monuments of Syria, the aesthetic dimension has taken a backseat in favour of explanations that ascribe their presence in medieval Islamic monuments to their utility, their trophy value or the ascription of magical properties to them. Speaking of Crusader capitals re-used in two *mihrabs* of the Mashhad al-Husain in Aleppo, Herzfeld is quite emphatic in denying any aesthetic value to them:

> These pieces have not been used because it was not possible to produce their like, nor because they were considered more beautiful than the indigenous products—the art of stone carving was at its zenith—but these are trophies that were re-used, as in the mihrab of abu l-fidā in the mosque of Nūr al-dīn at Hāmā, by virtue of their magical power.[77]

Sauvaget ignores here the crucial fact that the latter capitals are inverted, inversion being a long-accepted mode of articulating victory and defeat in visual terms.[78] With the exception of a pair of double capitals inverted to provide bases for the interlaced columns that frame the Mihrab of 'Umar in the Aqsa, there is little to suggest that Crusader material was inverted in Ayyubid contexts.[79]

Medieval descriptions of Jerusalem do mention re-used Crusader carving, but not as such, nor do they ascribe any trophy value to re-used material.[80] The lack of textual evidence for any such value attaching to the Crusader material is all the more striking when one considers that we are told that certain elements were indeed taken from Crusader monuments as trophies. The cross on the Dome of the Rock is the obvious case in point, since it was reportedly sent to Baghdad in 583/1187 to commemorate the recapture of the Holy City.[81]

In the absence of such evidence, one is left to deduce what one can about the possible meanings of Crusader material from the specific contexts and mode of their redeployment. The deployment of figural capitals on the exterior of Ayyubid monuments might suggest that they assumed an apotropaic value, but a more likely candidate for such a role would be the interlaced columns that proliferate around entrances and *mihrabs*. The likelihood that these were intended to evoke the columns of the Solomonic Temple (at least in their primary contexts) has been raised elsewhere,[82] and the use of knotted designs around thresholds is well documented for the medieval Christian monuments of Palestine.[83]

The deployment of Crusader *spolia* in Jerusalem is part of a wider cultural phenomenon, witnessed for example in the penchant for using Crusader capitals in and around the *mihrabs* of Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk monuments in Egypt and Syria.[84] There is a strong polemical opposition between

[75] MacKenzie 1992, 124; Little 1997, 179. See also van Berchem 1927, 413. At this very period Hindu masons engaged in building mosques with *spolia* for the Ghurid conquerors of north India appear to have been charged with altering the figural ornament on *spolia* to prepare them for use in the construction of mosques; Flood forthcoming.

[76] Jacoby 1992: 20. As Folda notes (1995, 596n.), 'It is a tribute to the quality of the sculpture that the Moslems with their highly sophisticated sense of patterned ornament admired it and decided to re-use it for some of the major decoration in these two important buildings, the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock.' In the emphasis on victory and trophy, the positive aesthetic value ascribed to *spolia* used in medieval Islamic monuments is often overlooked. The beauty and elegance of the Byzantine columns that were commandeered for the construction of al-Ramla in the early 8th century is, for example, an integral part of the story of their acquisition as told in the Arabic sources; Kenaan 1973, 172.

[77] Herzfeld 1955, 242-3; the translation is mine.

[78] Herzfeld 1943, 46-7, fig. 18; Flood 2001, 69n.

[79] Boase 1977, pl. IXa. Although one of the interlaced columns flanking the entrance to the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya is inverted in the image published in Folda (1995, fig. 8A.7g) this is an editing error rather than a reflection of the way in which the column actually appears on the monument.

[80] Al-'Umari (died 750/1349), for example, makes reference to several structures on the Haram that incorporate Crusader *spolia* without ever demonstrating any awareness of their origins, but frequently praising their appearance. Thus we are told that the two *mihrabs* in the Well of Souls beneath the Rock, one of which incorporates Crusader interlaced miniature columns, are each flanked by two fine marble columns, while similar praise is lavished on the columns and lantern of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj; al-'Umari 1924, 144-5; Mayer 1931-32, 46-7.

[81] C Hillenbrand 1999, 305. Enlart asserts (on whose authority is not clear) that columns from the courtyard of the Holy Sepulchre were sent to Mecca to commemorate the victory of 583/1187; 1925-28 Vol. 1, 37.

[82] Cahn 1976, 54-6. In view of the suggested Byzantine origins of the some of these interlaced or plaited columns (Jacoby 1982b, 370, 373), it is worth noting a similar Solomonic iconography in Byzantium; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985.

[83] Maguire 1998.

[84] Closest in date to the Ayyubid monuments of the Haram are the Jami' al-Hanabila (606/1209-1210), and the Madrasa al-'Adrawiyya in Damascus (6th/12th century), both of which contain *mihrabs* with Crusader capitals; Anon. 1938, 59; Herzfeld 1943, 46-7. For later examples in Syria and Egypt see Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 101-2, fig. 235; Meinecke 1980, 51-2; Jacoby 1982a; Allen 1999, chapter 6, page 11, Flood 2001, 69, n. 56 Although final judgment should await a more systematic survey of *spolia* in the medieval Islamic monuments of the eastern Mediterranean, this penchant for using Crusader columns and capitals to frame *mihrabs* stands in contrast to the only Fatimid mosque where the use of *spolia* has been studied in detail. In the

the altar and *mihrab* in Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk texts dealing with the Crusades, and the replacement of the altar by the *minbar* or *mihrab* is a standard trope in references to the resanctification of Muslim sacred space in Jerusalem and elsewhere.[85] There is a notable focus on the *mihrab* of the Aqsa in descriptions of the renovations undertaken by Saladin, and it has been suggested that at least some of the Crusader elements used to form *mihrabs* here and in the Dome of the Rock came from Crusader altars or altar ciboria.[86] It is therefore possible that the frequent re-use of Crusader fragments to form Ayyubid *mihrabs* carried with it connotations of military victory and spiritual triumph. The practice would continue a tradition found in earlier Syrian mosques and *madrasas*, in which antique Christian liturgical tables or *patinas* were re-used as *mihrabs*; it is reported that such a table was incorporated into the Qubbat al-Nahwiyya in Jerusalem.[87] Although the earliest examples ante-date the Crusades, a particular concentration of such tables in monuments associated with Nur al-Din ibn Zangi (died 569/1174) raises the possibility that the transformation of such material into *mihrabs* acquired polemical overtones in the context of the counter-Crusade. The practice of re-use is ambiguous and polyvalent, however, and contemporary accounts emphasize the aesthetic properties of the marble tables rather than any other aspect.[88]

Any triumphal connotations attaching to Crusader *spolia* in Jerusalem are more plausible for monuments built in the wake of victory, and are unlikely to have survived long beyond the period of Ayyubid rule. As Dale Kinney has pointed out in her seminal work on *spolia* in late antiquity, to be seen as such *spolia* must be identified as the product of two distinct moments.[89] There is little to suggest that this was the case in Jerusalem, where the ubiquity of Crusader materials seems to have 'naturalized' them over time. Anthony Cutler has noted that re-use (as opposed to use) is to some degree 'a historicist gesture', one that 'is a learned posture and, as such, not the attitude toward an object projected by the majority of its medieval or modern spectators.'[90] Paradoxically perhaps, in Jerusalem of all places there is reason to doubt such a sense of historicism. The Crusaders themselves had, after all, identified the Dome of the Rock as the Templum Domini, 'undisturbed

by any historical sense of architectural styles,'[91] and none of the surviving descriptions of the Haram indicate that Crusader material was seen as anything other than integral to the monuments that it adorned. By the time that the Ottomans were again re-using Crusader fragments for their *sabils*, similar elements had been integrated into the monuments of the Haram for almost four centuries.[92] To suggest that they were identified as 'Crusader', let alone re-used, assumes not only a fixed identity that is problematic, but a rather modern (and art historical) sense of style.[93] In the 8th/14th century, the iron grille of Crusader craftsmanship that framed the Sakhra in the Dome of the Rock was, for example, heralded as being of 'wonderful workmanship (*badiā al-sānā*') [? *Badī'a[t] al-ṣinā'* - LH]' by Ibn Battuta, who evidently had no idea of its Crusader origins.[94] So integral was the feature to the holistic perception of the Dome of the Rock that it had been among the basic formal features of the Dome of the Rock quoted in the tomb of the Mamluk sultan Qala'un in Cairo a few decades earlier.[95]

The dividing line between continuity and discontinuity in Ayyubid use of *spolia* is a fine one, difficult to calibrate with any precision. On the one hand, the *spolia* were presumably removed from the destroyed or defunct Crusader monuments mentioned above. On the other, the practice of re-use has a history in the Levant that encompasses the Ayyubid period. The Franks themselves re-used late antique and Byzantine sculptural material similar in form or decorative content to the Crusader material later chosen to embellish the Ayyubid monuments of Jerusalem.[96] Just as Crusader masons often recarved *spolia* to adapt them for their new contexts, quite literally making their mark on antique stones, so the Crusader stones re-used in Ayyubid structures were often palimpsests, reworked in a way that effaced the tell-tale masons marks of

mosque of al-Azhar in Cairo, Byzantine and Coptic columns and capitals are used throughout, with the notable exception of the *mihrab*, which is flanked by columns bearing capitals of a more sober type that were evidently carved *ex novo* for the building; Barrucand 2002.

[85] Flood 2001.

[86] Buschhausen 1978, 218; Jacoby 1982b, 378.

[87] Hillenbrand 2002, 21. There appears to be no published photograph of the table.

[88] Flood 2001, 49-64.

[89] Kinney 1995, 57. See also Jacoby (1982a, 126) on chronology and the meaning of Crusader *spolia* in Cairo.

[90] Cutler 1999, 1057, 1062. See also note 105 below.

[91] Boase 1977, 86. In many cases (the Aqsa façade is one), re-used Crusader material was combined with smaller quantities of Byzantine and Roman *spolia*, which have largely been ignored; Hamilton 1949, 44.

[92] Hillenbrand 2002, 21-2.

[93] See Grabar's comments (201, 238) on the use of *spolia* in the Bab al-Silsila *sabil*. Topography rather than the triumphal gesture is a more likely determinant of Ottoman re-use. The *sabil* mentioned by Grabar is located near the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina in which extensive use is also made of Crusader *spolia*. The proximity of the Ottoman Qubbat al-Arwah, in which Crusader *spolia* was incorporated, to the Ayyubid Qubbat al-Nahwiyya has also been noted; Hillenbrand 2002, 21-2.

[94] Defrémery and Sanguinetti 1926, 123. Since al-Harawi, who visited the Dome of the Rock in 569/1173 during the Crusader occupation, noted the installation of the grille, we must assume that awareness of its Crusader origins had been lost in the intervening two centuries; Le Strange 1890, 132; Sourdel-Thomine 1957, 62-3.

[95] Grabar 2001, 238-9. While the tomb was completed in 683/1285, the screen was probably added by al-Nasir Muhammad in 703/1303; Creswell 1978, 194. For the iron grille, and fragments of another like it in the Aqsa, see Enlart 1925-28 Vol. 2, 220; Folda 1995, 136, pls 6.7b-c, 8A.3c. An alternative possibility is that the Cairene screen emulates the wooden grille added by al-Malik al-Nasir, son of Saladin, in 595/1199; van Berchem 1927, 301-2.

[96] Clermont-Ganneau 1899, 120-21; Kenaan 1973, 169, Boase 1977, 80; Muratova 1982, 57; Folda 1995, 308, 538n.; Ousterhout 2003, 13.

Crusader facture. The use of *spolia* was therefore a characteristic practice of both Crusader and Ayyubid architecture in Palestine, which constituted an engagement with some of the aesthetic values and decorative principles of an antecedent tradition. Just as *spolia* could be deployed in a manner consonant with that antecedent tradition, they could also inspire the creation of architectural forms or modes of ornament that continued its basic principles.[97] This is the case in Ayyubid Jerusalem, whose monumental architecture was characterised by a combination of *spolia in se* (the re-use of tangible objects) and *spolia in re* (virtual *spoliation*).[98]

Although lacking its apparent 'historicism', Ayyubid engagement with Crusader architecture in Jerusalem might be considered in relation to the so-called 'classical revival' in the Zangid and Ayyubid monuments of north and central Syria, characterised by a taste for both archaic and archaising stone carving.[99] However, a more salient comparison for the interplay between past and present, inherited traditions and innovative (re)usage that characterises Ayyubid deployment of *spolia* in Jerusalem may be found in Ayyubid responses to the Fatimid monuments of Cairo after the conquest of Egypt in 567/1171. In both Jerusalem and Cairo, the re-assertion of Sunni orthodoxy was accompanied by the selective erasure of antecedent monuments (the Crusader structures on the Haram and the Fatimid palaces), followed by the construction of monuments that incorporate but reconfigure elements drawn from the preceding tradition.[100] Just as wet-leaf acanthus, interlaced columns and other modes of ornament associated with the Crusader monuments of the Levant make their appearance in Ayyubid Jerusalem, so the keel-headed

arches, rosettes, and radial modes of decoration that are so characteristic of Fatimid architecture continue to appear in the Ayyubid monuments of Egypt.

Lorenz Korn has noted that in a key monument such as the Madrasa of al-Salih Ayyub (641/1243-4), 'traditional elements from the Fatimid repertoire are composed in such a manner that a new effect of unity, rhythm and monumentality is achieved.'[101] The massing of Crusader *spolia* at key points in the Ayyubid monuments of the Haram (at entrances or around *mihrabs*, for example) and their recombination in novel arrangements that frequently monumentalize what were once relatively minor elements of decorative carving achieves a comparable effect, best seen in the Mihrabs of 'Umar and of Zakariyya or in the *dikka* of the Aqsa. In one case continuity is maintained by appropriating elements of a pre-existing architectural vocabulary, in the other by appropriating the instantiated fragments of an antecedent tradition.

Conclusion

The re-use of Crusader material in Ayyubid Jerusalem is characterized by a number of ambiguities. On the one hand, the recontextualisation of Crusader carvings indexes the destruction or disappearance of the monuments from which they came. On the other, the presence of characteristic Crusader elements such as interlaced columns and wet-leaf acanthus in Ayyubid monuments provides a point of continuity with Crusader architecture. The use of *spolia* to form Ayyubid *mihrabs* may have been intended as part of a visual evocation of victory, but such associations appear to have been short-lived, for the re-used materials are not recognized as such in the medieval sources, which focus instead on their aesthetic properties. The repetitious use of Crusader elements imbues the monuments of Ayyubid Jerusalem with a visual coherence; this is particularly apparent in the works attributable al-Malik al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, governor of Jerusalem from 597/1200 and sultan of Syria between 615/1218 and 625/1227, in which the use of *spolia* is a hallmark.[102]

Seen in a broader context, the integration of Crusader material into the Ayyubid monuments of Jerusalem not only continues a Levantine tradition of re-use, but is also part of a phenomenon that witnesses a similar appropriation and reconfiguration of a pre-existing decorative vocabulary in the Ayyubid monuments of Cairo. In addition to these regional and dynastic frames, one might also consider the Ayyubid penchant for Crusader *spolia* in the broader context of the 6th/12th century and the architecture of *jihad*. Even as Saladin was

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[97] The similarities between the deployment of Crusader columns and capitals in the Church of the Ascension and the Qubbat al-Mi'raj offer a good example of the first phenomenon. One could also mention the decoration of archivolts with cushion voussoirs and chevron mouldings. As for the second, see the relationship between the mosaic decoration of the Aqsa *mihrab* restored by Saladin in 583/1187-8 and acanthus scrolls of the Crusader period; van Berchem 1927, 412-3. Note also the suggestion that the large panels of acanthus carving re-used in the Aqsa Mosque were originally set into the walls of Crusader churches, exactly as they are in the Aqsa; Jacoby 1982b, 377. On the difficulties in distinguishing Crusader material *in situ* and in re-use see Burgoyne 1987, 48.

[98] The distinction between *spolia in re* and *spolia in se* was first noted by Richard Brilliant in relation to late antique sculpture in Italy, and has been adopted subsequently in medieval European *spolia* studies; Kinney 1997, 137. The same combination is apparent in the Crusader additions to the Holy Sepulchre; Kenaan 1973, 225; Allen 1986, 81; Ousterhout 2003, 18-19.

[99] The historical associations of certain sites that may have been a factor in such 'revivals' are clearly relevant to Jerusalem; Allen 1986, 81.

[100] While highlighting such continuities, one might also mention the numismatic evidence, and the way in which Ayyubid *dinars* minted after the conquest of Egypt continue the very striking concentric epigraphic design of Fatimid *dinars*; Bresc 2001, 36-7. Such numismatic continuity in the wake of political change is paralleled in other times and places, and was no doubt a sensible economic move (although it is more difficult to explain the use of the same design for Ayyubid coins minted in Damascus in the same way), but it is one with aesthetic implications.

[101] 1999, 291, 275-84, pl. 44. See also Creswell 1978 Vol. 2, 94-100.

[102] For a brief biography see Rosen-Ayalon 1990, 309-10.

recapturing Jerusalem, the eastern frontier of the Dar al-Islam was being radically extended through the Indian campaigns of the Ghurid sultans of Afghanistan. An association was made between these two campaigns in the minds of at least some contemporary literati, for Juzjani, our most important source for Ghurid history, makes an explicit comparison between the military victories of Saladin against the Fatimids and Franks in the West to those of the Ghurid sultan Mu'izz al-Din (died 602/1206) against the Yamini and Hindu kingdoms of northern India in the East during precisely the same period.[103] These latter victories were also followed by the erection of religious edifices in which extensive use was made of figural *spolia*, altered in a similar manner to the Crusader material in Jerusalem. Also common to both domains is the fact that medieval descriptions of these structures make no mention of *spolia*, but discuss them as unitary wholes, suggesting that medieval viewers saw them in quite different ways to modern art historians.[104]

A major methodological problem in analyzing the re-use of architectural material in the medieval Islamic world inheres in the terminology itself. The use of the term '*spolia*' to designate the re-use of architectural materials originates in Renaissance Italy; a terminology with such a recent and culturally specific history is invariably 'laden with artistic prejudices and interests specific to a much later period', and as such, liable to offer explanations more relevant to *etic* rather than *emic* categories of analysis.[105] The identification of re-used carving as 'Crusader' material, even when found in mosques, suggests that the identity of the material is fixed, an essential quality of physical form and, consequently, that its presence in secondary 'Islamic' contexts was intrusive and perceived as such. Although it may seem counter-intuitive, architectural materials are in no sense inalienable: on the contrary, the evidence from medieval monuments suggests that they were remarkably mobile, both physically and conceptually. This is particularly true of the medieval Levant, where an architectural element such as a capital might be the product of multiple contextual, material and stylistic transformations.

The tendency to see artifacts as objectifications of an identity fixed at the moment of an object's 'birth' ignores the fact that the 'biographies' of re-used materials are often more complex than a dialectical focus on origin and endpoint would suggest. The use of booty and loot (including architectural material) as objects of negotiation between members of Muslim élites was common in the medieval Islamic world, and frequently imbued these objects with meanings only contingently related to their original identity, if at all.[106] In other words, neither the functions nor meanings of *spolia* are fixed, but dynamically constructed and susceptible to change. In Nicholas Thomas' words, as they circulate in time and place, 'objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become.'[107]

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[103] Raverty 1970 Vol. 1, 214.

[104] Flood forthcoming. Kinney (1997, 140) notes that 'our gaze is analytic and art historical, not integrative.' The tendency to privilege modern Euro-American art-historical perception is clear from Strzygowski's assertion (1936, 504) that the Crusader material re-used in the Haram was the product of artists who 'had created a unique style, equally exotic for us in Europe and for the Orientals.'

[105] Kinney 1997, 120. See also Kinney 1995.

[106] For example, interpretations of the Crusader doorway incorporated into the Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo (703/1303-4), or the carved pilasters bearing images of Jerusalem (?) that were placed at the entrance to the funerary complex of Sultan Hasan in the same city in 764/1362 stress the (known or assumed) association of these fragments with the fall of Acre in 1291. Between its capture and integration into the Qala'unid *madrasa*, the doorway from Acre circulated among members of the Mamluk élite, however; Sherif 1988, 84-111. Similarly, the Crusader elements re-used later in the complex of Sultan Hasan may have been incorporated into an earlier Cairene monument: Jacoby 1982a, 126.

[107] Thomas 1991, 4. See also Cutler (1999, 1079) on objects as 'evanescent links in a chain of Becoming.'

Chapter 12
AYYUBID MONUMENTS IN JERUSALEM

Mahmoud Hawari[1]

Introduction

The Ayyubids were important patrons of architecture. Their monuments in Jerusalem and elsewhere reflect to a great extent their major political, religious, and social concerns and objectives. These aspects of their ideology led to the commissioning of numerous buildings.

Following the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 583/1187, the Ayyubids initiated an extensive rebuilding scheme that is reminiscent, though on a much smaller scale, of the original Umayyad transformation of the city. While the scope of the Ayyubids' architectural activities in their regional centres of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo is vast and uniform, in Jerusalem they faced a uniquely serious challenge: the re-Islamisation and restoration of a city which had been under Crusader rule for nearly nine decades.

Such activity took various forms: the re-sanctification of the Haram al-Sharif area—an urgent task required for the renewal of Muslim worship—the demolition of many Crusader buildings, the conversion of several of them for Muslim use, and in addition the construction of new buildings. A variety of pious and welfare foundations were established. An ample programme to strengthen the city's fortification was undertaken, with the result that long stretches of the walls were rebuilt and numerous massive towers were constructed. Above all, the Ayyubids brought to Jerusalem important cultural changes, specifically a new style in Islamic art and architecture which would constitute a prelude to the magnificent architecture of the Mamluk period.

We know about more than forty Ayyubid monuments situated in and around the Old City, of which some are intact; a few have been partly altered, and others have disappeared long ago (fig. 12.1). Only twenty-two buildings have survived.[2] There are five buildings which have been largely rebuilt or restored in later periods.[3] Ten buildings, which are no longer extant, are known from contemporary or near-contemporary literary sources and inscriptions.[4] Twenty-four inscriptions from various buildings (other than those associated with
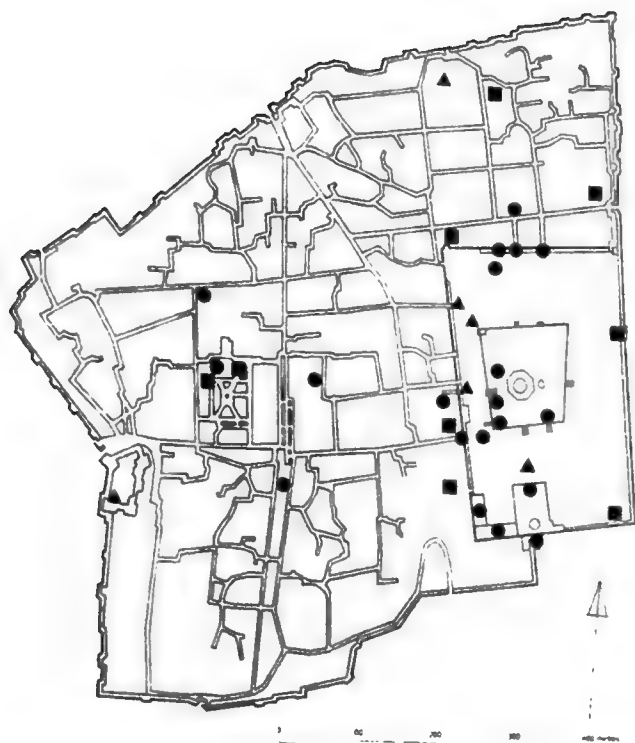
● Existing Ayyubid buildings

▲ Ayyubid buildings which been rebuilt in later periods

■ Ayyubid buildings which no longer exist

Fig. 12.1 Sketch map showing the distribution of Ayyubid buildings in the Old City.

surviving buildings), fortifications, tombs, and so on, have also survived.[5] Fieldwork was supplemented by scanning the historical sources and the archival material, seeking further clues for these buildings.

The surviving monuments provide us with evidence of a wide range of religious, civil and military functions, and allow us to form a fairly good idea of what the city must have been like under Ayyubid rule. Furthermore, new architectural elements and ideas were introduced into Jerusalem through these monuments, which were later adapted in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods and became integral components of a Jerusalem style of architecture.

Architectural changes in Jerusalem
An overview

Although the eighty-eight years of Frankish occupation (492–585/1099–1187) were a relatively short episode in the long and rich history of Jerusalem, it saw many topographical and socio-political changes take place within the city's walls.

During that period, architectural change was marked by an alteration in the function of some existing buildings in order to adapt them to new purposes, and by the erection of new ones to serve the needs of the new rulers and settlers. These changes, nevertheless, did not alter the general physical features of the city which remained to a large extent as it was before 492/1099, but they brought a new style of architecture and decorative arts to suit the tastes of the new inhabitants. The socio-political changes were characterized by the settlement of a completely new Frankish population in the city and the introduction of a new religious, political, administrative and socio-organizational system.

Once again, following its conquest by Saladin in 583/1187, Jerusalem witnessed drastic changes in some aspects of its topography, demography, administration and socio-economic life. At the end of the military campaign, Saladin kept his garrison encamped just to the north of the city, and from there he looked after its affairs.[6] During the month of his stay (27 Rajab–25 Sha'ban 583/2–31 October 1187), he was fully conscious of the urgent necessity to consolidate the city's fortifications in order to confront any Frankish attack. But for the time being, the defeat of the Frankish forces in Palestine was so conclusive that there was no immediate threat to Jerusalem. The city's defences could wait, for there were other pressing religious and administrative tasks to perform. Naturally the first priority was the holy precinct of the Haram al-Sharif.

Sanctification and Restoration of the Haram al-Sharif

Immediately after Jerusalem was taken on Friday 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187, Saladin began an extensive programme of restoration and re-Islamisation of the city. His ultimate aim was the elimination of the Christian-Frankish character of the city, which had prevailed for more than three generations, and the return of its Islamic character.

As might be expected, this project began with the sanctification of the Haram, in order to prepare it for renewed Muslim worship. Various measures were taken to remove all structural additions and decorations made by the Templars and the Augustinian canons during their occupancy in the area, especially in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.

The first symbolic but rather dramatic act took place at the Dome of the Rock which had served as the *Templum Domini* (Temple of the Lord) during Crusader times.[7] On the first day the Muslims entered the city, a large gilded cross was removed from the top of the dome.[8] Saladin is reported to have sent this cross amongst other trophies to the 'Abbasid caliph in

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[5] An up-to-date list of all Ayyubid inscriptions is compiled in Hawari 2007, Appendix IV.

[6] Abu Shama 1974, 96.

[7] Vincent and Abel 1914, 917-83.

[8] Baha' al-Din 1897, 66; Ibn al-Athir 1987 Vol. X, 157; Ibn Wasil 1953 Vol. II, 217.

Pl. 12.1 Aqsa mosque, *mihrab.* (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 5000)

Baghdad, where it was buried in front of a gate into the city.[9] Inside the Dome of the Rock itself, all Christian symbols such as icons, figurative images and inscriptions, including an altar and a small gilded dome with marble columns, were taken down and destroyed; a marble pavement, which had covered the Rock in Crusader times, in order to prevent devoted Christian pilgrims chopping pieces out of it, was also demolished.[10]

The restoration work in the Dome of the Rock was assigned to the *faqih* Diya' al-Din 'Isa al-Hakkari, who constructed iron grilles around the rock.[11] It should be noted that al-Hakkari was the first *wali* of Jerusalem to be appointed by Saladin and held this post until he died in 585/1189.[12] It is also reported that Saladin's nephew and trusted lieutenant, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din 'Umar, together with his followers, washed and purified the edifice with rose-water, and that Saladin's son, al-Malik al-Afdal, refurbished it with carpets.[13] There are indications that some wall mosaics in the

Dome of the Rock were restored and a large undated Qur'anic inscription, made of glass mosaic, was probably fitted during Saladin's reign. The inscription, which is written with Ayyubid *naskhi* script, may have replaced a Latin one.[14]

Many changes took place in the Aqsa Mosque and its vicinity. During the Crusader period, the building, which was then known as the *Palatium Salomonis* (Palace of Solomon), had become a royal palace for the Latin king until it was given to the Templars, who made it their headquarters, adding new structures.[15] All Crusader alterations, structural additions and the dividing partitions were removed, and new Islamic modifications were introduced. The *mihrab* (pl. 12.1), which the Templars had blocked by a wall, was uncovered. Saladin ordered it to be decorated with marble and a mosaic inscription bearing his name and the date of its restoration—583/1187-88.[16]

Abu Shama 1974 Vol. II, 139

Imad al-Din 1902, 50-1; Abu Shama 1974 Vol. II, 113; Ibn al-Athir 1987 Vol. X, 158; Ibn Wasil 1953 Vol. II, 229.

Ibn Wasil 1953 Vol. II, 229

Abu Shama 1974 Vol. II, 140; 'Imad al-Din 1902, 299

Imad al-Din 1902, 52; Ibn Wasil 1953 Vol. II, 230.

[14] Van Berchem 1927, 369-71; M van Berchem 1969, 218, 300, figs 361-2 Rosen-Ayalon 1989a, 360-71; Hawari 2007, Appendix IV, no. 8. See also I Korn in this volume, Chapter 18, pp. 375-76.

[15] Theodoric 1896, 30-2; Vincent and Abel 1914, 970; Boase 1977, 8, Hamilton 1949, 48-53.

[16] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 48; Abu Shama 1974, Vol. II, 107-8; Ibn al-Athir 1987 Vol. X, 157-8; Ibn Wasil 1953 Vol. II, 217; van Berchem 1927, 403-4, Hawari 2007, Appendix III, no. 2.

A magnificent *minbar* was brought from Aleppo to Jerusalem by Saladin and was installed next to the restored *mihrab*, to mark the renewal of Muslim worship there. This *minbar*, a remarkable masterpiece in the art of woodcarving, was ordered by Nur al-Din b. Zangi in Aleppo in 564/1168-69, and was completed after his death in 570/1174.[17] Nur al-Din vowed that it would be placed in the Aqsa Mosque after the recapture of Jerusalem from the Franks.

The whole Haram precinct, including the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, was washed and purified with rose-water as a measure of re-sanctification. The two structures were refurbished with new lamps and carpets and provided with volumes of the Qur'an.[18] These ceremonial rituals were carried out by various members of the Ayyubid dynasty, performing meritorious acts in line with sacred Islamic traditions.[19]

It took Saladin's companions and soldiers nearly a week of tremendous effort to achieve their sacred task at the Haram. They finished just in time for the following Friday prayers (4 Sha'ban 583/9 October 1187), when the whole enclosure was crowded with Muslim worshippers for the first time in almost nine decades. Because of the triumphant and historic nature of this event, there was substantial competition among the *'ulama'* as to who would deliver the *khutba* (sermon). From the various contenders Saladin selected the Qadi Muhyi al-Din b. Zaki, a young Shafi'i judge from Aleppo.[20]

The most obvious achievement of the Ayyubids in Jerusalem was this 're-Islamisation' of the city after the decades of Christian-Frankish control. Saladin and his successors, who saw themselves as the new champions of orthodox Sunni Islam, regarded their deeds as a pious sanctification. Their consecration of the Haram was, as already mentioned, reminiscent of the Umayyad work after the initial conquest of the city.

Structural additions and decorations had been undertaken by the Templars and the Augustinian canons during their occupancy of the area, especially in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.[21] Consequently, the Ayyubids were able to utilize a large quantity of Crusader architectural *spolia* in the restoration of Islamic monuments in the Haram.

Once the restoration of the Haram area had been completed, the Ayyubid conquerors set out to re-islamise the rest of the city and to develop it in accordance with the needs of the Muslims. This task was facilitated by the departure of the Frankish Christians of Jerusalem. As we shall see, many religious buildings were established in former Crusader structures.

After Saladin's death in 589/1193, his Ayyubid successors continued to pay attention to the Haram because of its sacred status. This was reflected in further restoration works to the existing Islamic monuments and the construction of new ones.

Rebuilding of the City's Defences[22]

In a time of great political turmoil and the ongoing threat of a Frankish counter-attack, the restoration of the city's defences had to take a high priority. Following an established Ayyubid pattern of creating a new centre of administration and defence, as in Damascus and Cairo, Saladin rebuilt significant stretches of the city walls and made some changes in the citadel. This scheme of fortification, which was intended to provide security, went hand in hand with his great efforts to attract a Muslim population to settle in the city.

Further strengthening of the city's fortification was carried out by Saladin's nephew, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, during the years 599/1202 and 609/1212; evidence for this is based on extant epigraphic material and archaeological excavations. It is ironical that al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, who was to be remembered for rebuilding the spectacular fortifications of Jerusalem, also ordered them to be demolished in 616/1219, fearing that the city would fall into the hands of the advancing Fifth Crusade.

Religious Institutions
Madrasas

Under the Ayyubids, substantial efforts were made to re-introduce and consolidate Sunni jurisprudence in Jerusalem. Ayyubid rulers did not follow a uniform policy concerning the four *madhhabs*; each was guided by his own partisanship and preference. Saladin, for instance, favoured the Shafi'i legal tradition; his son, al-Afdal, promoted the Maliki; and his nephew, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, was a staunch Hanafi.[23] After the recapture of Jerusalem in 583/1187, Saladin set out to re-establish Muslim worship and law. In recruiting jurists, he had to turn to Egypt and Syria, as there were no local *faqihs* in the city.[24]

One of the primary elements in Ayyubid religious policy was not only the restoration of Jerusalem to Islam but also the affirmation of Sunni orthodoxy. Saladin's approach, inspired and dictated by his predecessor Nur al-Din b. Zangi, was one of allegiance to the 'Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad and the re-introduction of Sunni legal traditions into the city after their long absence. An important role in the execution of his scheme was played by *madrasas*.

[17] Van Berchem 1927, 393-402; Hawari 2007, Appendix III, no. 1.

[18] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 51.

[19] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 52; cited by Gabrieli 1969, 171.

[20] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 49; Abu Shama 1974, Vol. II, 109.

[21] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 48; Abu Shama 1974, Vol. II, 107-108; Ibn al-Athir 1987 Vol. X, 157-8; Ibn Wasil 1953, Vol. II, 217; de Vogüé 1860, 266-91; Enlart 1925, 207-24, Boase 1977, 86-91.

[22] A more detailed account of the Ayyubid refortification of the city's defences can be found in Hawari 2007, Chapter 4, 22-6.

[23] Ibn Taghribirdi 1938 Vol. IV, 267, 313; Mujir al-Din 1973, I, 403.

[24] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 317, 391; Vol. II, 101-2, 118, 120.

The functions of the *madrasa*, as developed under Nur al-Din, had by now become well established.[25] According to Ibn Shaddad (d. 674/1275), there were ninety-three *madrasas* in Damascus during his time, including those established prior to the Ayyubid period.[26] A more recent study has put the number of *madrasas* during the Ayyubid period in Damascus at sixty-five.[27]

In Jerusalem, six *madrasas* are known to have been founded by the Ayyubids, all during the first three decades of their rule; only four still exist but the locations of the other two are known. This is a small number compared to other Ayyubid centres in Syria and Egypt such as Damascus, Aleppo, Hama and Cairo. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that while these centres enjoyed relatively extended periods of political stability, Jerusalem was constantly threatened by Frankish takeover. The demolition of the city's walls by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 616/1219 and the renewal of intermittent Frankish rule between 627/1229 and 642/1244 led to a serious depopulation of the city.[28]

Of the six *madrasas* established under the early Ayyubids, one was founded by Saladin, one by Saladin's son al-Afdal, one by his treasurer, two by his nephew al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, and one by a Kurdish *amir*. Of the six *madrasas*, three were Shafiʿi, two Hanafi and one Maliki. Most members of the Ayyubid family were Shafiʿi, as just mentioned; the exception was al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, who was a committed Hanafi. Al-Afdal, who dedicated his *madrasa* to the Maliki adherents among the Maghariba community, may have rendered merely nominal allegiance to Maliki law.

Madrasa al-Salahiyya

The Madrasa al-Salahiyya, named after Saladin, was founded by converting the Crusader Church of St Anne, which is located north of the Haram near Bab al-Asbat/Lions' Gate (fig. 12.2), to serve that function.[29] According to a dedicatory inscription, which is still preserved in a plaque set in the tympanum of the arch above the main entrance portal, Saladin endowed the *madrasa* in favour

Fig. 12.2 Location of Madrasa al-Salahiyya.

of Shafiʿi jurists in 588/1192.[30] The building, which was reconverted to serve as a church in the 19th century, is built in the classic early Gothic style and comprises a nave and two aisles of four bays each. The basilica may have served as the assembly hall *(majmaʿ)* for the *madrasa*, while the residential quarters were joined to it from the south.[31]

Madrasa al-Afdaliyya

Along with the whole Maghariba quarter in which it was situated, Madrasa al-Afdaliyya was endowed in 590/1194 by al-Malik al-Afdal Nur al-Din, son of Saladin, during his tenure as governor of Damascus. It was endowed for adherents of the Maliki *madhhab*, and was located to the west of the Haram al-Sharif (fig. 12.3).[32] ʿAbd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1101/1690), the famous Sufi historian, mentions that the *madrasa* contained the tomb of a certain Shaikh ʿId.[33] The *madrasa* and most of the Maghariba Quarter were demolished by the Israeli army after the war of June 1967 to make way for the present large plaza in front of the Western Wall. Only a single photograph showing the entrance door of the *madrasa*,

Fig. 12.3 Location of Madrasa al-Afdaliyya.

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[30] Van Berchem 1922, 90–5, no. 35; Vincent and Abel 1926 Vol. IV, 684; *RCÉA* 1937 Vol. IX, 179–80, no. 3453.

[31] On the possible changes that may have occurred when the church was converted into a *madrasa*, see Tamari 1968, 327–49.

[32] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 46.

[33] Al-Nabulsi 1990, 154.

Pl. 12.2 Madrasa al-Afdaliyya, entrance, possibly incorporating Crusader material. (Courtesy of BSAJ Archive, Palestine Exploration Fund, London)

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[25] Tabbaa 1982, 197.

[26] Ibn Shaddad 1962 Vol. II, 248.

[27] Moaz 1990, 8.

[28] No direct references to this are given in the literary sources, but according to a letter from the Geniza in Cairo (dated to 634/1236), Muslims and Jews were not permitted to enter the city; see Goitein 1986, 331.

[29] ʿImad al-Din 1902, 53; Baha' al-Din 1897, 242; Abu Shama 1974 Vol. II, 114.

[illegible faded text at top left]

Madrasa al-Maimuniyya

Madrasa al-Maimuniyya was endowed in Jumada I 593/March 1197 by the *amir* Faris al-Din Abu Saʿid Maimun b Abdullah al-Qasri, who was treasurer to Saladin.[35] It was established in the former Church of St Mary Magdalene, which dated to the Byzantine and Crusader periods and is located near Bab al-Sahira (Herod's Gate), north of the Old City (fig. 12.4). In 1864 the *madrasa*, in a dilapidated

Fig. 12.4 Location of Madrasa al-Maimuniyya.

state and largely ruinous, including part of the porch, choir, side walls and two apses of the church, was occupied by a potters' workshop.[36] The modern al-Qadisiyya, as the present school is now named, was built on the ruins of the old building, and the cloister of the church has been preserved behind the walls of an underground shelter.

Qubba al-Nahawiyya

Qubba al-Nahawiyya (also known as Madrasa al-Nahawiyya), is situated within the Haram, at the southwest corner of the Dome of the Rock platform (fig. 12.5; pl. 12.3). According to an inscription found in the interior of the building, 'the dome *(qubba)* and the adjacent reconstruction was constructed' by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, son of the sultan al-ʿAdil, under the supervision of Amir Husam

Fig. 12.5 Location of Madrasa al-Nahawiyya.

al-Din Abu Saʿd Qaimaz, the governor of Jerusalem, in 604/1207-08.[37] Al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa endowed the building *(qubba)* with large *waqfs* in order that it could be used for

Pl. 12.3 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, north and west elevations

Pl. 12.4 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, north façade façade detail from a photograph of *ca* 1865 by Wilson for the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem

instruction in the seven readings of the Qur'an and in Arabic grammar *(nahw)*.[38] Al-ʿUmari (*ca* 745/345), who called it 'the Madrasa al-Muʿazzaniyya', gives us a detailed description of the building. He mentions that al-Muʿazzam appointed twenty-five Hanafi students of grammar and their *shaikh*, and endowed a village called Bait Liqiyya, in the Jerusalem district, as *waqf* for the benefit of this institution.[39] Mujir al-Din states that al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa built a place called 'al-Nahawiyya' for teaching Arabic, and that he endowed it with great *waqfs*.[40] However, it has been suggested that the Nahawiyya was intended to serve more as a symbolic commemorative structure and less as an institutionalised functional *madrasa*.[41]

The building consists of two structurally independent components on two floors.

[35] Cited by Burgoyne 1987, pl. 9, n. 131, on p 52.

[36] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 48.

[37] Prag 1989, 152.

[37] Van Berchem 1927, 62.

[38] Ibn Wasil 1972 Vol. IV, 211-12.

[39] Al-ʿUmari 1924, 145-6.

[40] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 403.

[41] Tamari 1987, 404.
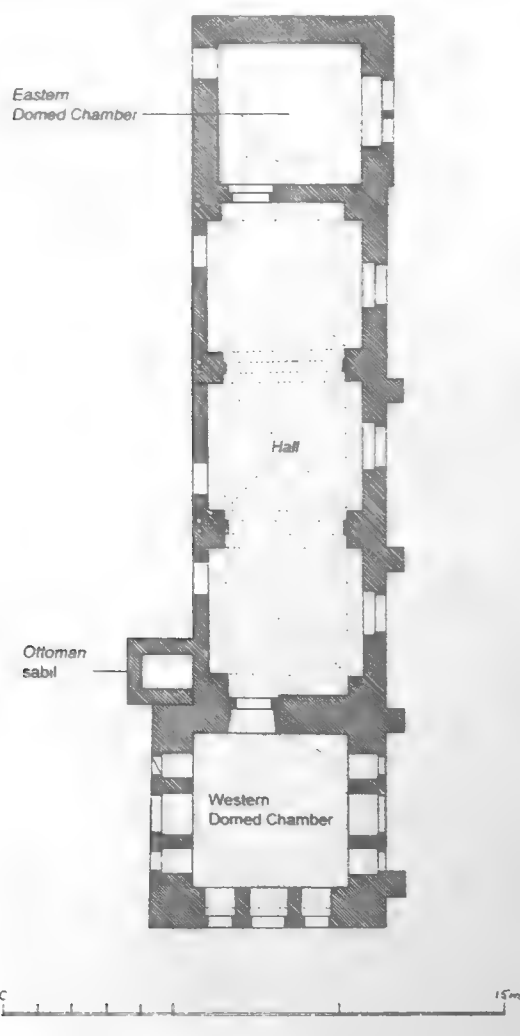
Fig. 12.6 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, sketch plan of upper floor (second phase).

Fig. 12.7 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, sketch plan of the ground floor of the southwestern corner of the Dome of the Rock terrace.

Pl. 12.5 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, main entrance portal in the north façade at the level of the Haram terrace.

The upper floor, at the level of the Dome of the Rock terrace, contains two domed chambers with a connecting hall (fig. 12.6). The elaborate main entrance is almost in the middle of the north side. Another, simpler, entrance opens into the east chamber. It is clear that subsequently substantial restoration and alterations were carried out on the north façade (pl. 12.4). The lower floor, at the level of the Haram esplanade, comprises two aisles of four cross-vaulted bays separated from one another by transverse arches (fig. 12.7).

The present façade of the domed structure shows different styles of masonry indicating at least three main phases of construction. The first and original façade (fig. 12.8) comprised three open archways, probably as part of a portico, extending between the western and eastern domed chambers of the structure. In the second phase (fig. 12.9) the archways were filled in with masonry, except for small doorways with simple monolithic lintels, as can be seen in a photograph from the Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem.[42] To this phase belongs

[42] Wilson 1865, pl. 5b; Hawari 2007, pl. 12.5.
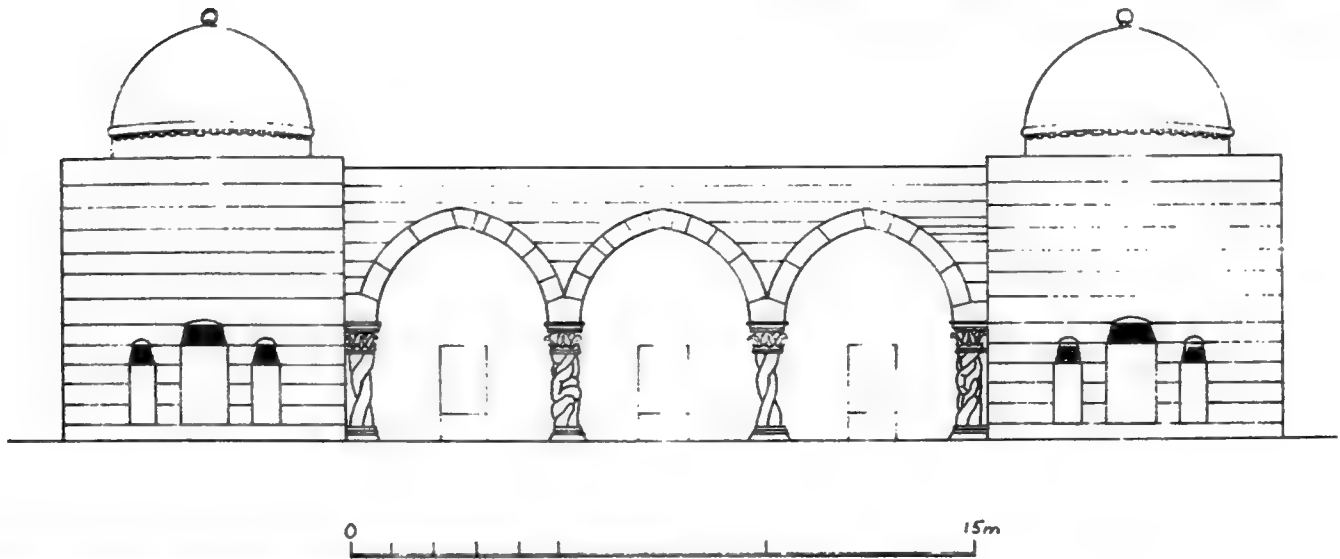
Fig. 12.8 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, sketch reconstruction of the north façade (first phase)..
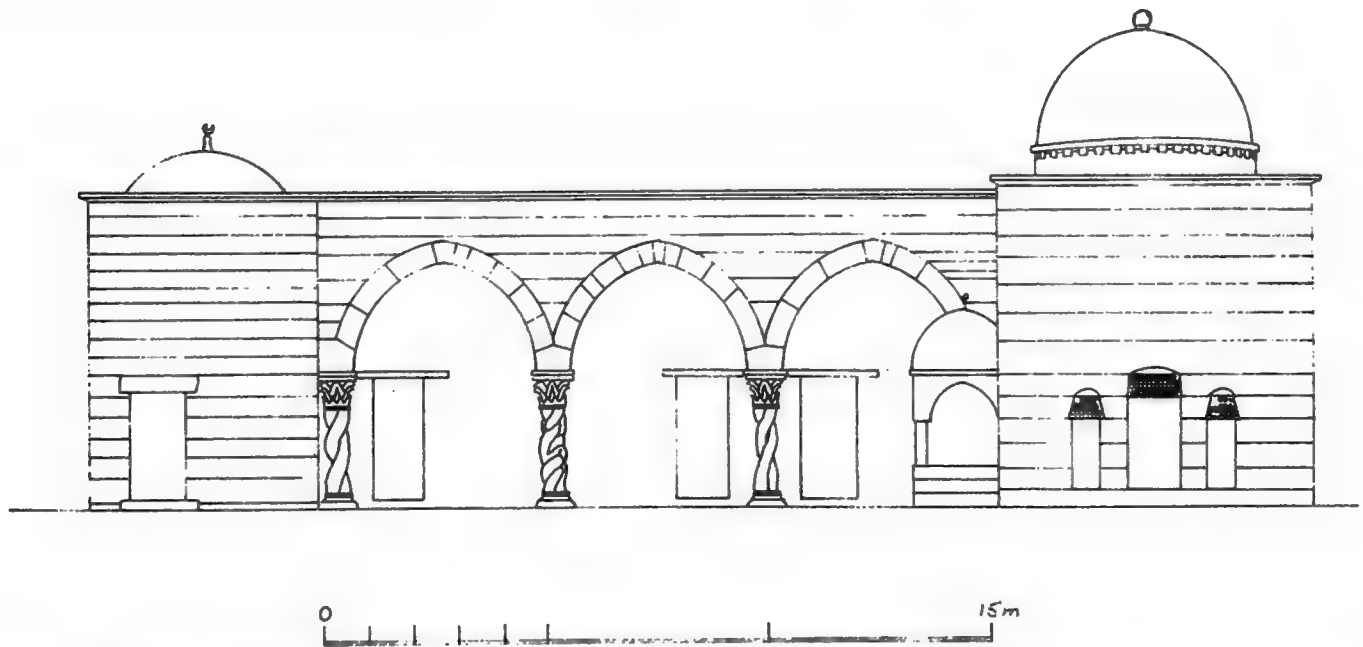
Fig. 12.9 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, sketch of reconstruction of the north façade (second phase).

the Ottoman Sabil al-Husaini of which only the inscription plaque survives, dated to 1137/1724-5.[43] The third phase is represented by the relatively modern, distinctively elaborate portal placed almost in the centre of the façade (pl. 12.5). This portal is missing from Wilson's photograph of 1865 but it appears in another photograph taken in 1889 by a member of the American Colony in Jerusalem. It must therefore have been inserted between 1865 and 1889. Perhaps it may be dated to the repair works carried out in the Haram by the Ottoman sultan ʿAbd al-Hamid in the late 1870s.

Since the Nahawiyya was built at the edge of the terrace of the Dome of the Rock, the south and west elevations

(pl. 12.6) consist of two 'storeys', of which the lower storey also serves as part of the revetment wall which supports the corner of the terrace. Both elevations are constructed homogeneously of whitish, smoothly-dressed ashlars, except for the eastern part of the south wall. Much of the masonry is re-used; many of the stones bear distinctive traces of Crusader workmanship, namely diagonal tooling and a considerable number of masons' marks. The lower storey of the south elevation is supported by four buttresses with sloping tops (pl. 12.7). Like the south elevation, the upper storey of the west elevation is pierced by three windows surmounted by monolithic lintels and relieving arches similar to those in the north wall. Some of the lintels are carved with a 'fish-scale' motif (pl. 12.8).

[43] Natsheh 2000, 966-7, catalogue no. 45.

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Pl. 12.6 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, west elevation.

Pl. 12.7 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, south elevation

Pl. 12.8 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, west elevation windows in upper level of west elevation.
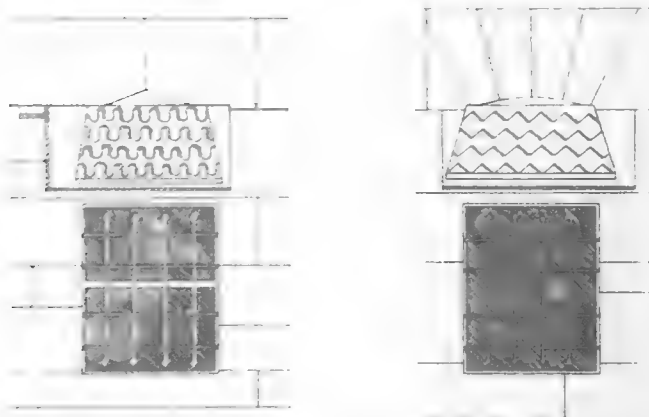
Fig. 12.10 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, sketch of windows in west upper side of western domed chamber.

On the upper level, the high dome of the west chamber (pl. 12.6) has a cylindrical drum, with a series of brackets supporting a projecting cavetto cornice at the base of the dome. The shallow dome of the east chamber, a typical feature in the Ottoman architecture of Jerusalem, is built of small stones and surmounted with a crescent stone finial. The dome and the whole chamber including the double window in the south wall (pl. 12.7) were almost certainly rebuilt in the Ottoman period to replace the original domed chamber.

The small plaque with an inscription of Ottoman *naskhi* script on the exterior wall of the central hall, near the northeast corner of the western chamber, clearly refers to a *sabil*, which no longer exists, built in the year 1137 (1724-25) (the date is given via a chronogram) by a certain Hasan ibn al-Dani, a member of the Husaini family who was then serving as *qadi* of Jerusalem.[44]

The main entrance door leads directly into a vaulted hall, which consists of three cross-vaulted bays separated by transverse arches. The western domed chamber, which is almost square, is lit by recessed-arched windows in the west and south walls. The transition from square base to circular drum is effected by means of squinches, alternating with arches of the same form. The transition from the octagonal transition zone to the circular drum is achieved by eight small fluted scalloped arches which form miniature squinches above the corners of the octagon. The squinch in the north wall contains a semi-circular marble plaque with an inscription.[45] The squinch in the east wall has a stone medallion carved with intricate straps. This zone culminates in a cavetto cornice. The eastern domed chamber, which is square in plan, is also entered through an exterior door in the north wall. Here the shallow dome rests on corner pendentives.

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[44] Van Berchem 1927, 67; Natsheh 2000, 966-7.

[45] Van Berchem 1927, 61-2.
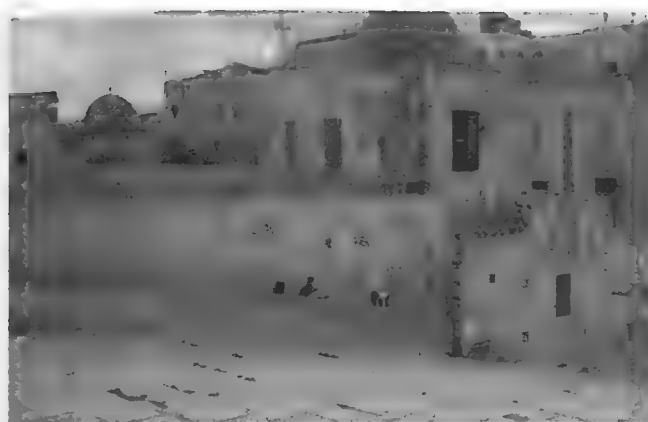
Pl. 12.9 Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, wall along the flight of stairs to the west colonnade, looking southwest.

On the lower floor, the entrance door leads into a long cross-vaulted corridor from which doors open into a series of cross-vaulted cells separated by partition walls (fig. 12.7). Originally, access to the cells was possible through the archways, but at an unknown date these were blocked except for openings for doors, and later were converted into windows. Beyond the southeastern cell, extending east-west, a passage with a series of semi-circular arches, each made up of chamfered voussoirs, was revealed. Because the roofing above these arches is made of large stone slabs, it is plausible to conclude that they may have been constructed to support the upper terrace of the Dome of the Rock. The type of arch used here is distinctive and similar to those in the Haram gates of Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, Bab al-ʿAtm and Bab Hitta, which were probably constructed in the Umayyad period.[46]

The lower part of the west elevation of the Nahawiyya, with its distinctive smoothly-dressed whitish ashlars and buttresses, seems to continue northwards. A stretch of this wall extends from the flight of stairs of the southwest colonnade to the Ottoman Khalwa al-Dajani, which is supported by six buttresses; one is included in the rear wall of another Ottoman two-storey cell *(khalwa)* at the north side of the flight of stairs (pl. 12.9). The buttresses are at equal intervals. The same type of wall appears once again to the north of the Sahrij al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa where it forms the eastern section of the south wall of the west colonnade (340/951-52) leading up to the west entrance of the Dome of the Rock.

In addition to the architectural evidence, the foundation inscription of the Nahawiyya gives us an important clue. The text refers explicitly to 'the adjacent reconstruction' work undertaken by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa. It is thus possible to suggest that, when the Nahawiyya was founded, a stretch of the supporting wall of the Dome of the Rock terrace was rebuilt, extending northwards to the west colonnade (which was probably built in the Umayyad period).

46 Burgoyne 1992, 122, 124.

Madrasa al-Badriyya

The Madrasa al-Badriyya is located in the centre of the Old City on the west side of Tariq al-Qirami in the medieval quarter of Khut Marzuban (fig. 12.11; pl. 12.10). According to an inscription above its entrance (pl. 12.11), it was endowed by Badr al-Din Muhammad al-Hakkari in 610/1213-14 for Shafiʿi scholars *(faqihs)*.[47] Badr al-Din was one of the princes in al-Muʿazzam's entourage; he fell in battle with the Franks in 614/1217, and was brought for burial in his mausoleum

Fig. 12.11 Location of Madrasa al-Badriyya.

47 Van Berchem 1922, 125-6; *RCÉA* 1937, Vol. X, 80-1, no. 3716.
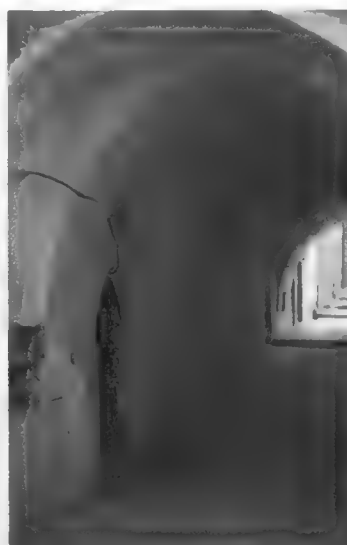
Pl. 12.10 Madrasa al-Badriyya, vaulted street frontage.

Pl. 12.11 Madrasa al-Badriyya, inscription over the entrance.
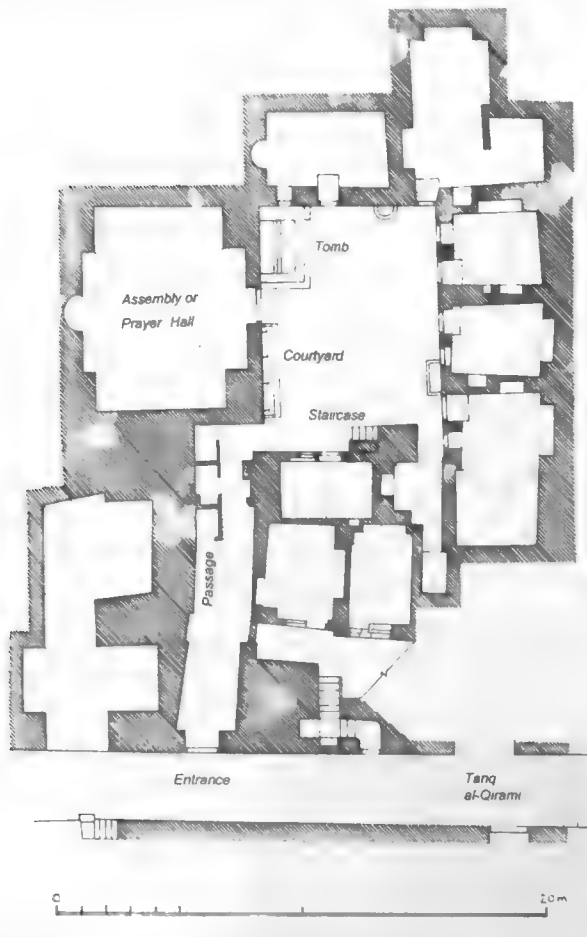
Fig. 12.12 Madrasa al-Badriyya, sketch of ground plan. Courtesy of Dr Michael Burgoyne.

Fig. 12.13 Madrasa al-Badriyya, sketch of street frontage. Courtesy of Dr Michael Burgoyne.

(turba) in Jerusalem. This is most likely to have been in his madrasa.[48]

A low, plain entrance leads from the street through a vaulted corridor into an open courtyard with a tomb in its southwestern corner. The courtyard is surrounded by a series of chambers (pls 12.12-13). The chamber on the south is the

Pl. 12.12 Madrasa al-Badriyya, courtyard looking southeast.

Pl. 12.13 Madrasa al-Badriyya, chambers on the north side of the courtyard, looking northwest.

largest and contains a *mihrab*, and it may have been used as the assembly hall for the *madrasa*. A staircase in the east side of the courtyard leads up to the first and upper floors, which appear to have been added during Ottoman and modern times.

Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya

Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya (also known as al-Hanafiyya, or Masjid al-Mujahidin) is situated on the Via Dolorosa (Tariq al-Mujahidin) opposite the entrance to the covered Tariq Bab al-ʿAtm, north of the Haram al-Sharif (fig. 12.14; ground plan fig. 12.15; sections figs 12.16-17). According to a dedication inscription found in the courtyard of the building, it was constructed

Fig. 12.14 Location of Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya.

in 614/1217-18 by al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa,[49] although

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[48] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 47

[49] Van Berchem 1927, 170-1; *RCEA* 1937, Vol. X, no. 3801.

Fig. 12.15 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, sketch of ground floor plan. Courtesy of Dr Michael Burgoyne.

Fig. 12.16 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, north-south section, looking east. Courtesy of Dr Michael Burgoyne.

Fig. 12.17 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, west-east section through *iwan* looking north.

Pl. 12.14 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, street frontage onto the north side of Tariq al-Mujahidin.

Mujir al-Din reports that it was endowed in 606/1209-10.[50] A mosque was built on the first floor of the *madrasa* (its *mihrab* still survives, as can be deduced from an inscription found on the south face of what survives of the minaret (pl. 12.17). This records that it was constructed by al-Malik al-Qahir, son of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, who served as the administrator of the Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya in 673/1274-1275.[51]

Van Berchem, who in 1914 visited the *madrasa* which was then in a ruinous state and was known as the Masjid al-Mujahidin, has left us a description of it, accompanied by a sketch plan.[52] During the last few decades, the present residents have made changes which have altered the original structure, including the division of the *iwan*, and have also added new constructions.

The wall of the street frontage on the north side of Tariq al-Mujahidin is pierced by a window with a grille set within a blocked archway opening onto the cemetery (pl. 12.14). The square stone tower of a minaret stands at the point where the street frontage returns to the north.

An architectural analysis of the street frontage was carried out to clarify the sequence of construction (figs 12.18-20). There are no less than three different phases in the present building, revealed by three different types of masonry. The first is a type of large rusticated or bossed masonry in the lower part of the wall (eight courses). This masonry is common elsewhere in and around Jerusalem in constructions dating to the Crusader and Ayyubid periods, particularly in fortifications. The second type of masonry in the middle part of the wall, which includes the base of the minaret, consists of smaller ashlar and rubble stones.[53] The third type of masonry is a small course of finely dressed ashlars in the upper part. The masonry of the two lower parts belongs to one stage in the sequence of construction when the mosque and the minaret

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[50] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vols I, 405 and II, 42.

[51] Van Berchem 1922, 173-6; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 400; Burgoyne 1987, 127

[52] Van Berchem 1922, 169, fig. 27.

[53] Burgoyne 1987, 127-8
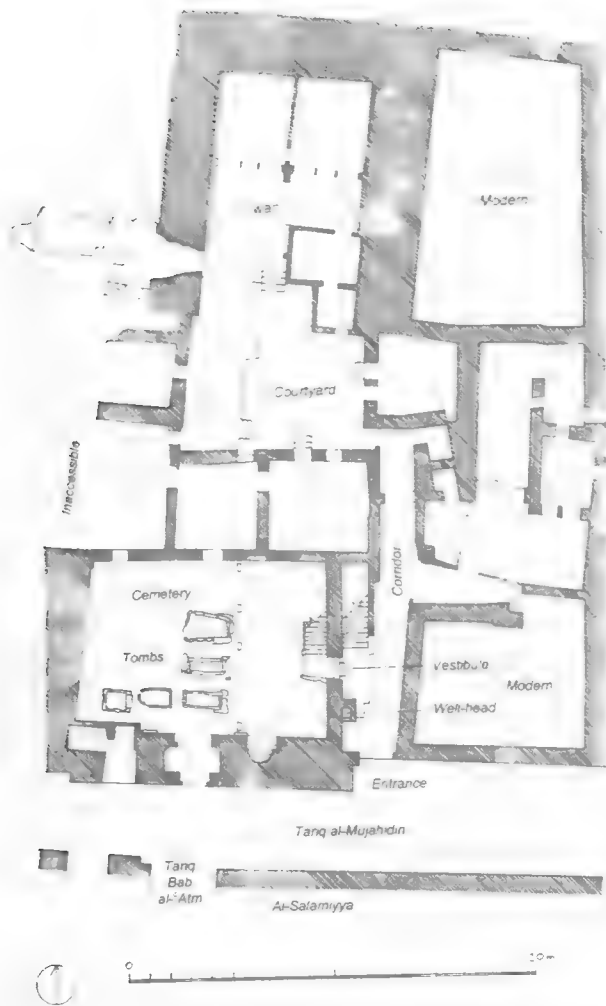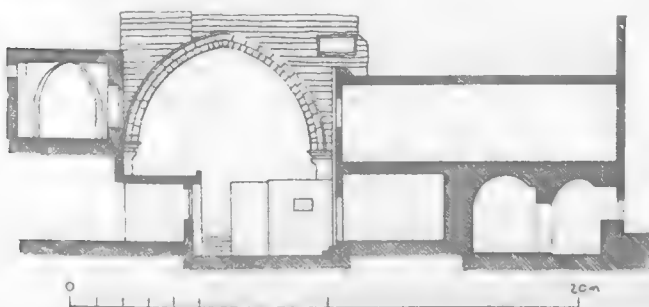
were added in 673/1274-75. The masonry of the upper part belongs to an adjacent Ottoman structure (now in ruins) of which an elaborately moulded window jamb can be seen from the street below. The minaret, of which only the lower part survives, belongs to the traditional square Syrian type.[54]

The original structure of the *madrasa* has partially survived and its present upper floors date back mostly to the Ottoman period and in part to modern times. The ground plan and section show the arrangement of a north *iwan* and cells or chambers around three sides of the courtyard (pl. 12.15). On the north side, a large and impressive *iwan* dominates the courtyard. It has a deep tunnel vault measuring 11.43m deep, 7.18m wide, and 9.50m high (fig. 12.21). Its façade has a pointed frontal arch composed of two sets of voussoirs, thirty-eight in the outer arch and thirty-one in the inner arch. The springers of the arch are supported by two moulded marble imposts, apparently in secondary use. Each impost has a mason's mark in the shape of a crescent. It is quite possible that the imposts are Crusader in origin, though the mason's marks might have been added by the Muslim craftsmen of the *madrasa*. On the right-hand side of the façade, the foundation inscription consists of a marble slab set within a moulded frame (pl. 12.17). The inscription measures 1.30m x 0.60m and has four lines of Ayyubid *naskhi* script.[55] On the left-hand side of the façade, the original masonry has been replaced by modern, white, marble stones. Here, according to van Berchem, another foundation inscription once existed but it disappeared between the years 1893 and 1905.[56]

The layout of the Mu'azzamiyya is of a type current in Syria at the time of its construction. In Damascus, Madrasa al-Rihaniyya, dated 575/1180,[57] and Madrasa al-ʿAdrawiyya, dated 580/1184-85,[58] were built according to the same layout, and are plausible prototypes of the Mu'azzamiyya. Other contemporary Syrian examples, such as Madrasa al-ʿAdiliyya (619/1222-23) in Damascus,[59] and Madrasa al-Firdaus (639/1236) in Aleppo,[60] followed the same layout but with a great deal of decorative elaboration.

The southern part of the *madrasa* beyond the street frontage from the north is occupied by an open-air burial plot which contains five tombs (pl. 12.18). An architectural analysis of the inner face of the south wall mirrors the three stages of construction of the street frontage:

(1) The earliest construction, which may be dated to the Ayyubid period, included a main assembly hall/tomb chamber covered by either a cross or a barrel vault, and lit

Pl. 12.15 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, cell at the southwest corner of the courtyard. (Courtesy of DIA)

Pl. 12.16 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, *mihrab* in the upper level.

Pl. 12.17 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, foundation inscription.

Pl. 12.18 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, burial plot looking southwest

by windows with grilles (see reconstructed street frontage, fig. 12.20).

(2) The second stage appears to have incorporated the mosque hall on the first floor above the assembly hall tomb chamber with its attached *mihrab*, and the minaret at the southeast corner. The minaret itself is dated by inscription as being the work of al-Malik al-Qahir in 673/1274-1275, and

[ ] Burgoyne 1987, 127-8, catalogue no. 4

[ ] Van Berchem 1927, 170-3

[ ] Van Berchem 1927, 173

[ ] Sauvaget et al. 1940, Vol. II, 51-4, fig. 30

[ ] Sauvaget et al. 1940, Vol II, 57-9, fig. 32

[ ] Sauvaget et al. 1940, Vol. II, 77-82, fig. 42; Rihawi 1979, 149-51, fig. 20; Herzfeld 1954-6, 301; Jalabi-Holdijk 1988, 65-7. See also Moaz 1990, 367-87.
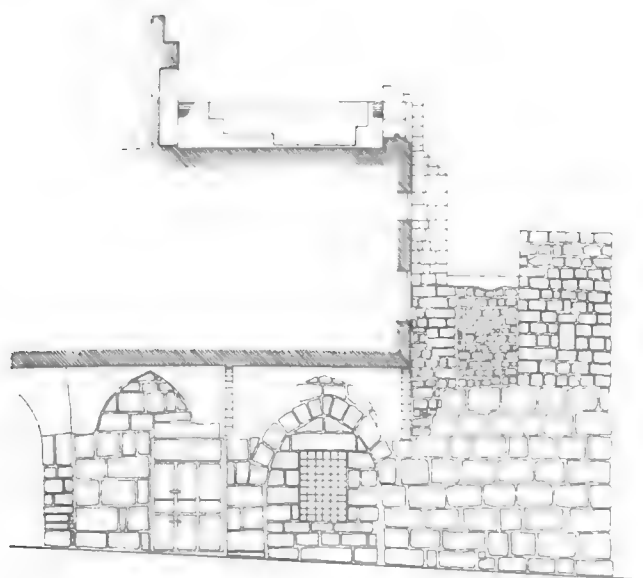
Fig. 12.18 Madrasa al-Muʻazzamiyya, elevation of street frontage.

Fig. 12.21 Madrasa al-Muʻazzamiyya, sketch elevation of *iwan* looking north.

Fig. 12.19 Madrasa al-Muʻazzamiyya, sketch reconstruction of the elevation of the street frontage.

Fig. 12.20 Madrasa al-Muʻazzamiyya, reconstruction of the Ayyubid street frontage, looking north.

Fig. 12.22 Madrasa al-Muʻazzamiyya, upper floor plan.
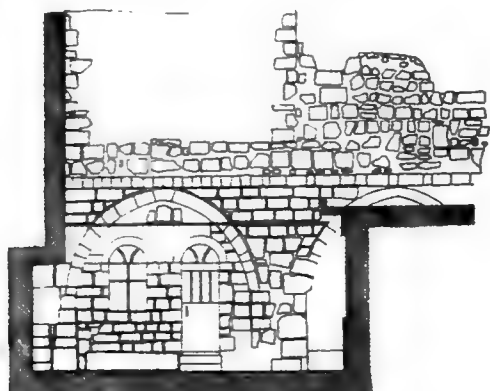
Fig. 12.23 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, sketch elevation of south wall of courtyard.

Fig. 12.24 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, sketch elevation of west wall of courtyard, upper floor.

Fig. 12.25 Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya, sketch elevation of north wall of burial plot.

the mosque hall and *mihrab* may be attributed to the same date. We can assume that the builders thought that the earlier street frontage was neither thick enough nor strong enough to carry the weight of the minaret and the mosque hall on the first floor. They must have decided to strengthen the street frontage by erecting a massive wall of rusticated masonry along its outer face. In the process, they blocked the small east window, enlarged and re-modelled the large middle window and retained the small west window.

(3) Presumably as a result of an earthquake, both roofs of the assembly hall/tomb chamber, the mosque hall and the gallery of the *mu'adhdhin* in the minaret collapsed. It is not, however, clear when this earthquake occurred. The hall must have become a burial plot during the second half of the

9th/15th century, when more tombs were added.

The upper floor now consists of four rooms (A-D) above the four cells on the ground floor of the main courtyard (fig. 12.22). Room D, which survives intact, is almost square in shape and is covered by a stone cross vault, and is typically Ottoman in style.

Khanqahs

Khanqah al-Salahiyya

Khanqah al-Salahiyya, the only *khanqah* to have been established under the Ayyubids, was founded by Saladin in the former Crusader Latin Patriarch's Palace, adjacent to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the north (fig. 12.26-27). According to 'Imad al-Din and various other chroniclers who seem to copy from him, Saladin 'chose for the convent *(ribat)*

Fig. 12.26 Location of Khanqah al-Salahiyya.

the Patriarch's House *(dar al-batrak)* near the Church of the Resurrection *(kanisat al-qumama)'*.[61] An endowment deed *(waqfiyya)* of the *khanqah*, a copy of which is preserved in the Shar'ia Court of Jerusalem,[62] is dated 5 Ramadan 585/17 October 1189. It contains valuable information about the

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[61] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 53; Abu Shama 1974, 114; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 340-1.

[62] Sijill Vol. 95, 424-8, published by al-'Alami 1981; al-'Asali 1983; Frenkel 1992.
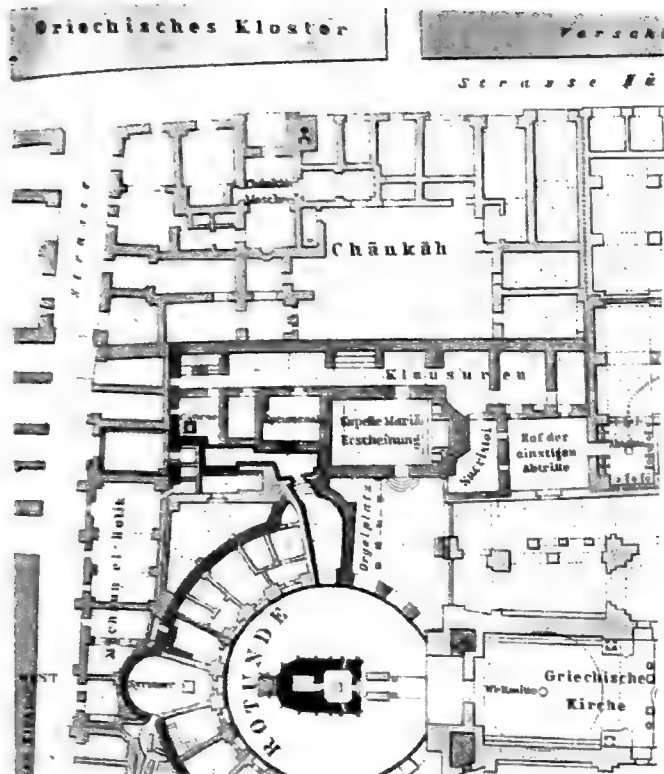
Fig. 12.27 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, ground plan of *khanqah* and environs (after Schick 1885).

building and the various properties in the neighbouring area and elsewhere related to it.

Khanqah al-Salahiyya (fig. 12.28) was one of the main Sufi centres in Jerusalem. There, Sufis lived, studied, prayed and ritually recited the Qur'an and performed the *dhikr*. There were often jurisprudents *(fuqaha')* at al-Salahiyya. Apparently the role of *shaikh* of this *khanqah* was considered one of the most prestigious posts in Jerusalem. He was appointed by a special decree from the sultan, which was read out in a ceremony attended by the Superintendent of the Two Harams, the sultan's deputy and the *qadis*.[63]

The building is a complex on three floors. A vaulted entrance porch (pls 12.21-22) with an elaborate portal on the north side leads into a vaulted vestibule giving directly onto a small mosque, and then into an open courtyard (pl. 12.23). A series of chambers surrounds the courtyard on the east, north and west sides. There are other chambers along the north and west elevations open to the streets, which serve as shops (see section, fig. 12.28). The first floor consists of a series of vaulted chambers on the north side and a large assembly hall *(majma')* or mosque with a *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall. The minaret, with its typical square 'Syrian tower', rises above the eastern jamb of the portal. The upper floor extends southwards above the northwest corner of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The main west elevation consists of three storeys and is supported by six large buttresses with sloping tops (pls

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[63] Al-Qalqashandi 1914 Vol. XII, 105-6; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 303.
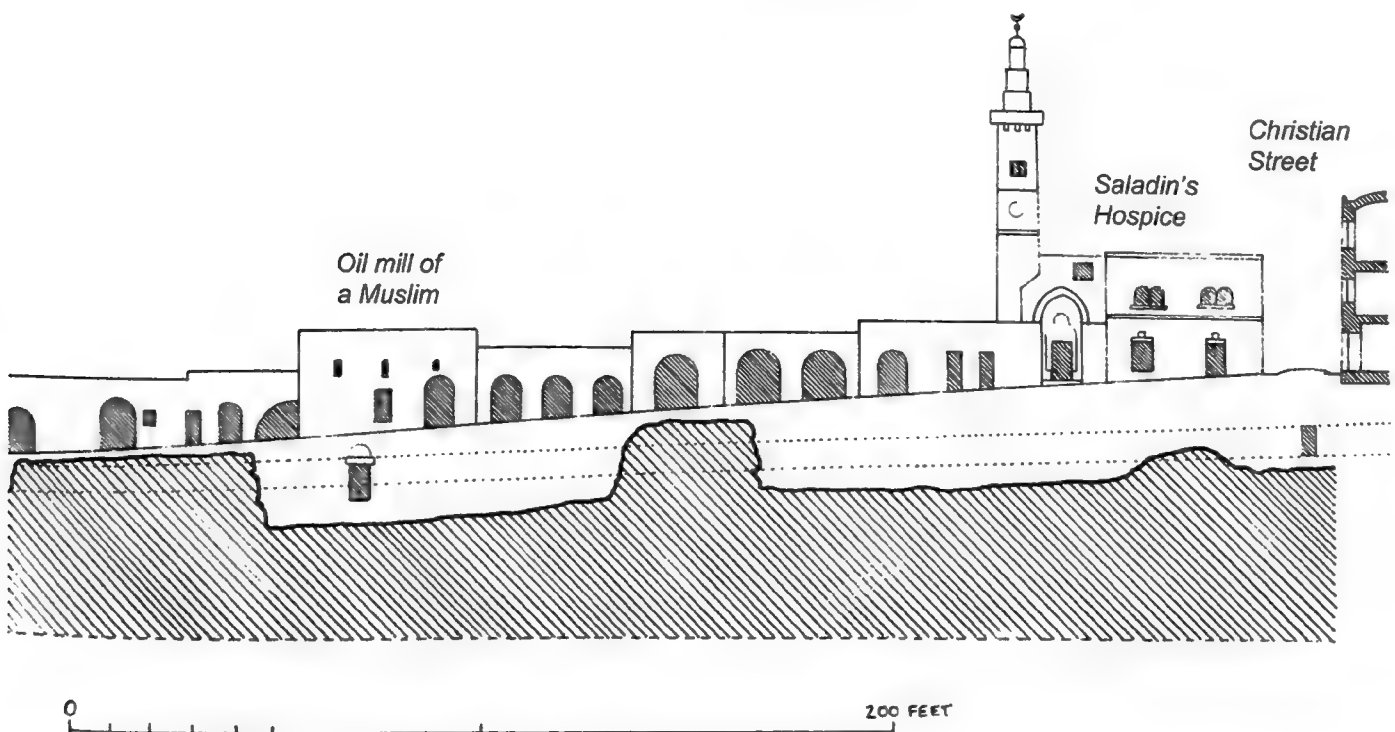
Fig. 12.28 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, elevation along 'Aqabat al-Khanqah (St Francis Street) (after Schick 1892).
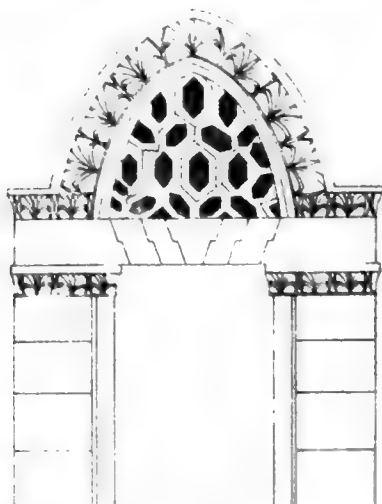
Fig. 12.29 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, interior doorway of the Patriarch's Palace (after Vincent and Abel 1914).

Pl. 12.19 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, west elevation

Pl. 12.20 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, shallow recess in the west elevation.

12.19-20), a feature originating in the Crusader period.[64] The masonry of the lowest of these storeys appears in general to be in re-use, except at the northern end, where the masonry is homogeneous and is most likely Crusader. A blocked arched doorway, partially obscured by an archway spanning the street, has a typical Crusader cushion arch springing from a capital which rests on a marble column.

The deeply recessed entrance in the north façade, set in a wall of finely dressed ashlars, consists of a porch or bay covered by a cross vault and a plain frontal arch (pls 12.21-22). This arch has a hood mould around its extrados and rests on a *cyma recta* moulding, which runs across either side of the bay. The doorway has a monolithic lintel surmounted by a relieving arch. It is set in a trefoil-headed recess and framed by a pointed arch defined by a similar *cyma recta* moulding to that of the porch. A rectangular slab, probably intended for a foundation inscription, is set within the trefoil arch. The middle part of the façade is constructed in *ablaq* of cream-coloured limestone and black bituminous limestone. The *ablaq* voussoirs of the trefoil arch, as well as the relieving arch, consist equally of alternating cream-coloured and black stones. The rectangular slab within the arch is also framed by black stones.

The question of the date of the entrance porch of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya has been controversial. Basing himself on Mujir al-Din's testimony, van Berchem suggested that the porch and the portal were constructed by the superintendent of the *khanqah*, Burhan al-Din b. Ghanim (797/1394-95), who also built the minaret.[65] Creswell, however, believed that they must have been a restoration (*imara*) and rejected van Berchem's dating. He also noted a striking resemblance in form and moulding between the entrance bay at the *khanqah* and two foundations by Sultan Qala'un—the buildings known as
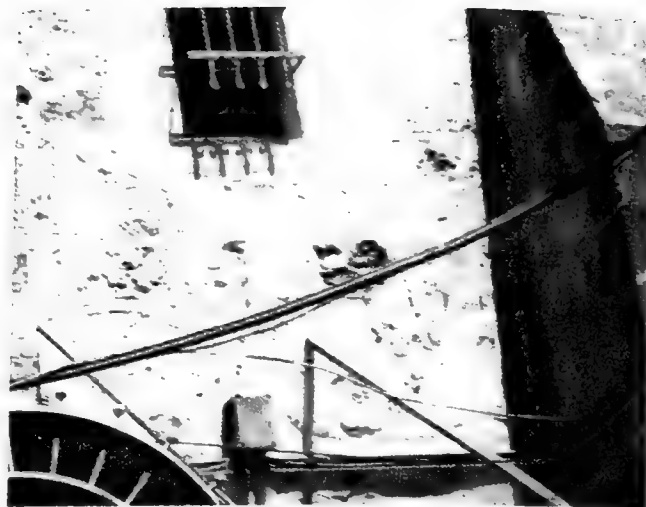
Pl. 12.21 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, entrance portal in the north elevation from 'Aqabat al-Khanqah (St Francis Street). (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 5045).

Ribat al-Mansuri in Hebron (679/1280-81), and in Jerusalem (681/1282-83).[66] Creswell concluded that, towards the end of the 7th/13th century, cross-vaulted entrance bays ceased to be built, and instead the fashion for stalactite portals arrived in Palestine from Northern Syria.[67]

[64] Burgoyne 1987, 228

[65] Van Berchem 1922, 90.

[66] On Ribat al-Mansuri in Jerusalem see Burgoyne 1987, 133, pl. 5.3

[67] Creswell 1978 Vol. II, 162, n. 1. The first appearance of a *muqarnas* (stalactite) portal at Jerusalem was not in 711/1311, however, as Creswell (1978 Vol. II, 147) noted. In fact, it was a little earlier, in 695/1295, at Khanqah al-Dawadariyya; see Burgoyne 1987, 157, pl. 8.6.

Pl. 12.22 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, entrance portal, showing trefoil arch and *ablaq* decoration.

Pl. 12.23 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, large buttress in the west side of the courtyard.

Pl. 12.24 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, general view looking north, including its minaret.

Pl. 12.25 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, assembly hall *(majma')*, looking south.

Pl. 12.26 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, *mihrab* in the assembly hall or mosque.

Pl. 12.27 Khanqah al-Salahiyya, inscription plaque recording the construction of the *mihrab* and restoration of the *majma* in 741/1341.

Ayyubid buildings like Siqayat al-ʿAdil (589/1193),[68] Bab al-ʿAtm (*ca* 610/1213),[69] and Bab Hitta (reconstructed 617/1220) each have similar cross-vaulted bays with plain frontal arches. But none of these buildings has any *ablaq* decoration. In addition, an early Mamluk building, Ribat ʿAlaʾ al-Din (666/1267-68), has a comparable cross-vaulted porch.[70] The fact that entrance porches are a fairly common architectural feature in the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods suggests that the Salahiyya porch is likely to be Ayyubid.

Moreover, the trefoil arch[71] at the entrance may provide another clue for dating. The voussoirs at the cusps of the arch are identical to those found at Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya in Aleppo (564/1169) and their construction technique also appears to be similar.[72] Burgoyne (1979, 285) observed that the voussoirs at the Salahiyya, particularly the triangular voussoirs at the points of adjoining cusps, are counterfeit and do not reach the extrados of the arch, as at the trefoil arch of the Muqaddamiyya. This evidence, therefore, confirms Creswell's conclusion that the entrance porch was constructed in 585/1189 and that the later 9th/15th century restoration did not alter the structure and layout.

The courtyard is surrounded on the north, east and west sides by vaulted chambers (pl. 12.23). A staircase on the north side leads up to the upper floor and the minaret (dated before 820/1417-18); this is square in plan and belongs to the traditional Syrian type (pl. 12.24).[73]

The large hall on the first floor is vaulted with three groin-vaulted bays separated by transverse arches carried on wall piers (pl. 12.25). A *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall has a pointed arch, the voussoirs of which contain alternating black and cream-coloured stones; it is flanked by colonnettes surmounted by capitals (pl. 12.26). Over the *mihrab*, a marble plaque with an inscription in Mamluk *naskhi* script was fixed above the arch; however, at some point it had been removed from its original setting (pl. 12.27). The plaque records that the construction of the *mihrab* and the restoration of the assembly hall *(majma)* were carried out by ʿIsa ibn Ahmad b. Ghanim in 741/1341.[74] Shaikh Burhan al-Din was appointed as *shaikh* of the *khanqah* in 797/1394-95; his son, Najm al-Din, succeeded him as *shaikh* and superintendent of the *khanqah* in 836/1433 and died in Jerusalem in 839/1436.[75]

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[68] Hawari 2007, catalogue no. 4.

[69] Hawari 2007, catalogue no. 16.

[70] Burgoyne 1987, 121, pl. 3.2.

[71] The evolution of the trefoil arch was not dealt with by Creswell. It was briefly outlined by Michael Burgoyne in relation to the trefoil arches employed in some Mamluk monuments in Jerusalem; see Burgoyne 1994. He traced the trefoil arch, beginning with brick monuments (such as Gunbad-i Qabus 397/1006-07, and the 11th-century Masjid-i Jamiʿ at Isfahan, 481/1088). He claimed that it had been introduced from Saljuq Iran to North Syria, where it appeared in Aleppo on the minaret of the Great Mosque (483-87/1090-95) and Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya (564/1169).

[72] Écochard 1937-38, 83-108; Burgoyne 1979, 284-5, fig. 25; Allen 1986, 12-13.

[73] Burgoyne 1987, 517-18, no. 52.

[74] Van Berchem 1922, 88.

[75] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 171.

Zawiyas

Of the five *zawiyas* known from written sources, only two survive: al-Khatniyya (in a ruinous state) and al-Jarrahiyya: Zawiyat al-Hunud was completely rebuilt, first in later Ottoman and then in modern times; and al-Nasriyya and al-Dirkah no longer exist but are known from literary sources and epigraphic evidence.

The terms *zawiya* and *madrasa* were occasionally used interchangeably in the Ayyubid period, as in the cases of al-Khatniyya, al-Nasriyya and al-Dirkah. In the case of al-Jarrahiyya, the terms *zawiya* and *qabr* (tomb) were used as alternatives.

Three *zawiyas* were the work of major political figures and were generally established by them for minor religious figures (*shaikhs*); al-Khatniyya was originally endowed by Saladin for Shaikh Jalal al-Din al-Shashi; the Nasriyya (later known as al-Ghazaliyya) was built by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa for Shaikh Nasr al-Maqdisi; the Dirkah was endowed by al-Muzaffar Ghazi, during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa. The other two were founded by less important figures. Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya was built by Amir Husam al-Din al-Jarrah; al-Zawiyat al-Hunud (also known as al-Rifaʿiyya) was established by Shaikh Sakrakanj to serve the community of Indians who settled in the city.

Zawiya al-Khatniyya

Zawiya al-Khatniyya, immediately south of the Aqsa Mosque (fig. 12.30), was endowed by Saladin for the ascetic Shaikh Jalal al-Din Ahmad b. al-Shashi in 587/1191.[76] Al-ʿUmari (745/1345) refers to the *zawiya* as 'al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya', which, because it was run by Shaikh al-Khatni, became known by his name.[77] The Khatniyya is mentioned in numerous *sijill* documents in the

Fig. 12.30 Location of Zawiya al-Khatniyya.

Ottoman Shariʿa Court in Jerusalem.[78] A copy of the original *waqfiyya* is recorded in the Jerusalem Shariʿa documents, dated to 991/1583 (Sijill 63, p. 92).

The building lies within a complex of ruinous structures located against the south end of the Aqsa Mosque, in the area where the south city wall joins the Haram wall in

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[76] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 13, 34.

[77] Al-ʿUmari 1924, 166.

[78] Al-ʿAsali 1982, 101, cites Sijill 207, p. 247; Sijill 63, p. 92.
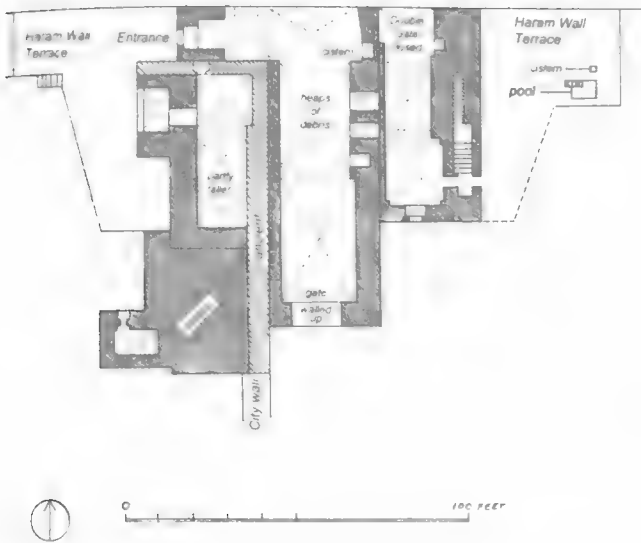
Fig. 12.31 Zawiya al-Khatniyya, ground plan (after Schick 1892)

Pl. 12.28 Zawiya al-Khatniyya, double towers south of Aqsa Mosque, with the Zawiya on the upper level, viewed from northeast.

Pl. 12.29 Zawiya al-Khatniyya, double towers south of Aqsa Mosque with blocked entrance to the Double Gate on the right, looking northwest.
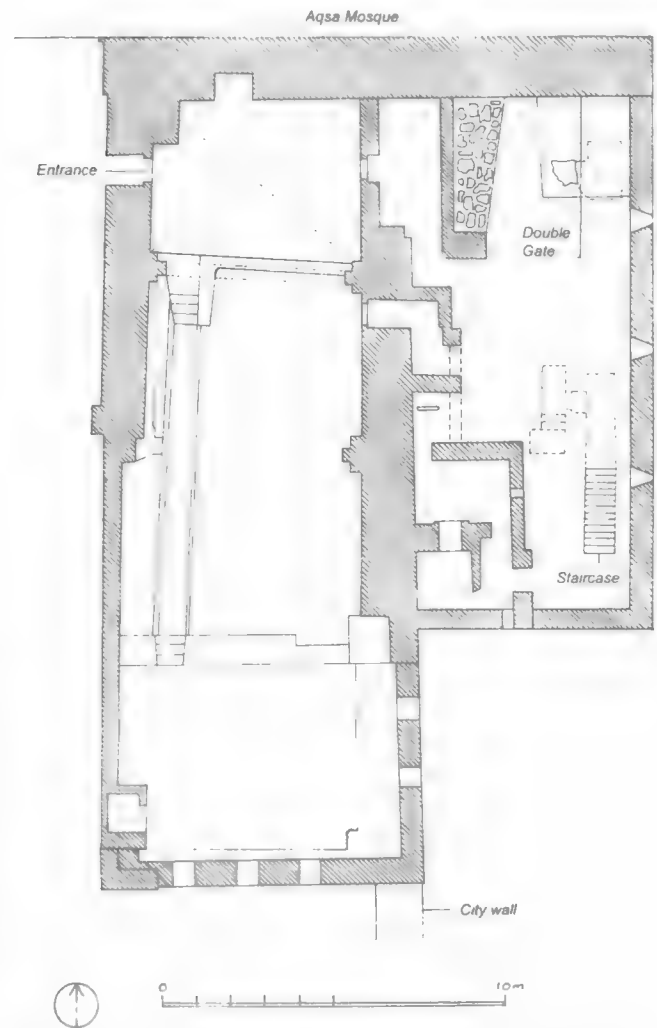
Fig. 12.32 Zawiya al-Khatniyya, ground plan of upper level (after DIA).

a zigzag manner (pls 12.28-29). The complex is buttressed on the west side by two tall blind arches. The layout of the building consists of two halls and adjoining chambers on the west side.[79] The entrance was, and still is, through the Aqsa Mosque. The western hall is rectangular in plan and probably had four vaulted bays, of which only the northernmost cross-vaulted bay, with a transverse arch supported by wall piers, has survived. Wall piers for at least two other bays still exist on either side of the hall (fig. 12.32). Schick (1892, 20) noted only three cross-vaulted bays. The eastern hall is smaller, and contains the remains of a small basin in its southwest corner, and various dividing walls which appear to be recent insertions. In the north wall of this hall, the upper part of the ancient so-called 'Double Gate' can be discerned. In the upper part of the west wall, a blocked window surmounted by a rounded arch appears to be Crusader in origin. The adjoining chambers on the west side are likely to be of Ottoman date. The staircase linking the building to the lower part of the tower and to the outside of

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[79] Schick 1892, 20, plan; fig. 2.2.

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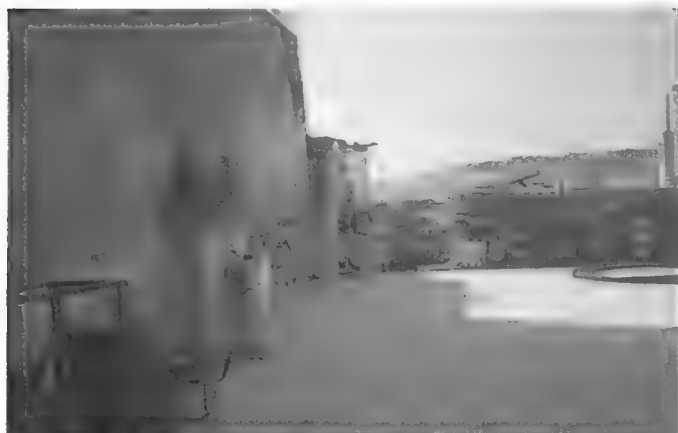
Pl. 12.30 Zawiya al-Khatniyya, view of west frontage, looking north.

the Haram—indicated by the topographical notes of al-ʿUmari and Mujir al-Din—was blocked at an unknown date.

Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya

Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya is located in the Shaikh Jarrah district, north of the Old City of Jerusalem. According to Mujir al-Din (901/1496) it was founded by Amir Husam al-Din al-Husain, son of Sharaf al-Din ʿIsa al-Jarrahi, one of the *amirs* of Saladin and his personal physician, who died in Safar 598/October–November 1201 and was buried in the *zawiya* (pls 12.31–32).[80] A tombstone with an inscription, located within the building, indicates the burial place of Amir Husam al-Din al-Jarrahi and gives the same date (pl. 12.33).[81] Al-Nabulsi, who visited the site in 1101/1690, identifies it as 'the funerary structure *(mazar)* of Shaikh al-Jarrahi in the Jarrahiyya Madrasa'.[82] In the course of time, perhaps in the Ottoman period, a sanctuary with an enclosure wall was built around the original domed *maqam*, which remained an essential feature of the complex. A similar development occurred in the shrines of Dair al-Shaikh, Nabi Rubin, and Nabi Yushaʿ.[83] In the Jerusalem and Nablus areas, the shrine was the centre of the Shadhiliyya, a Sufi sect, who participated in the annual festival *(mausim)* of Nabi Musa. In the early 20th century AD, Tawfik Canaan, the renowned Palestinian anthropologist,

Fig. 12.33 Location of Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya.
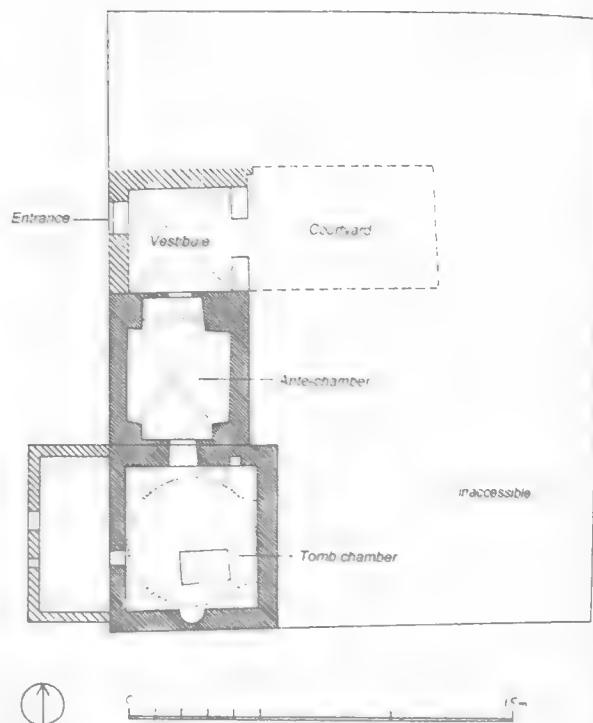
Fig. 12.34 Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya, sketch ground plan.

Pl. 12.31 Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya, general view looking east. (Courtesy of BSAJ Archive, PEF, London)

reported having seen the flag of Shaikh ʿAtif, the attendant *(qa'im)* of the Jarrahiyya, in the procession.[84]

The shrine forms a large complex, almost square in plan (some 21m x 20m); it is surrounded by an enclosure wall and has a central courtyard with auxiliary rooms around it. The complex is entered through a modern entrance gateway which leads into a small vestibule covered by a cross vault. This in turn leads into the courtyard, which is surrounded with a

[80] Mujir al-Din 1973, Vol. II, 48.

[81] Burgoyne and Abul-Hajj 1979, 124-5.

[82] Al-Nabulsi 1990, 96.

[83] Petersen 1996, 97-113.

[84] Canaan 1927, 197, n. 3.

Pl. 12.32 Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya, looking northeast towards Shaikh Jarrah

Pl. 12.33 Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya, dedication inscription.

series of residential units. These were constructed in Ottoman and modern times. A door in the south wall of the vestibule opens into a small cross-vaulted chamber, which in turn leads directly into a lofty tomb chamber. In the corners of the square chamber are four deep, simple squinches marking the transition from the square base to the round drum. A simple, deep *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall is obscured by a plain cenotaph now covered with cloth. Although Husam al-Din al-Jarrahi is said to have been buried here, it is not certain whether there is a tomb below the cenotaph.

Mosques

Under the Ayyubids, mosque construction in Jerusalem was minimal. Attention was first concentrated on the re-sanctification and refurbishment of the Aqsa Mosque, which fulfilled the function of a *jami* (congregational mosque) but kept its historic title of *masjid*. Saladin ordered the restoration of its *mihrab* and the installation of Nur al-Din's *minbar*.[85] The Aqsa Mosque continued to receive direct support from either the sultan or from other members of the Ayyubid family who were associated with the administration of the city.

Four new mosques (*masjids*), which still survive, were founded in Jerusalem in the period. Three of these were founded by members of the Ayyubid family, and one by a religious figure; two, Jami' al-Maghariba (the Mosque of the Moroccans or North Africans) and Masjid Muharib, were new Ayyubid foundations; two others, Jami' al-Afdal and Jami' al-Nisa', were established in former Crusader buildings.

Two *masjids* (Jami' al-Nisa' and Jami' al-Maghariba) were founded in the Haram, adjacent to the Aqsa Mosque from the west. The Crusader halls of the Order of Knights Templar on the west side of the Aqsa were simply converted into Jami' al-Nisa'. The construction of Jami' al-Maghariba was probably
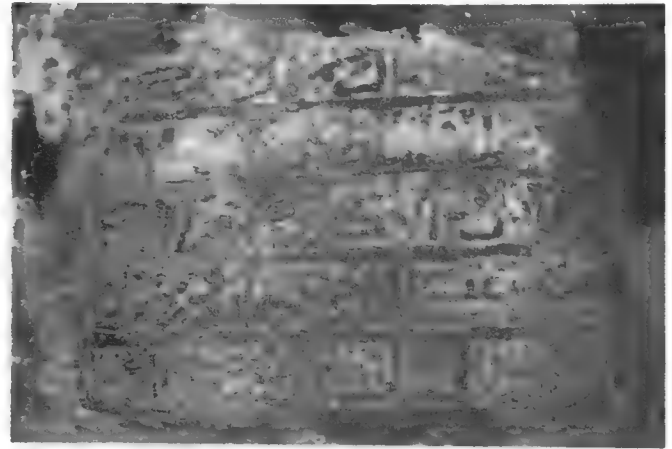
the direct result of al-Afdal's establishment of the Maghariba Quarter in the west border of the Haram. The location of Jami' al-Afdal, founded in part of the former Crusader hospital just south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, was probably determined by the Ayyubids' attempts to Islamicise this part of the city. The small mosque of Masjid Muharib was located in an area occupied by shops and markets, at the top of Tariq Bab al-Silsila.

Jami' al-Afdal

Jami' al-Afdal (fig. 12.36), which is also known as Jami' al-'Umariyya or Masjid 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, is located immediately to the south and southwest of the forecourt or parvis in front of the main entrance to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 12.35). According to literary sources and an inscription found over its *mihrab*, the mosque was converted and endowed

Fig. 12.35 Location of Jami' al-Afdal.

in 589/1193 by al-Malik al-Afdal 'Ali, son of Saladin.[86] The mosque was established in a part of the buildings annexed to the monastery of St Maria Maior, at the northwest corner of the Crusader Hospitaller complex of the Knights of St John (pl. 12.34).[87] The prayer hall of the mosque is entered through the two transverse arches on the south side of a courtyard (pl. 12.35). It is a two-aisled hall consisting of two bays of groin

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[85] See Hawari 2007, Appendix III, no. 1.

[86] Mujir al-Din 1973, Vol. II, 46; van Berchem 1922, 96-9, no. 36; RCÉA 1937, Vol. IX, 187, no. 3464.

[87] Vincent 1901, 100, plan; Schick 1902, 47-8, plan; Ashbee 1924, ill. 46 (plan by Schick); Pringle 1982, 98; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, 181
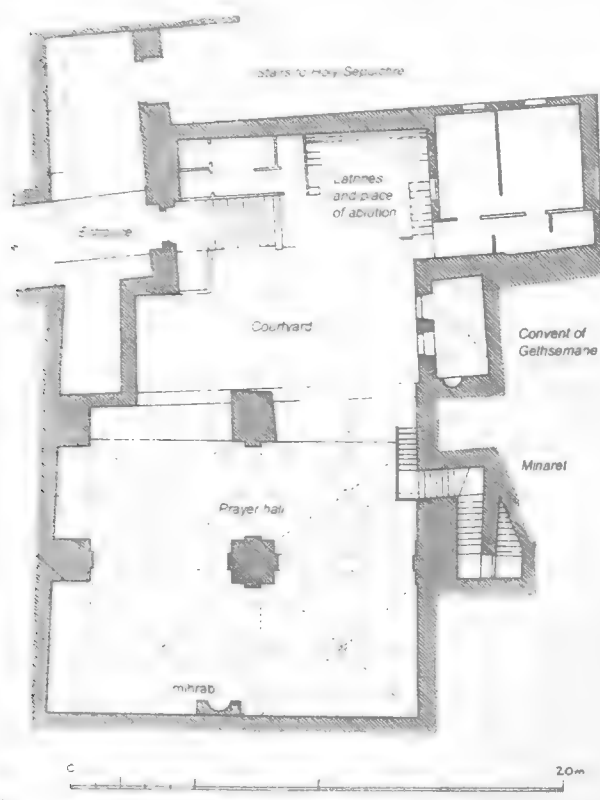
Fig. 12.36 Jami al-Afdal, ground plan.

Pl. 12.35 Jami al-Afdal, frontage of prayer hall.

Pl. 12.36 Jami al-Afdal, eastern bays of prayer hall looking south.
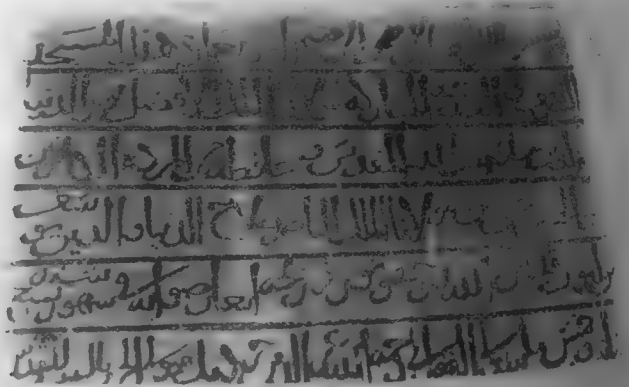
Pl. 12.37 Jami al-Afdal, foundation inscription.

vaults carried on four piers and on responding pilasters built into the east and south walls. Each bay is separated from its neighbour by transverse arches (pl. 12.36). The present *mihrab* appears to be a recent replacement and the plaque of the foundation inscription was also inserted above the *mihrab* and therefore is not *in situ* (pl. 12.37). During repair works in 1995, the mosque was enlarged by clearing further vaulted bays to the west.

On the east side of the courtyard, a tall minaret with a Syrian-type square tower can be dated to the Mamluk period. Mujir al-Din reports that the minaret attached to the Mosque of al-Afdal was renewed some time before 870/1465 following

Pl. 12.34 Jami al-Afdal, outer entrance portal.

damage caused by a severe earthquake.[88] Van Berchem suggests that the minaret was rebuilt after the earthquake of 863/1458.[89] On stylistic grounds and because of its resemblance to the minaret of al-Salahiyya, Burgoyne adopts Mujir al-Din's dating for the minaret, that is 'before 870/1465-66'.[90] During the Ottoman period Jamiʿ al-Afdal was known as 'Jamiʿ ʿUmar' because a popular legend associated it with the second caliph, ʿUmar b. al-Khattab, following his conquest of Jerusalem in 16/638. This legend was reflected in a now missing restoration inscription dated to 1255-77/1839-61, which was fixed on the outer portal.[91]

Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ

Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ (the Women's Mosque; also known as Jamiʿ Abu Bakr), along the south end of the Haram, immediately to the west of the Aqsa Mosque, was

Fig. 12.37 Location of Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ.

[88] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 49.
[89] Van Berchem 1922, 102, n. 1.
[90] Burgoyne 1987, 568.
[91] Van Berchem 1922, 99-101, no. 37.

founded in the former Templars' Hall (fig. 12.37). It consists of two long halls, oriented east-west, covered by barrel vaults, and the main entrance is in the north wall (fig. 12.38). It is bounded on the north by the Mamluk Zawiya al-Fakhriyya, Jamiʿ al-Maghariba, a raised platform and an open courtyard.

Theodoric, *ca* 566/1170, described this hall as the monastic quarters of the Templar Order, which were probably constructed in the 1160s.[92] Al-ʿUmari, *ca* 745/1345, described the mosque as consisting of two aisles, each aisle with six vaults carried in the middle by six piers,[93] while Mujir al-Din, *ca* 901/1496, reported it as comprising ten vaulted bays on nine piers.[94]

[92] Theodoric 1996, Bk XVII, 31; see also Burgoyne 1987, 260, notes 22, 23.
[93] Al-ʿUmari 1924, 153.
[94] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 13.

Pl. 12.40 Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ, arch and grilled window in the far southwest bay, looking south.

Pl. 12.38 Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ, west wall of south aisle with splayed window, looking west.

Pl. 12.39 Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ, looking east, now part of the Islamic Museum.

Pl. 12.41 Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ, from the west, showing the west wall of the Haram.
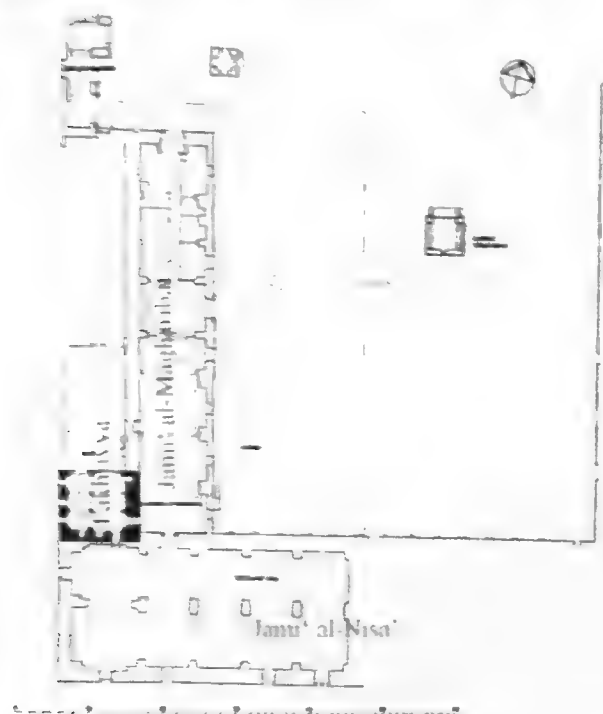
Fig. 12.38 Jami' al-Maghariba and Jami' al-Nisa, ground plan (after Burgoyne 1987, fig. 22.2)

The Haram frontage is built with finely dressed and well-constructed masonry, with many stones bearing typical Crusader diagonal tooling and masons' marks. It incorporates a series of openings and vaulting springers which were meant to serve as the southern abutments of a series of vaults (pl. 12.38). The entrance portal is surmounted with a simple keel-arched profile and flanked on either side by four re-used engaged marble columns, carved with two tiers of simple acanthus leaves and volutes at the corners. The entrance leads directly into a two-aisled, east-west long hall covered by twenty cross vaults supported on a central row of nine piers (pl. 12.39).[95]

The interior of the hall consists of twenty bays carried on forty-two pointed arches. The openings in the north wall are echoed internally. The blocking of the openings is visible in the western part of the hall, which is now occupied by the Islamic Museum (pl. 12.40).

The exterior of the south Haram wall is largely built with small, homogeneous, heavily bossed ashlars; it is likely to be a Crusader construction. At the far east end of the wall, a vertical joint in the masonry can be discerned, providing clear evidence that the wall of Jami' al-Nisa' abuts the western wall of the Aqsa Mosque. This, of course, must mean that it was built at a later stage than that wall.

The west Haram frontage, as on the south side, consists mostly of small, heavily bossed masonry supported by an earlier massive substructure built with different types of masonry (pl. 12.42).[96]

Pl. 12.42 Jami' al-Maghariba, general view with north frontage, looking south.

The architectural evidence from the Jami' al-Nisa' shows there are at least two main phases of construction. The first is Crusader, and is represented by distinctive features such as the homogeneous diagonally dressed masonry and masons' marks found in situ. As already stated, this can probably be identified as the 'great hall' constructed in the 1160s by the Templars. Their Order was based at the adjacent Templum Salomonis, which was used as their monastic quarters. The second phase is Ayyubid, represented by the adaptation of the building for use as a mosque. It was at this time that a mihrab was installed in one of the windows in the south (qibla) wall, opposite the main entrance.

Jami' al-Maghariba

Jami' al-Maghariba presently houses part of the Islamic Museum at the southwest corner of the Haram (fig. 12.39, pl. 12.42). The building was identified by al-'Umari in ca 745/1345 and later by Mujir al-Din.[97] However, no date or name of a founder has been recorded regarding the construction of the building. Mujir al-Din states that al-Afdal 'Ali, son of Saladin, during the time of his governorship in Damascus, dedicated the quarter of the city known as Harat al-Maghariba as waqf for the benefit of the Moroccan

Fig. 12.39 Location of Jami' al-Maghariba.

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[95] See Catherwood's map (1833) in Ferguson 1847, fig 5.2; Pierotti 1856, fig. 5.2, pl 5.9

[97] Burgoyne 1987, 263, fig. 22.8

Al-Umari 1924, 152-3; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 15, 34

Pl. 12.43 Jami‘ al-Maghariba, north façade with western entrance and external mihrab, looking south.

Pl. 12.44 Jami‘ al-Maghariba, elbow bracket.

Pl. 12.45 Jami‘ al-Maghariba, eastern frontage, looking southwest.

Pl. 12.46 Jami‘ al-Maghariba, later entrance in the east façade.

community of Jerusalem.[98] A copy of this document, which was certified twice—once in 666/1267 and again in 1004/1595—survives in the Ottoman Shar‘ia Court of Jerusalem (Sijill no. 77, p. 588); a transcript of it was produced by Tibawi.[99]

Although there is no mention of the Jami‘ al-Maghariba either in the *waqfiyya* or by Mujir al-Din, it is possible to assume that at the same period, probably in about 590/1194, al-Afdal endowed it to serve the nearby Maghariba quarter.[100] Alterations and changes were introduced into the building when a new entrance façade was constructed in the eastern wall by the Ottoman sultan, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, in 1288/1871, as indicated by an inscription over the entrance.[101]

The mosque originally comprised a main façade with two arched doorways leading southwards into two long halls roofed by barrel vaults. Of the two halls, only the eastern one has survived. Zawiya al-Fakhriyya was built on the site of the western hall. In 1927 the eastern hall and the western part of Jami‘ al-Nisa’, and more recently Zawiya al-Fakhriyya, were joined and converted into the Islamic Museum.

The north façade of Jami‘ al-Maghariba, which was intended as the principal face of the building, consists of two similar pointed arched doorways aligned more or less symmetrically on either side of the central axis (pl. 12.43). The left-hand (eastern) doorway, reported by al-‘Umari to be the entrance to the mosque, has a pointed arch above it. This consists of nineteen voussoirs surrounded by a hood mould turned outwards at both ends of the arch. Its lintel is supported by an elbow bracket on either side of the doorway. The right-hand (western) doorway is set in a recess and is spanned by a pointed and deeply moulded archivolt. In fact, this is the entrance to Zawiya al-Fakhriyya, dating to before 732/1332,[102] which was mentioned by al-‘Umari. Its tympanum is still open to view but its right-hand jamb is obscured by a pier of the western portico of the Haram, constructed some time between

[98] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 46.
[99] Tibawi 1978, 13–15, Arabic text in Appendix II
[100] Burgoyne 1987, 261
[101] Van Berchem 1927, 216–18
[102] Burgoyne 1987, 262.
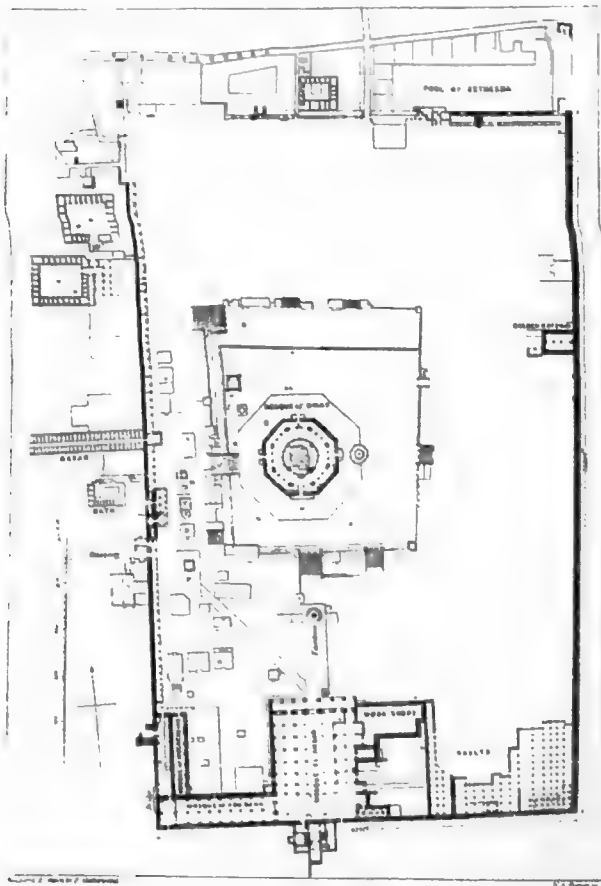
Fig. 12.40 Plan of Haram al-Sharif of 1833 (after Catherwood in Ferguson 1847).

Pl. **12.47** Jami' al-Maghariba, main eastern hall with *mihrab*, now part of the Islamic Museum.

Pl. **12.48** Jami' al-Maghariba, detail of pierced *mihrab*, with re-used Crusader capitals.

745/1345 and 887/1482; this is also part of the inner porch of the adjacent Bab al-Maghariba.[103] A *mihrab*, which appears to be a later insertion, is placed centrally between the two doorways (pl. 12.43). The porch in front of the façade described by al-'Umari existed until the 1920s, when it was taken down. It consisted of four archways supported on five piers; it is clearly visible in plans both by Catherwood (1833, fig. 12.40) and Pierotti (1856), and also in early photographs.[104]

The eastern wall extends across the width of a large raised platform (pl. 12.45). The eastern hall of the mosque opened to the east in a series of arches of which the southern three and the springing of a fourth, as well as the northernmost one, are still visible (pl. 12.47). Each has been blocked, leaving only a window opening, surmounted by a smaller one. The southernmost arch is partially obscured by a staircase giving access to the roof, and to the minaret of Zawiya al-Fakhriyya datable to after 745/1345.[105] More or less in the centre of the Haram frontage, a new entrance façade with fine ashlar masonry, light brown in colour, was constructed in 1288/1871, probably masking three arches of the original wall (pl. 12.46).

As has already been mentioned, Jami' al-Maghariba originally consisted of two long halls (also known also as the 'Ayyubid Halls'), which were divided by a wall running down the spine of the building; only the eastern one still exists. The 'Columned Hall' of Zawiya al-Fakhriyya, datable to before 732/1332, was erected in the southern part of the western Ayyubid hall.[106] In the east wall of the 'Columned Hall', a doorway, which is now blocked, opened into Jami' al-Maghariba.[107]

To the north, the site is occupied by two courtyards enclosed by a low wall (the upper part of the Haram wall) and divided by a modern partition, which is not shown in Catherwood's 1833 plan (fig. 12.40). The stretch of the Haram wall from the southwest corner to Bab al-Maghariba has undergone subsequent rebuilding, most probably during the Ayyubid period. By carrying out a stratigraphical analysis of the south part of this wall, Burgoyne identified eight masonry phases belonging to various periods, of which one is Ayyubid

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Burgoyne 1987, 194

' Burgoyne 1987, 262, pl. 22.4

Burgoyne 1987, 270

[106] Burgoyne 1987, 258.

[107] Burgoyne 1987, 264.

(masonry type 6).[108] This masonry, which consists of re-used bossed stones, may be part of the substructure of the western Ayyubid hall, found under the Mamluk masonry of the Fakhriyya, and defined by Burgoyne as type 7.[109]

Catherwood's 1833 plan shows an interesting feature in the west Haram wall. The present Haram entrance of Bab al-Maghariba is blocked and another entrance with the same name, approximately 23m to the south, leads directly from the Maghariba Quarter into the western Ayyubid hall. However, no trace of this 'new' gate can be found in Pierotti's plan of 1856, and Bab al-Maghariba is marked at its present location. We have no explanation for this anomaly.

Along the wall between the two halls, at least five pointed-arched openings, now blocked, and traces of springers protruding from the wall are still visible. This latter evidence indicates that this area was once vaulted. Moreover, Burgoyne points out that the architectural uniformity of the north façade of the two halls (described above) suggests that the vaulting of the western hall was contemporaneous with the eastern hall and extended alongside it.[110] It is quite possible that the lateral thrust of the vault had something to do with its collapse, perhaps during an earthquake. Here different types of masonry are used and the face of the wall between the two halls appears to have undergone many repairs and alterations.

The main entrance leads directly into the eastern Ayyubid hall, which measures about 54m long by 9.10m wide. It is roofed by barrel vaults, and is lit by a series of windows in the eastern wall.

In the southernmost three bays, grooves in the sides of the barrel vaults correspond with the windows in the eastern wall and the blocked openings visible in the outer face of the western wall (pl. 12.47).

The *mihrab* was pierced in 1927 in order to expand the museum into the western bays of the Templars' Hall which, as has already been described, had been converted into Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ. Its blocked original state appears clearly in Catherwood's plan of 1833. It is constructed in stone and flanked by two re-used Crusader columns complete with capitals. It is placed not quite in the centre of the south *(qibla)* wall (pl. 12.48). To the left of the arch of the *mihrab*, the masonry has been altered, indicating where the *mihrab* has been inserted.

Masjid Muharib

The small mosque known as Masjid Muharib is located in Tariq Harat al-Yahud, near the west end of Tariq Bab al-Silsila (fig. 12.41). According to an inscription above its entrance, the mosque was built in 595/1199 by Muhammad b. Muharib, who

endowed it with three shops to the south.[111] The literary sources are silent about Muhammad b. Muharib, who was probably well-off and may have settled in Jerusalem after Saladin's conquest.

The mosque consists of a small and narrow rectangular hall (6.20m long by 2m wide) with a simple concave

Fig. 12.41 Location of Jamiʿ Muharib.

mihrab in the middle of the *qibla* wall (fig. 12.42). The narrow street frontage (pl. 12.49) of the mosque has a rounded arched door and a small window on the left-hand side with a grille.

[111] Burgoyne and Abul-Hajj 1979, 123-4, no. XX, pl. XVII.
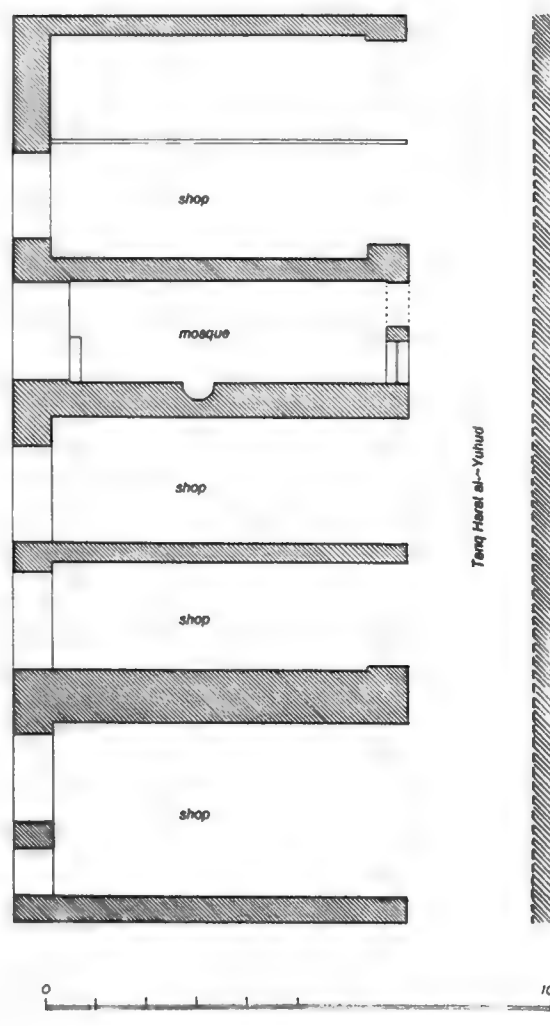
Fig. 12.42 Jamiʿ Muharib, sketch ground plan.

[108] Burgoyne 1987, 263, fig. 22.8.
[109] Burgoyne 1987, 263, fig. 22.8; see above, Jamiʿ al-Nisaʾ, no. 5.
[110] Burgoyne 1987, 263.

The metal-work mountings of the left-hand jamb of the door, the lower part of the wall and the arches of both the door and window are clearly modern insertions, added during the repairs made in 1992 (Department of Islamic Archaeology, Auqaf Administration, Haram al-Sharif, Photographs File [Qubba al-.....riya], 1992). A marble slab above the arches of the door and window contains a foundation inscription (pl. 12.50). It is written in Ayyubid naskhi script, finely incised and bevel-cut. A palmette motif is carved in the middle of the first line.

Masjid al-Aqsa

The magnificent façade of the Aqsa Mosque with its portico *(riwaq)* was rebuilt and extended between the Crusader period and the 9th/15th century. According to a well-preserved foundation inscription situated in a shallow recess above the central arch on the exterior face of the porch (pls 12.51, XLIX), 'this façade of the porch' was constructed during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 614/1217-18.[112] Another inscription, partly damaged, was discovered on the interior of the dome of the portico and states that the dome was constructed by the same al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa.[113] Three Mamluk inscriptions (dated to 746/1345, 751/1350 and 879/1474 respectively), which refer to further rebuilding work in the porch, are each found in a recess built in the spandrel between the outer arches.[114]

The architecture of the porch was described in detail by Hamilton in 1949.[115] The façade comprises three pointed arches on either side of a larger central arch (pls 12.52-53). Six piers and six pilasters connected by transverse arches, which spring from elbow brackets, divide the porch into seven bays, corresponding to the seven aisles of the mosque (pl. 12.54-55). The central bay is covered by a dome on pendentives, the three on either side by cross vaults (pl. LIII).

Three principal phases of construction may be distinguished:

(1) The first phase is Crusader and is attributed to the Templars' occupation of the Aqsa Mosque. It is represented by a porch consisting of three bays, of which the central bay stood higher than the other two. It was spanned within by transverse ribs, which still survive. The side bays were covered by cross vaults, which still exist in their original form, while the vaulting of the central bay is not known.[116] The various architectural details (pedestals, corner columns, elbow brackets, capitals (pl. 12.58), and the cornice moulding above the piers) of the four wall piers, and the inward-facing side of the front

Pl. 12.49 Jamiʿ Muharib, street frontage.

Pl. 12.50 Jamiʿ Muharib, foundation inscription.

piers in the three central bays within the vaulted area of the porch, also belong to this phase (pl. 12.51). All these survive *in situ* and have a uniform style which is part of the original system of decoration.[117]

(2) The second phase is represented in the rebuilding within the 'façade of the portico' of the three central bays by al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 614/1217-18; this is confirmed by the inscription in the shallow recess above the central arch (pl. 12.56). The free-standing supports which carry the various elements of the frontal arches are a remodelling or repair of the original structure. The capitals and elbow brackets seem to have been a heterogeneous collection taken from diverse Romanesque and Gothic structures, as well as Byzantine 'Corinthian' capitals, which are in a secondary use.[118] In addition, the various parts of the elaborate archivolt of the central arch, consisting of bands of zigzag or chevron (pl. 12.57), cavetto and cyma recta mouldings, are in re-use.

Van Berchem 1927, 415-16; Hamilton 1949, 38-9.
[113] Husseini 1949, 46-8
[114] Van Berchem 1927, nos 285, 288, 291; Hamilton 1949, 38, 47.
[115] Hamilton 1949, 37-47.
[116] Hamilton 1949, 47

[117] Hamilton 1949, 41-42, pl XXIII, 1-3.
[118] Hamilton 1949, 41, pl. XXIII, 4-6, Pl. XXIV, 6, pl. XXV, 1-2.

Pl. 12.53 Al-Aqsa Mosque, central bay of the porch. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 4992)
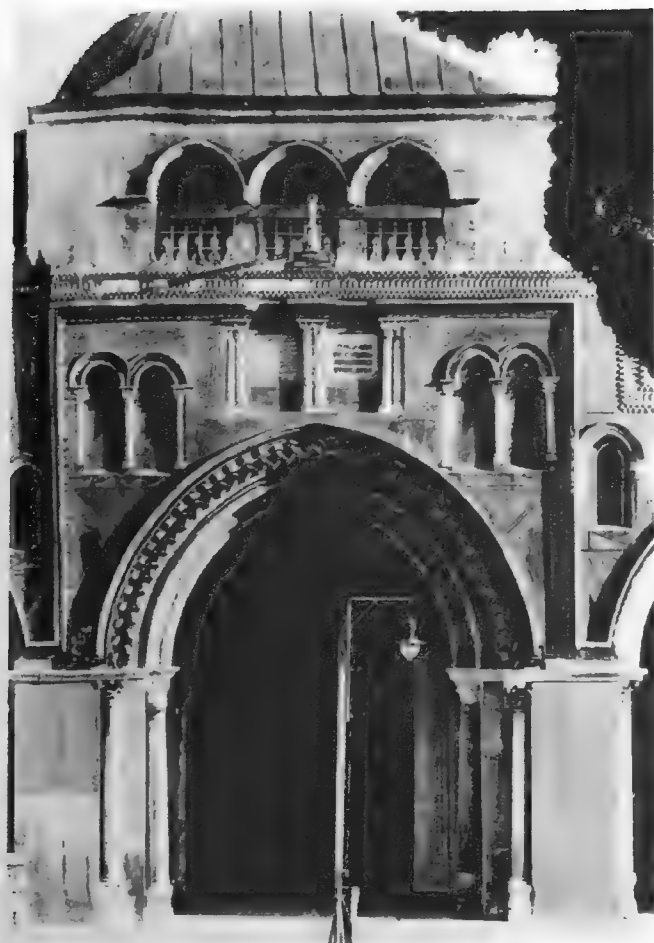
Pl. 12.51 Aqsa Mosque, central portion of the façade looking south. (Courtesy Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva)

Pl. 12.52 Al-Aqsa Mosque, general view looking southeast. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 4994)

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Pl. 12.54 Al-Aqsa Mosque, view along interior of porch, looking east. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 4997)

Pl. 12.55 Al-Aqsa Mosque, entrance. (Creswell Photographic Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 4999).

Pl. 12.56 Aqsa Mosque, inscription above central arch, after Hamilton, 1949, pl. XXII/2.

Pl. 12.57 Al-Aqsa Mosque, detail of attached columns of the bay. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford no. 4996)

Pl. 12.58 Al-Aqsa Mosque, west double recess showing re-used Crusader capitals.

similar to those found on 6th/12th century buildings.[119] The colonnettes, capitals and arches of the small niches which decorate the upper part of the façade are re-used Crusader *spolia* (pls 12.57–59).

The dome above the central bay of the porch, which rests on arches and pendentives, was also added to the original structure (pl. 12.60). Four arches carry it, on the north side, on outer angles and piers;[120] on the south they are structurally independent of the corresponding wall piers, but spring from the jambs of the main doors of the mosque, which have been roughly handled.[121] The addition of the dome is confirmed by the inscription which encircles it, carved in the seventh course above the springing.[122] Although the inscription, which bears the name of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa is damaged and has no date, it was most likely fitted during the rebuilding of the façade.

(3) The third phase is Mamluk and is represented by the four outer bays of the porch to which the two inscriptions in their spandrels refer. This work was part of a systematic and comprehensive scheme of construction, which not only included the extension of the porch in either direction, but also the rebuilding of the side aisles of the mosque itself. The porch was repaired several times during its later history.

Commemorative Domes and Monuments

Monuments commemorating the prophets of the Old Testament were known in Syria and Palestine from the early centuries of Christianity. Islam inherited the traditions of the Old Testament prophets, such as Abraham, Ishmael, Amos, Job and Moses, first through the Qur'an and later through the literary genre known as *qisas al-anbiya'* ('Stories of the

Pl. 12.59 Al-Aqsa Mosque, right-hand side of the archivolt of the central bay

Pl. 12.60 Al-Aqsa Mosque, dome above the central bay of the porch. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 4998)

Prophets').[123] Interest in Shi'i martyrs was also expressed by the construction of commemorative monuments.[124] At the end of the 4th/10th century, Sunnis began to build their own commemorative domes (*qubbas*), designed as counterparts to those of the Shi'is.[125]

[119] Hamilton 1949, 42–43, pl. XIX, 1.

[120] Hamilton 1949, 45, pl. XXV, 6–7.

[121] Hamilton 1949, 45, pl. XXVI, 1.

[122] Hamilton 1949, 46, fig. 25.

[123] Nagel 1967.

[124] Grabar 1966, 38.
Ibn al-Jauzi 1979 Vol. VII, 205–6.

In Jerusalem, three commemorative domed structures were erected under the Ayyubids, all within the Haram al-Sharif.

Qubbat al-Mi'raj

Qubbat al-Mi'raj (Dome of the Ascension)(pls 12.61–70, LVII), which is situated just northwest of the Dome of the Rock, was built—according to a dedicatory inscription (pl. 12.71) above the entrance—by 'Izz al-Din Sa'id al-Su'adi Abu 'Umar 'Uthman b. 'Ali 'Abdullah al-Zanjili, governor of Jerusalem in 597/1200–1.[126] Although the inscription

Fig. 12.43 Location of Qubbat al-Mi'raj.

refers to the structure as Qubbat al-Nabi (Dome of the Prophet), the text suggests that there was another structure associated with the Prophet Muhammad which had by then disappeared, being replaced by the new one commemorating the tradition of his *mi'raj* (ascension) to heaven.

Pre-Crusader accounts of the Haram mention numerous structures on the platform of the Dome of the Rock, including both the Dome of the Prophet's Ascension and the Dome of the Prophet.[127] By Yaqut al-Hamawi's time (d. 623/1226)—only twenty-five years after its rebuilding—the monument under discussion had been clearly identified as Qubbat al-Mi'raj and as being located on the pavement of the platform of the Dome of the Rock.[128] However, later historians and chroniclers gave a more accurate position of the monument currently known as Qubbat al-Mi'raj.[129]

This free-standing *qubba* is a simple octagonal chamber, constructed upon an almost rectangular raised platform, with arches resting on corner piers and columns which support a cornice crowned by a high dome (figs 12.44–46). The columns and their capitals are probably of Crusader origin. Externally, the structure consists of two distinctive parts: an octagonal base, formed by eight walls, and above this a pointed dome, formerly covered with lead and surmounted by a curious finial. The corners of the octagon each consist of a pier with four columns, so arranged that each pair of columns is flanked by two other columns, except for those in the *qibla* side; here there are only three columns. Eight rebated arches spring from the column capitals (pl. 12.62).

The way the thirty marble columns and their capitals are arranged around the structure is curious. The outer pairs of engaged columns have sixteen identical leaf capitals. Their flanking columns have fourteen different capitals with various decorative motifs, all Crusader in origin. The former capitals are consistent in style, being plain with down-turned leaves, and similar capitals are found in other Ayyubid buildings. The latter capitals are more elaborately and richly decorated with vegetal or floral motifs, as well as figurative ones (pl. LIX), of which analogous examples can be found in both Crusader and Ayyubid buildings in Jerusalem and in 12th-century Romanesque churches in France.[130] Here, they seem to be re-used *spolia*. The space in between the columns on each façade of the structure, excluding the north and *qibla* sides, is filled with grey-veined slabs (pl. 12.63, LXI and LXII).

The *mihrab* appears to be constructed from the same masonry as the rest of the structure, suggesting that it is an integral part of the building (pl. 12.64). The dome of the structure, pointed in shape, is built of stone. It was formerly covered on the exterior with radiating strips of lead (pl. 12.61), but these were removed in 1997. The apex of the dome is surmounted by an ornate and curiously formed finial. It comprises a miniature domed structure, lightly carved with a motif of drooping petals and supported by interlaced pointed arches. This lantern-like finial (pl. 12.66) is unparalleled in Islamic architecture in Jerusalem or elsewhere, to my knowledge. Its small dome closely resembles a contemporary Ayyubid helmet, while the intersecting pointed arches above the columns are Gothic in style. An example close to it is a stone object in the Department of Islamic Archaeology, Jerusalem, probably the corner post of a centotaph (pl. 12.67).

The entrance door in the north side leads directly into an octagonal chamber; this is lit by the windows under the arches in the seven sides of the structure, and is paved with marble slabs. Three marble panels carved with Kufic inscriptions are found at the level of the column bases (pls 12.68–69). The *mihrab*, which is concave and with a pointed arch, is decorated with blue and turquoise polychrome tiles (pl. 12.70). Above the niche of the *mihrab* there is an inscription, written in an Ottoman *naskhi* script; this indicates that the *mihrab* was refurbished in the year 1195/1781 (pls 12.70-71).[131]

The transition from the octagonal room to the round base of the dome is marked by eight fluted niches acting like miniature squinches above the corners of the octagon, which in turn support a circular drum.

The characteristic Crusader features outlined above have led various scholars to attribute Qubbat al-Mi'raj to the Crusader period.[132] However, van Berchem and Burgoyne

[12] Van Berchem 1927, 37-38, no. 152; *RCÉA* 1937, Vol. IX, no. 3533.

[127] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi 1899 Vol. VII, 299; al-Muqaddasi 1906, 129, Nasir-i Khusrau 1986, 33. Ibn al-Murajja 1995, 77, 30a; 124, 45b.

[128] Yaqut 1990 Vol. IV, 594

[129] Al-'Umari 1924, 149; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. 1, 373.

[130] Kühnel 1977, 47.

[131] Van Berchem 1927, 54-55, no. 153.

[132] Schick 1899, 23; Boase 1938, 16; Krautheimer 1942, 1-33; Bahat 1990, 179
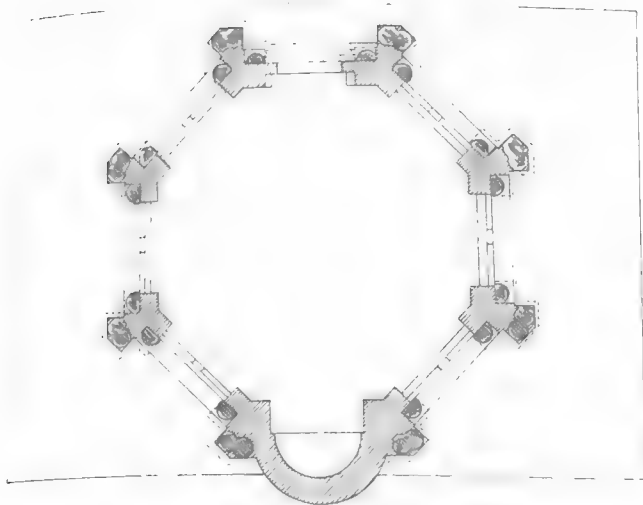
Fig. 12.44 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, ground plan (after DIA).
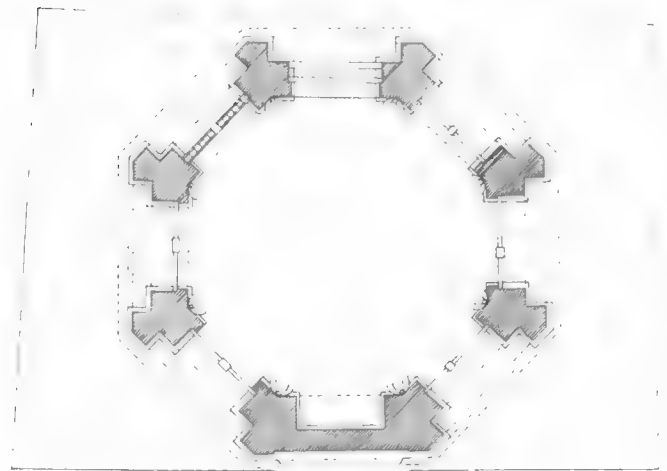
Fig. 12.45 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, plan with section lines (after DIA).
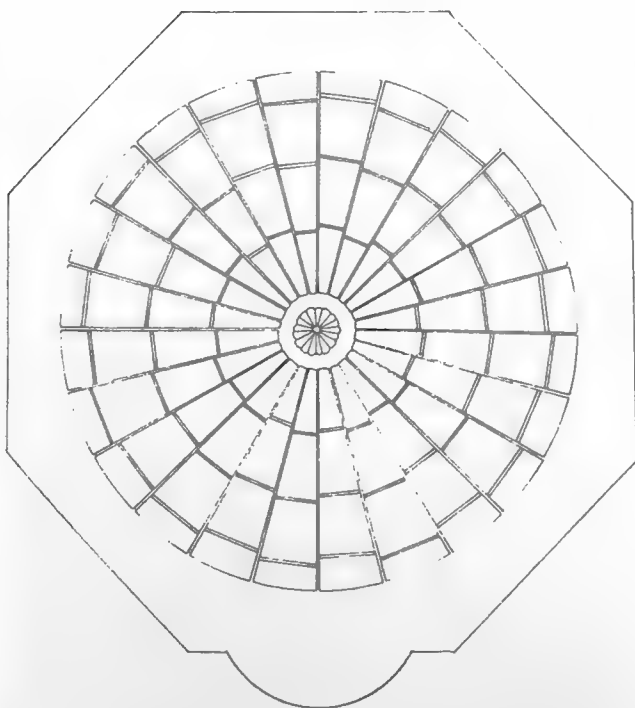
Fig. 12.46 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, plan of dome (after DIA).

Pl. 12.61 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, view of the *qubba* from above viewed from the east, showing the original lead dome.
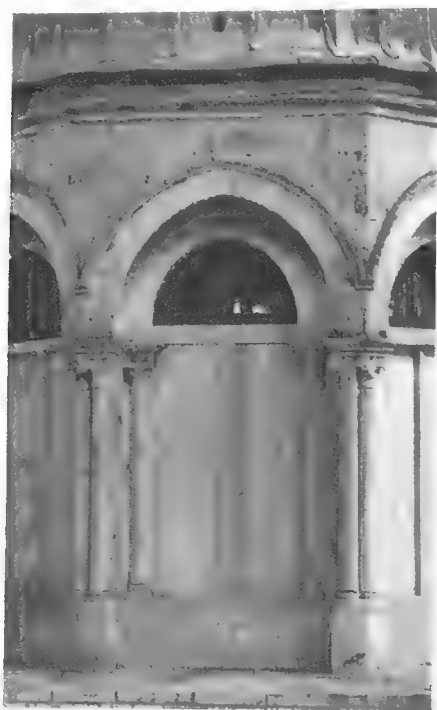
Pl. 12.62 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, detail showing the arrangement of the columns and springing of the arches.

Pl. 12.63 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, general view showing the grey-veined slabs and entrance in the north side. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5046)

Pl. 12.64 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, exterior of the *mihrab*, looking north.

Pl. 12.65 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, showing the recently uncovered stone dome.

Pl. 12.66 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, detail of finial

Pl. 12.69 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, panels with Kufic inscription.

Pl. 12.67 Corner post of a cenotaph, DIA, Jerusalem.

Pl. 12.68 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, panel with Kufic inscription set on side

Pl. 12.70 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, *mihrab* decorated with ceramic tiles.

Pl. 12.71 Qubbat al-Mi'raj, upper part of the *mihrab*, showing the inscription.

regarded Qubbat al-Mi'raj as an 'Arab monument' *(sic)* which was inspired by the Crusader Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives.[133] Furthermore, Burgoyne correctly observed that 'the unsystematic arrangement of capitals of different types in the Qubbat al-Mi'raj supports the view that this is not a Crusader but probably an Ayyubid construction composed mainly of Crusader *spolia*.'[134] Indeed, there is no doubt that Crusader masonry and sculpture were here re-used and incorporated into the structure. As Burgoyne notes, the inscription dated 597/1200-01 commemorates its construction and not its restoration. Several structural features suggest pronounced Islamic characteristics. The *mihrab* appears to be an integral part of the structure; its outer masonry is homogeneous with the rest of the building. The octagonal design of Qubbat al-Mi'raj, though in a modified form similar to that of the Church of the Ascension, is to be found in the adjacent and most important Islamic monument in Jerusalem: the Dome of the Rock.

Qubbat Sulaiman

The Qubbat Sulaiman, also known as Kursi 'Isa (Throne of Jesus), is located in the north part of the Haram esplanade (pl. XLII and 12.72, fig. 12.47). Although the building is without a foundation inscription, it has been identified by chroniclers from the 8th/14th century onwards as Qubbat Sulaiman, although sometimes with some

Fig. 12.47 Location of Qubbat Sulaiman.

confusion. 5th/11th-century literary sources refer to the site as 'Kursi Sulaiman'. However, it has also been identified by late 19th/early 20th-century scholars and archaeologists as 'Kursi 'Isa'.[135] Early Islamic traditions have associated the site of Qubbat Sulaiman with King Solomon and his construction of the Temple.[136]

Externally the free-standing domed structure (9.33m high) comprises three distinct 'storeys' (fig. 12.49). An octagonal base (fig. 12.48) supports a transition zone carrying a rounded dome, which is slightly pointed and surmounted by a simple finial. The northeastern and northwestern sides are pierced by large, arched and grilled windows, while the north side contains the entrance door (12.72). A moulded archivolt runs around the arches. The zone of transition, circular in plan, is set back externally from the octagon, and is pierced with pointed arched windows placed centrally over each side of the octagon; a cavetto moulding runs above the arched windows.

The entrance door is set in a recess with a high marble column resting on a pedestal to either side. There is a relieving lintel above the monolithic door lintel. Inside, surrounded in 1988 by a modern iron railing which was later removed, is a rocky outcrop projecting from the floor, which is most probably the famous rock known as the 'Kursi Sulaiman' mentioned by medieval Arab chroniclers as being associated with King Solomon. Other parts of the floor, for example, in front of the *mihrab*, are paved in marble with some later decoration. Along the side walls, in the angles of the octagon, there are raised benches on which stood twenty-four marble columns in pairs. Each angle of the octagon, in other words, has two engaged columns on either side of a pier, excluding the *qibla* and north sides where there are only two columns (fig. 12.48). The column capitals seem to be re-used Crusader material, belonging to the same decorative type. Each is carved with three tiers of simple leaves. The *mihrab*, in the centre of the *qibla* wall (pl. 12.73), is concave, set into a recess and flanked by two small marble columns crowned by Corinthian capitals; these are probably Crusader in origin and are similar to two in re-use in the Dome of the Rock.[137] The masonry of the *mihrab* appears to be homogeneous with the whole *qibla* wall, making it an integral part of the original fabric of the structure. This finding is of great significance since it leaves no doubt that the structure was built as a Muslim shrine. In other words, it rules out a Crusader date in favour of an Ayyubid one.[138]

The question of the identification of Qubbat Sulaiman has been investigated by a number of archaeologists and scholars. The building was said by Schick to be called 'the Small Rock' *(al-sakhra al-saghira)* and by van Berchem

133 Van Berchem 1927, 49-52; 1978, 231.
134 Burgoyne 1987, 48, and pl. 7.

135 See n. 138 below.
136 Ibn al-Muraja 1995, fol. 30b, 78; Nasir-i Khusrau 1986, 70; Elad 1995, 90-4
137 Buschhausen 1978, pls 314, 315
138 Burgoyne 1987, 48, pl. 8.

Fig. 12.49 Qubbat Sulaiman, south-north elevation and section lines (after DIA)

Fig. 12.48 Qubbat Sulaiman, ground plan (after DIA).

the 'the Piece of the Rock' (shaqfat al-sakhra). It was identified as the 'Throne of Jesus' (Kursi 'Isa) by Le Strange, Vincent and Abel, and Bahat.[139] Van Berchem, who made a thorough study of the identification of it as Qubbat Sulaiman, rejects the identification as 'Kursi 'Isa'. He argues that the name must have mistakenly derived from that of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, who restored the adjacent North Portico of the Haram.[140]

Ibn al-Murajja's and Nasir-i Khusrau's accounts from the 5th/11th century indicate that there was no structure above the rock then identified as the Kursi Sulaiman. In other words, their accounts could serve as a terminus post quem for the construction of the structure. On the other hand, al-'Umari's account could serve as a terminus ante quem. Consequently, it is possible to narrow down the date of construction of the qubba to between 438/1047 (Nasir-i Khusrau) and 745/1345 (al-'Umari), a timespan of about three hundred years, which covers the Crusader, Ayyubid and the early Mamluk periods.

[139] Schick 1898, 103-4; van Berchem 1927, 207, n. 2; Le Strange 1890, 172; Vincent and Abel 1922, 604-8; Bahat 1990, 179.
[140] Van Berchem 1927, 210; Elad 1995, 91-93, n. 65.

Pl. 12.72 Qubbat Sulaiman, from the northeast, showing the entrance to the right. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5047)
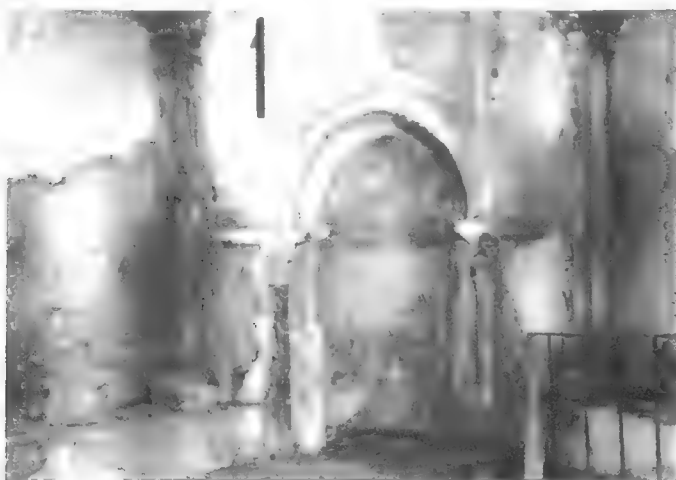
Pl. 12.73 Qubbat Sulaiman, *mihrab* and raised benches. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5048)

The motive behind the construction of Qubbat Sulaiman is likely to have been based on an early Muslim tradition which associated the rock with King Solomon. After the Frankish conquest of Jerusalem in 492/1099, as already noted, the Aqsa Mosque was converted into the Templum Salomonis, linking the site to the biblical Solomon. Yet, as far as we know, no Christian tradition relating the rock to Solomon is mentioned in Frankish sources. This suggests that Qubbat Sulaiman was likely to have been built by Muslims, either in the Ayyubid or the early Mamluk period, rather than in the Crusader period.

In order to date Qubbat Sulaiman more closely, we must rely on architectural evidence and stylistic parallels, as already stated. Although the structure contains typical Crusader architectural elements, these appear in secondary use. The *mihrab* seems to be an integral part of the structure; it may be an indication of Ayyubid construction. Several features—such as the octagonal base and pointed arches, corner column capitals, fluted niches in the zone of transition, and general octagonal design of the domed structure—all show a close resemblance to those in Qubbat al-Mi'raj (597/1200-1) and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives (began in *ca* 525/1130).[141] However, these features are not prevalent in the domed structures of the later Ayyubid period, such as the Qubba al-Nahawiyya (604/1207-8),[142] Qubbat Musa (647/1249-50) and Qubba al-Qaimuriyya (before 648/1251), or in the early Mamluk Qubba al-Kubakiyya (*ca* 688/1289).[143] These parallels suggest that the actual date of construction of Qubbat Sulaiman probably falls between 597/1200 and 604/1208.

Qubbat Musa

Qubbat Musa is situated on the west side of the Haram esplanade, east of Bab al-Silsila (fig. 12.50). According to an inscription found above the entrance, the domed structure was founded by al-Malik al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, son of al-Malik al-Kamil, in 647/1249-50.[144] Mujir al-Din confirms the identity of the founder but gives

Fig. 12.50 Location of Qubbat Musa.

a slightly different date (649/1251) for the building's construction.[145]

The question of the identity of the 'Musa' after whom the *qubba* is named—whether he was the Prophet Musa or a young Ayyubid prince called al-Malik al-Ashraf Musa—is not given a clear answer in contemporary literary sources. In 901/1496, Mujir al-Din[146] specifically stated that the building was not named after the Prophet Musa and that it should not be associated with him. Max van Berchem discussed this issue but had no definitive answer.[147] On the whole, the association with the Prophet Musa follows traditional Syrian practice of the period (e.g. Nur al-Din's Maqam Ibrahim in Aleppo), and therefore seems more likely than an association with al-Ashraf Musa.

The structure, set upon a raised platform, comprises a single room, rectangular in plan, and roofed by a high dome. On the exterior, the transition from the rectangular base to the circular dome is effected by an octagonal drum, pierced with four small, pointed-arched windows. A door in the north wall, which has an adjacent external *mihrab* gives access to the interior, which is lit by two windows in each of the east, south and west walls and is dominated by a concave *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall (pl. 12.74).

Internally, the transition from the square base to circular drum is carried out in two stages. The first stage is from square to octagon by means of corner arches, featuring one arch inside the other, with fluted niches set into the angles. The second stage from the octagonal cornice to the circular drum is achieved by means of eight small, simple, pointed niches acting like miniature squinches above the angles of the octagon (pl. 12.75). The drum, rising to a height of about 6.20m, is pierced by four pointed-arched windows (pl. 12.76). The floor of the room is entirely paved with marble slabs of

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[141] Vincent and Abel 1922 Vol. II, 361, fig. 155; Kuhnel 1977, 46-8, fig. 1.

[142] Though this building does feature fluted niches in the transition zone.

[143] Burgoyne 1987, 141-43, no. 6

[144] Van Berchem 1927, 105-7, 1920, pl XXXVIII

[145] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 21.

[146] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 51.

[147] Van Berchem 1927, 107
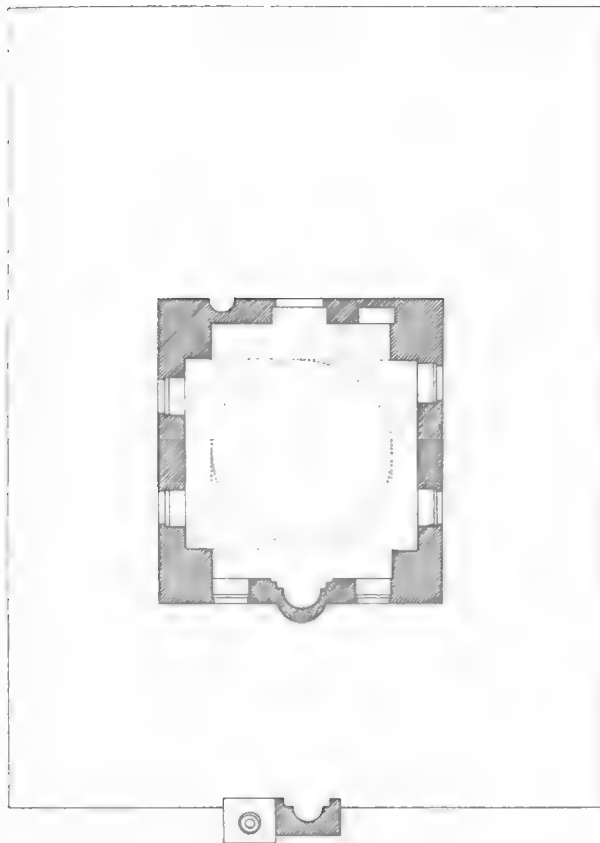
Fig. 12.51 Qubbat Musa, ground plan of platform and exterior *mihrab* (after DIA with changes).
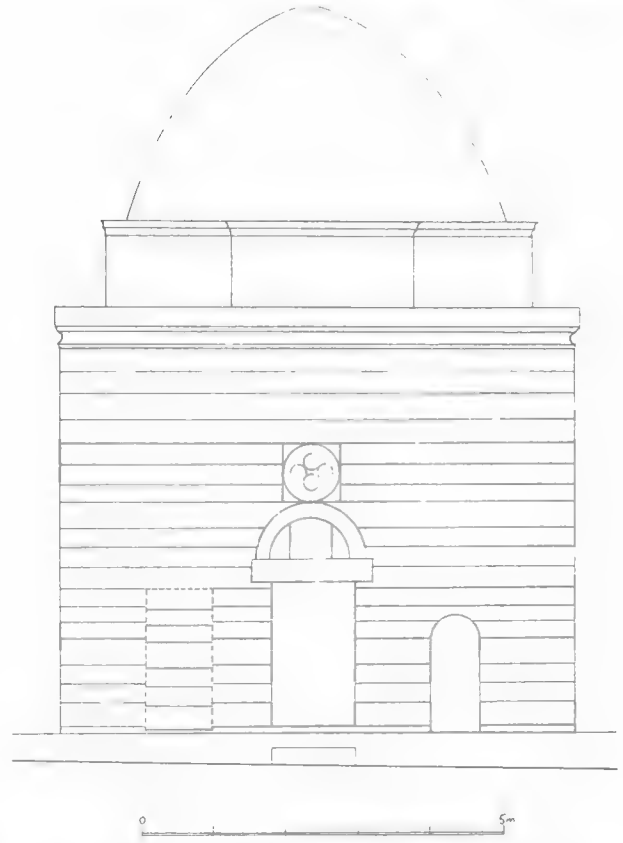
Fig. 12.52 Qubbat Musa, north elevation (after DIA).

Pl. 12.74 Qubbat Musa, south and west frontages.
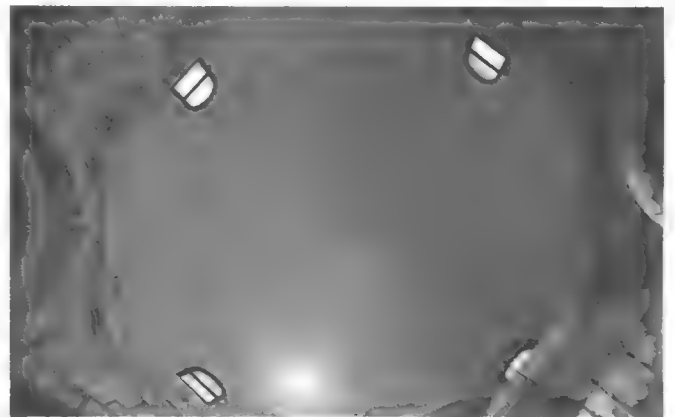
Pl. 12.75 Qubbat Musa, showing the zone of transition with corner arches and conches.
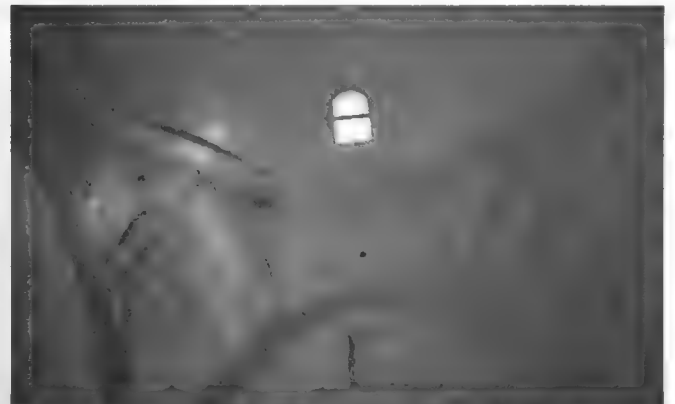
Pl. 12.76 Qubbat Musa, view of the interior of the dome.

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various shapes, dimensions and colours. The centre of the floor is dominated by a rug-like square and decorated with intricate work of geometric designs in alternating white, yellow, pink and black (pls XLV, XLVI).

Funerary Monuments

Various types of funerary monuments were constructed in Jerusalem under the Ayyubids. Four examples are known (of which three have survived) of the joint type of foundation, that is one incorporating the tomb of the founder. These are Madrasa al-Afdaliyya (*ca* 590/1194), Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya (*ca* 598/1201), Madrasa al-Badriyya (610/1212-14), and Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya (614/1217-18).

Two mausolea are known to have been founded in Jerusalem:

(1) The *madfan* of Shaikh Dirbas al-Hakkari, a Kurdish *amir*. This mausoleum no longer exists, but it dated to the early 7th/13th century. It was established in the domed porch of a 6th/12th-century Crusader church and was marked by a low stone cenotaph. In the Mamluk period, it was incorporated into Madrasa al-Jauliyya (715-20/1315-20), which is now known as Madrasa al-ʿUmariyya, and is situated on the north border of the Haram. The Hakkari were a Kurdish tribe which joined Saladin and the Ayyubids in the struggle against the Franks. Part of the tribe settled in Jerusalem after 583/1187, where some of its members were killed and buried (between 587/1191 and 614/1217-18), as several inscriptions on epitaphs found in the city testify.

(2) Qubba al-Qaimuriyya (before 648/1251), the only surviving Ayyubid free-standing domed *turba* or mausoleum in Jerusalem (figs 12.53-57), is situated about 1km to the northwest of the Old City, in the former Arab quarter of Nabi ʿUkasha (pl. 12.77). It contains five tombs, four of which belong to various

Fig. 12.53 Location of Qubba al-Qaimuriyya.

members of the Qaimuriyya tribe who were in the service of the Ayyubids. These are: Amir Husam al-Din Abu'l-Hasan b. Abu'l-Fawaris, his son Diya' al-Din Musa b. Abu'l-Fawaris, both of whom died in 648/1250-51, Amir Husam al-Din Khadr al-Qaimuri (d. 661/1262), and Amir Nasir al-Din b. Abu'l-Hasan al-Qaimuri (d. 665/1266).[148]

This Kurdish clan originated in Qaimur, a fortress located between Mosul and Khallat in the Jazira.[149] During the 7th/13th century, they were in the service of various members of the Ayyubid dynasty, both in Damascus and Cairo. The fifth tomb belongs to Amir Nasir al-Din Muhammad Jabir Beg, Superintendent of the Two Sanctuaries of Jerusalem and Hebron (d. 770/1368).[150]

This well-built monument stands as one of the only two surviving Ayyubid buildings outside the city walls. As stated, it is in the form of a free-standing *turba*, with a cubic base supporting a drum which in turn is surmounted by a dome (figs 12.54-57). It is constructed of fine ashlar masonry and re-used marble for the doorway (pl. 12.78), *mihrab*, corner columns and imposts. In the north wall is a portal set into a recess and surmounted by a pointed arch. On either side, the jambs are made up of finely carved stone courses. The other three walls are each pierced by a splayed slit-window (pl. 12.79). These windows are a common element in Crusader buildings and military architecture, but here their function was to facilitate ventilation and light, and served no military purpose. The cylindrical drum of the dome is also pierced by four small but broader windows. At the upper eastern part of the north wall is a flight of stairs ascending to the roof. Probably a wooden ladder was formerly used to reach the flight of stairs in order to allow access to the roof.

The building consists of a single chamber, square in plan (about 8.50m x 8.50m). The entrance doorway leads directly into the tomb chamber where the *qibla* wall contains a pointed-arched, concave *mihrab* (pls 12.80-81). On either side of the recess, two re-used marble columns support a moulded archivolt. The vault of the *mihrab* is formed by stonework radiating from a central hub. Internally, each of the east, south and west walls is pierced by a splayed slit-window (pl. 12.82).

The large arches springing from each corner rest on a moulded frieze composed of re-used pieces of sculpture supported by assembled marble columns and re-used capitals, all of which appear to be Crusader *spolia*. The transition from a square base to a circular drum is effected in two stages. The first from square to octagon is by means of large squinch arches enclosing two similar but successively smaller recessed arches, with little fluted *muqarnas* niches cut into the corners below (pl. 12.83). The second stage of transition from the octagonal cornice to the circular drum is made simply by three ashlar courses and eight fluted squinches, which are trefoil in shape, above the corners of the octagon. On the eastern side of the tomb chamber, the five stone cenotaphs are oriented in the usual Muslim manner with the long axis parallel to the *qibla* wall. Four of the cenotaphs, which are almost identical in size

148 Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 49.

149 Yaqut 1990 Vol. IV, 481.
150 Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 49.

Fig. 12.55 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, east elevation.

Fig. 12.54 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, ground plan.
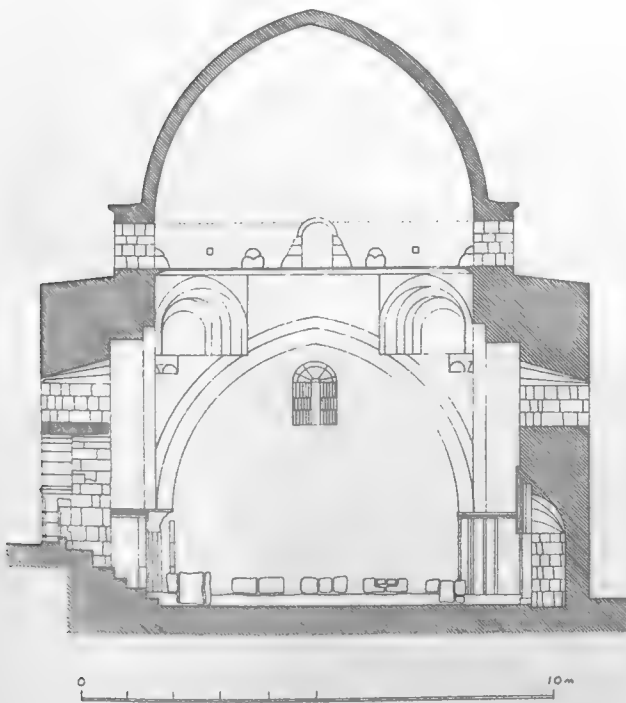
Fig. 12.56 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, zone of transition.
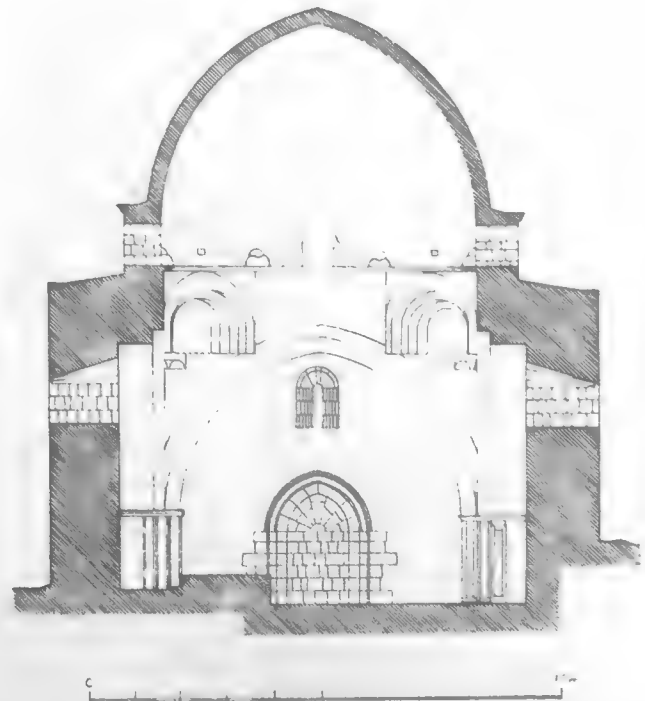
Fig. 12.57 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, east-west section, looking south.

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Pl. 12.77 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, view from the northeast, photograph taken in the 1920s. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

Pl. 12.78 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, entrance portal, photograph taken in the 1920s. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

Pl. 12.79 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, south side of the dome structure.

Pl. 12.80 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, showing tombs lying parallel to the *qibla* wall.
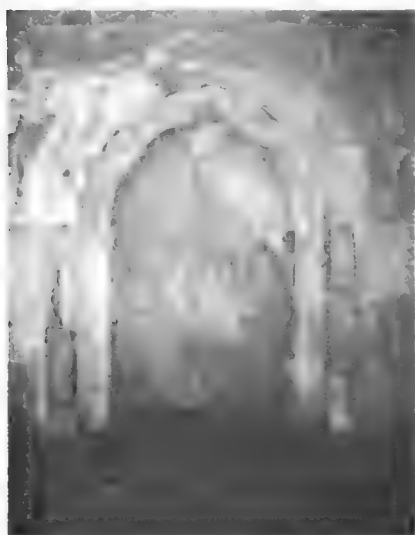
Pl. 12.81 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, *mihrab* of re-used marble.

Pl. 12.82 Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, splayed split window from the interior

Pl. 12.83 Qubbat al-Qaimuriyya, showing the zone of transition with squinches and trefoil arches above. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5056)

and method of construction, are built on a raised platform. The northernmost cenotaph near the entrance, however, is larger than the others. In the four corners of the tomb chamber are re-used columns and friezes, many of Crusader origin.

Monuments for Public Welfare

Bimaristan or *maristan*

An extensive survey carried out in June 1900 by Conrad Schick revealed a clear picture of how the *bimaristan* area looked in the Crusader period. It included a large hall (about 200m x 90m) located to the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and three churches. This served as a hospital and was covered with cross-vaults supported by square piers.

According to the literary sources, in 583/1187 Saladin founded a *bimaristan* (hospital), later known as Bimaristan al-Salahiyya.[151] Mujir al-Din locates it in 'the street of the Dirkah … near the Church of the Resurrection'.[152] It was

probably created in a church located in the former complex of the Crusader Knights of St John (the Hospitallers). Al-'Aini (d. 855/1451) mentions that 'Saladin ordered that the church adjacent to the (Frankish) hospital *(dar al-isbitar)* near the Church of the Resurrection *(kanisat al-quinama)* be converted into a *maristan* or hospital to care for the ill and to teach medicine'.[153] Only a few remnants of the original construction survived the major redevelopment which was undertaken in the area in the late19th–early 20th century.[154] Excavations and archeological exploration on the site have revealed remains dating from Roman to Crusader times.[155] The *bimaristan* survived after the Ayyubid period at least until it was severely damaged by an earthquake in 862/1458; it may have survived after that date. The *sijills* of the Ottoman Shar'ia Court in Jerusalem contain an abundance of references to the *bimaristan*, proof that this institution continued to function after the earthquake, probably in another location.[156]

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[151] Baha' al-Din 1897, 242.
[152] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. II, 47, 53.

[153] Cited by 'Isa 1939, 230-1.
[154] Hawari 1998, Appendix II, no. 1.
[155] Warren and Wilson 1871, 269-73; Schick 1902, 42-56.
[156] Al-'Arif 1961, 179.

Water Sources and Projects

During the Crusader period there were two pools situated outside the city: one northwest of Bab al-ʿAmud (Damascus Gate), which was called the Pool of Legerius, and the other southwest of Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate), which was called the Pool of Germain, situated in the location of Birkat al-Sultan.[157] It is to be assumed that these two pools continued to provide water for the inhabitants of Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period.

The Ayyubid rulers of Jerusalem undertook the construction of water installations for the well-being of the Muslim worshippers in the Haram. Such an installation for drinking and ablutions was built by order of Saladin's brother, al-Malik al-ʿAdil; this was called after him, Siqayat al-Malik al-ʿAdil (fig. 12.58). According to an inscription, written in Ayyubid naskh, and situated in the tympanum of the arched doorway of the entrance, Sultan al-Malik al-ʿAdil ordered the construction of the siqaya in Shawwal 589/October 1193.[158]

Only the vaulted porch of the siqaya still exists (pl. 12.84), situated just to the south of Suq al-Qattanin, and approached through Bab al-Mathara. The porch is deep and almost square in plan with a gadrooned arch at the far end (pl. 12.85); it is raised on a cross vault, of which the outer springers start on both sides from identical

Fig. 12.58 Location of Siqayat al-ʿAdil.

capitals of elbow consoles (pl. 12.86). Each is capped by two engaged elbow capitals with an egg motif and leaves surmounted by a marble abacus, probably a Crusader spolium. The elbow capitals also support a plain, frontal, pointed arch

Benvenisti 1970, 56
Van Berchem 1922, 103-4

Pl. 12.84 Siyaqat al-Malik al-ʿAdil, general view of the outer porch looking south

Pl. 12.85 Siyaqat al-Malik al-ʿAdil, entrance doorway. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5050)

Pl. 12.86 Siyaqat al-Malik al-ʿAdil, elbow console. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5049)

consisting of twenty-four voussoirs and rising about 3.90m above the floor level of the alleyway. On the left-hand side of the arch, two types of masonry have been used: nine courses of large ashlars with dressed margins in the lower part of the wall contrasting with the smaller dressed ashlars of the upper part, which extends up to two courses above the arch. These two masonry types indicate two stages in the sequence of construction, of which the lower belongs to the original phase.

At about the same time, al-Malik al-ʿAdil ordered the construction of another water installation, the ablution place of the Aqsa Mosque known as al-Kas, which is located between the main entrance of the Aqsa Mosque and the flight of steps leading up to the Dome of the Rock platform.[159] It was restored a number of times in the Mamluk period.[160]

During the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, two further installations were built to provide drinking water for worshippers in the Haram area (fig. 12.59). The first was a cistern, commonly named Sahrij al-Malik al-Muʿazzam (fig. 12.60; pl. 12.87), situated below the Dome of the Rock platform, immediately south of the stairs leading to the western central colonnade of the

Fig. 12.59 Location of Sahrij al-Malik al-Muʿazzam.

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[159] Al-ʿAsali 1982, 229.
[160] Hawari 2007, Appendix I, no. 2.

Fig. 12.60 Sahrij al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, ground plan.

Pl. 12.87 Sahrij al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, general view looking southeast.

Fig. 12.61 Sketch plan of the Haram colonnades (after Van Berchem).
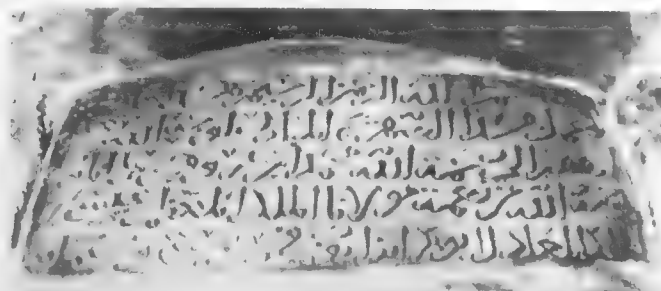
Pl. 12.88 Sahrij al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, inscription

Pl. 12.89 Sabil Sha'lan, view of main façade with stairs leading to Haram terrace on the right

Pl. 12.90 Sabil Sha'lan, south elevation with stairs on the right.

Pl. 12.91 Sabil Sha'lan, inscription referring to the construction of a cistern (sahrij) and water installation by Muhammad b. 'Urwa b. Sayyar al-Mausili in 603/1216-17.

platform. Access to the cistern is through two outer chambers on the right-hand side of the western staircase ascending to the Dome of the Rock (see van Berchem's sketch plan, figs 12.60-61). The first chamber (A), with two open arches, is square in plan and covered with a typical Ottoman folded cross vault which rests on pendentives. An inscription on the outer wall of this chamber refers to the foundation of a water fountain or installation (siqaya) by a certain Ottoman official, Qasim b.

Abdullah.[161] To this period also belongs the cell (D), known as the Khalwa al-Dajani, on the southeast side. This cell was built after removing a section of the wall supporting the Dome of the Rock terrace and cutting into part of the terrace itself.

The second chamber (B), which is rectangular in plan and covered with a pointed vault, is dated by a Mamluk inscription. This refers to construction carried out by a certain 'Anbar al-Burhani in 792/1390.[162] The cistern itself was converted into an adjoining cell. Though the original function of this chamber is not known, van Berchem[163] suggested it may have served as a residence for a guardian in the Haram whose surname was Burhan al-Din.

The third barrel-vaulted chamber (C) has a blocked opening in the ceiling. A foundation inscription written in Ayyubid naskh, situated on the left-hand side of the entrance to the cistern (pl. 12.88), records that the sahrij was built by Muhammad b. 'Urwa b. Sayyar al-Mausili, probably governor of Jerusalem during the reign of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, in 607/1210-11.[164] The inscription does not seem to be in situ for it is placed to the side of a door which was cut in the west wall when the cistern ceased to fulfil its original function. The cistern was constructed to collect rainwater from the Dome of the Rock terrace.

The second installation from the time of Mu'azzam 'Isa is a fountain known as Sabil Sha'lan located just to the left of the northwestern stairway leading up to the Dome of the Rock platform (pl. 12.89-90). It is L-shaped in plan, and consists of a domed chamber, a cistern, and a small porch. The chamber is square and has

Fig. 12.62 Location of Sabil Sha'lan.

an entrance door in its east wall. It is surmounted by a typically Ottoman ribbed, shallow dome. Placed against it on the west side, the cistern of the sabil provides water for a trough which is sheltered by the porch. This single pointed-arched porch is open to the north, west and south. Its west façade has three inscriptions dating from the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman periods respectively.[165]

The first inscription, written in Ayyubid naskh and located on the left-hand side (pl. 12.91), refers to the construction of a cistern (sahrij) and a water installation by

[161] Van Berchem 1927, 71-2, no. 159.

[162] Van Berchem 1927, 71, no. 158; RCÉA 1991, Vol. XVIII, no 792.

[163] Van Berchem 1927, 71.

[164] Van Berchem 1927, 69-70, no. 157; RCÉA 1939 Vol. X, no. 3661.

[165] For a detailed historical and architectural account see Natsheh 2000, catalogue no. 36, 927-33.

Muhammad ibn 'Urwa b. Sayyar al-Mausuli in 603/1216-17, during the reign of al-Mu'azzam.[166] Ibn 'Urwa al-Mausili probably served as *wali* of the city, and was responsible for the construction of another water project—namely Sahrij al-Mu'azzam, already discussed above.

According to the two other inscriptions on the façade, this *sabil* was rebuilt in the Mamluk period (832/1428), and again in the Ottoman period (1037/1627).[167] The identity of the Sha'lan after whom the *sabil* was named is not clear. Van Berchem[168] suggested that at one time he may have been an attendant of the *sabil*.

Other Architectural Activities in the Haram
Gates and colonnades

The double gate known as Bab al-Silsila ('the Gate of the Chain') and Bab al-Sakina ('the Gate of the Holy Spirit'), in the western border of the Haram, has long been the main entrance into the Holy Precinct (fig. 12.63). The gate complex comprises two main components (fig. 12.64). The first is an outer porch (pl. 12.93) of two domed bays (pl. 12.94) leading to two monumental doorways decorated with considerable quantities of re-used Crusader sculpture. The second is an inner porch (pl. 12.95), which constitutes a part of the west portico of the Haram. Epigraphic and structural considerations suggest that the gate was largely rebuilt under the Ayyubids.

Above the northern lateral arch of Bab al-Sakina, there is an inscription of four lines of Ayyubid *naskh* carved on two adjoining *tabulae ansatae* (pls 12.96, 97). It is associated with the construction of a nearby Qur'an school for orphans in 595/1198-99.[169] Since the inscription is *in situ*, this date can serve as a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the arch. It is plausible that the outer porch of Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina was erected some time after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187, and before 595/1198-99.

A rectangular central pier divides the outer porch into two bays, each with a double frontal arch, and covered with a short barrel vault and a dome. At the Bab al-Silsila, the dome has squinches in the zone of transition, comprising

Fig. 12.63 Location of Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina.
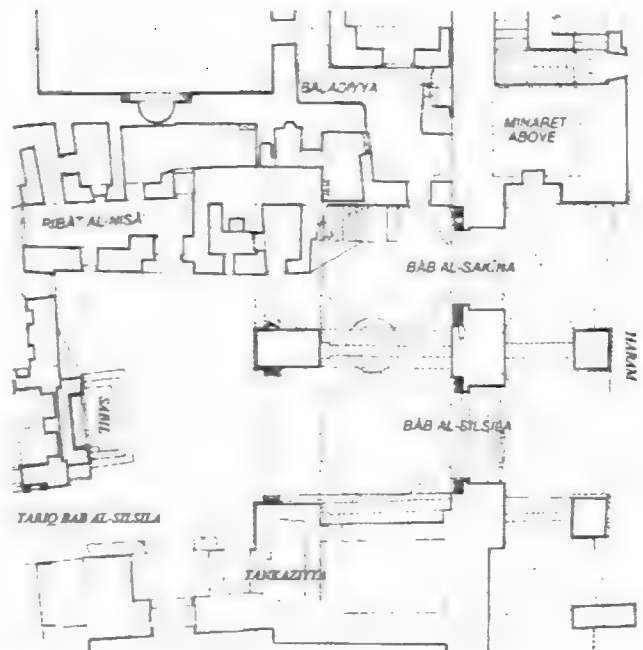
Fig. 12.64 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, ground plan.
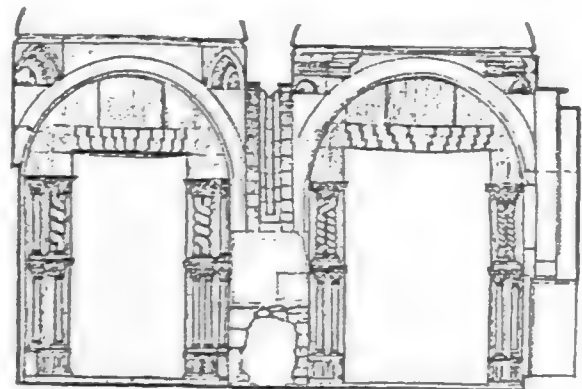
Fig. 12.65 Bab al-Silsila (right) and Bab al-Sakina (left), elevation looking east towards the Haram (after Burgoyne 1992).

Fig. 12.66 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, plan showing substructures.

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[166] Van Berchem 1927, 99-100, fig. 16; 'Asali 1982, 236.

[167] Van Berchem 1927, 98-102.

[168] Van Berchem 1927, 98, n. 1.

[169] Van Berchem 1922, 110-11.

Pl. 12.92 Bab al-Silsila (left)/Bab al-Sakina (right), looking west from the Haram.

Pl. 12.95 Bab al-Sakina, viewed from the Haram, looking west

Pl. 12.93 Bab al-Silsila, monumental entrance from Tariq Bab al-Silsila (Street of the Chain).

Pl. 12.96 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, inscription in northern lateral arch. (Courtesy of BSAJ Archive, Palestine Exploration Fund, London)

Pl. 12.94 Bab al-Sakina, north side of the outer porch and entrance into Madrasa al-Baladiyya.

Pl. 12.97 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, inscription in northern lateral arch. (Courtesy of BSAJ Archive, Palestine Exploration Fund, London)

Pl. 12.98 Bab-Silsila (right)/Bab al-Sakina (left), looking east towards the Haram, showing squinches and joggled voussoirs. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5364)

Pl. 12.99 Bab al-Sakina, view into transitional zone with squinches. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. no. 5368)

Pl. 12.100 Bab al-Sakina, doorway with re-used Crusader material. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg.no. 5365)

Pl. 12.101 Bab al-Silsila Bab al-Sakina, rosette motif

Pl. 12.102 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, re-used capitals.
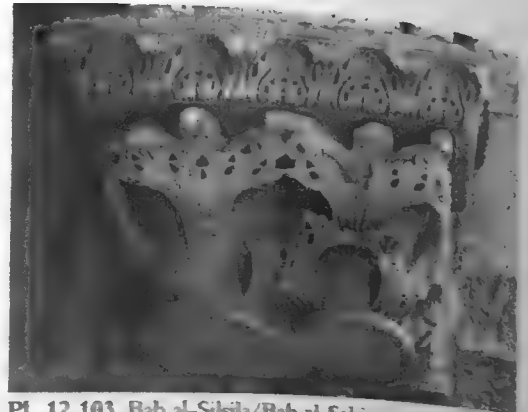
Pl. 12.103 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, re-used capitals and impost.
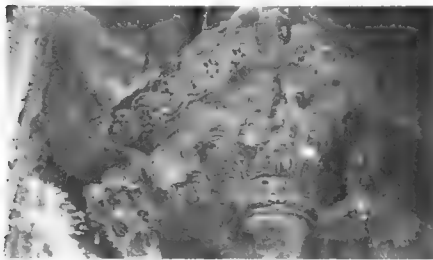
Pl. 12.104 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, re-used capitals.

Pl. 12.106 South-east Qanatir, inscription.

Pl. 12.105 Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, re-used capitals.

Pl. 12.108 Bab al-'Atm, general view of portico, with Bab al-'Atm on left, looking northeast.
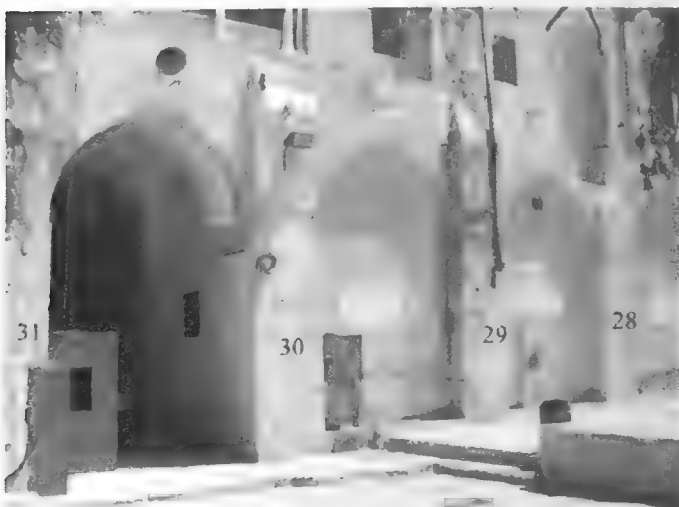
Pl. 12.107 Bab al-'Atm, piers nos 28–31 of north portico, with gate on left.
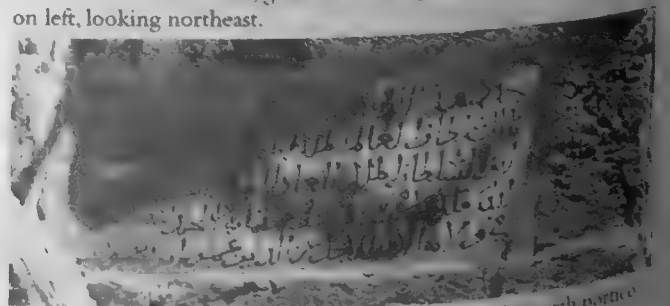
Pl. 12.109 Bab al-'Atm, inscription on pier 31 of the north portico

fluted niches surmounted by various re-used architectural pieces, such as voussoirs and cornices (pl. 12.98, pls XLIV). At the Bab al-Sakina too the dome has four fluted squinches in the zone of transition, but here they are surmounted by a pair of arches (pl. 12.99). The two monumental doorways of the gate are decorated with a large quantity of re-used Crusader sculpture, which has been inserted into an older, round-headed double gate (pl. 12.100).

The two openings are spanned by semi-circular arches with voussoirs which have a distinctive chamfer cut at 45 degrees across the lower edge. Their semi-circular profile suggests that they were erected before the end of the 2nd/8th century when pointed arches were introduced to Palestine.[170] Burgoyne ascribes this gateway—along with three other gates: Bab al-Nazir, Bab al-ʿAtm, and Bab Hitta which share the same distinctive features—to the Umayyad period when the Haram was being developed as a major Islamic religious centre at the time of the construction of the Dome of the Rock in 72/691-92.[171]

The jambs of the doors are adorned with two tiers of marble columns resting on moulded pedestals. The columns are crowned with capitals and imposts carved with a variety of vegetal and floral foliage, geometric motifs, and figurative images, all representing Crusader sculptural traditions in Jerusalem. It is immediately apparent that the individual variable elements of the gateway are not homogeneous but were taken from different Crusader structures and assembled together (pls 12.101-105).

The inner porch of the gateway consists of two vaults which are open to the Haram and built against the outer, western enclosure wall. The porch is incorporated into the West Portico, built in the Mamluk period.[172]

The southeastern colonnade of the Dome of the Rock terrace, at the south end, was reconstructed during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 608/1211-12, as is testified by an inscription found in the spandrel of the eastern arch of the arcade facing north (pl. 12.106).[173] It is composed of a triple-arched arcade supported on two columns, and on two masonry piers at either end. In the spandrels of the middle arch facing south are two Fatimid inscriptions in Kufic script, one dated 411/1020.[174] The westernmost inscription refers to the construction of a *maqam* by a certain Nushtakin, probably to be identified as the Maqam al-Ghuri which was described by Nasir-i Khusrau when he visited Jerusalem in 438/1047.[175]

A section of the north portico along the north border of the Haram, which extends from Bab al-ʿAtm in the east to the Madrasa al-Isʿardiyya westwards, was reconstructed during the

Ayyubid period. An inscription on the western pier of the inner porch of Bab al-ʿAtm records that this '*riwaq* was renewed during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa and the governorship *(wilayat)* of Amir ʿIzz al-Din ʿUmar son of Yaghmur' in 610/1213-14.[176] On the eastern pier of the adjacent bay to the east there is another inscription, also from the time of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, giving the dimensions of the Haram, these being '784 *dhira* long and 455 *dhira* wide (measured) with the *dhira* of the king'.[177] Mujir al-Din repeats the former inscription and states that the portico from Bab al-ʿAtm under the Farisiyya is 'ancient' and was renewed during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa.[178]

The north portico, which was constructed in various stages from 610/1213-14 to 836/1432, is best described by reference to Burgoyne, that is according to the topographical order from east to west.[179] All the bays (assigned by Burgoyne as bays 29-38) have on average a 'mean pitch' (the distance from the centre of one pier to its neighbour) of about 4.65m. They contain stones with typical Crusader diagonal tooling and masons' marks, as is the norm of re-used masonry in Ayyubid construction.

The gate currently known as Bab al-ʿAtm ('Gate of Darkness'), or Bab Faisal, is the westernmost gate in the north wall of the Haram (pls 12.107, 108; fig. 12.67). It is entered from the impressive (but somewhat dark) vaulted street of Tariq Bab al-ʿAtm. It consists of an outer and an inner porch, each one bay deep. The inner porch is incorporated into the north portico. It was rebuilt on the site of an earlier gateway, which probably dated to the Umayyad period. Burgoyne noted during his survey

Fig. 12.67 Location of Bab al-ʿAtm.

of the adjacent Khanqah al-Dawadariyya that the two westernmost windows in the Haram frontage of the *khanqah* open into infill walls blocking two round-headed archways identical in form to the archway of the present Bab al-ʿAtm.[180] He believes that all three archways were originally open, forming a triple gateway into the Haram, and were probably built in the Umayyad period.[181]

An inscription (pl. 12.109), high in the wall, on the west pier of the inner porch of the gateway, states that the portico—of which Bab al-ʿAtm is an integral part—was renewed

[170] Creswell 1940, 161-65; Burgoyne 1992, 124.
[171] Burgoyne 1992, 122-4, fig. 7.
[172] Burgoyne 1987, 192-3, fig. 12.2.
[173] Van Berchem 1927, 73-4; *RCEA* 1939 Vol. X, no. 3685.
[174] Burgoyne and Abul-Hajj 1979, 115-18, no. IX A, B.
[175] Nasir-i Khusrau 1986, 33.

[176] Van Berchem 1927, no.162, 82-4, pl. XXXVI.
[177] Van Berchem 1927, no. 163, 84-97, pl. XXXVIII.
[178] Mujir al-Din Vol. I 1973, 375.
[179] Burgoyne 1987, 104-8, fig.1.2, fig.14.
[180] Burgoyne 1987, 156, fig. 8.3, pl. 8.1.
[181] Burgoyne 1987, 156; and *idem* 1992, 113, fig.14.
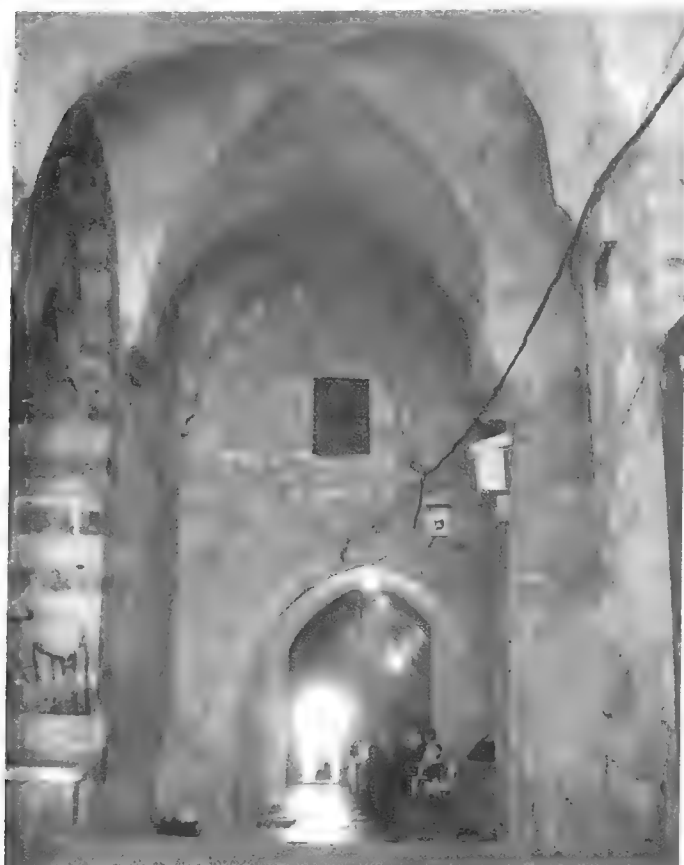
Pl. 12.110 Bab al- Atm, outer porch, showing the cross vaulting.
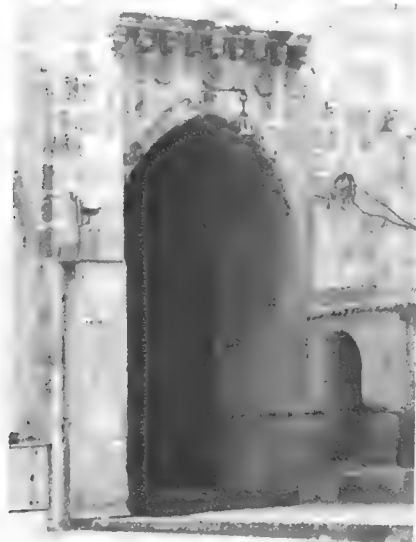
Pl. 12.111 Bab Hitta, detail of the entrance from the Haram, looking north.
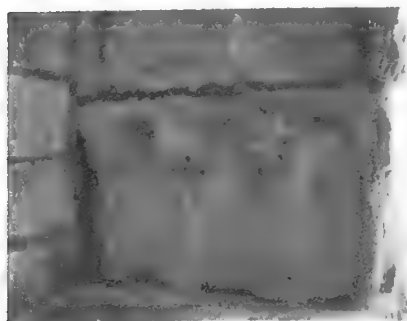
Pl. 12.114 Bab Hitta, Crusader miniature columns and arches in re-use.

Pl. 12.112 Bab Hitta from the Haram, looking north.

Pl. 12.113 Bab Hitta, the inner porch looking north.
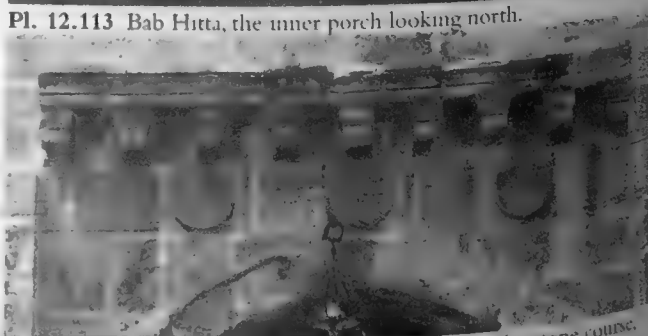
Pl. 12.115 Bab Hitta, details of roundels above the keystone course, and a cornice of re-used Crusader material

in 610/1213-14, under the governorship of ʿIzz al-Din ʿUmar b.Yaghmur, during the reign of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa.[182]

The outer porch of the gateway consists of a single cross-vaulted bay. The doorway, which is set within a recess, has a semi-circular arch, 45 degree chamfering and a segmental inner arch above. The doorway internally echoes the semi-circular arch, the chamfering and the segmental inner arch, and is set within another recess, 1.60m: deep (pl. 12.110). The inner bay, incorporated into the north portico, is covered by a cross vault. The dedication inscription, written in Ayyubid *naskh*, is found on the west pier of the porch facing south, at a height of 4.52m.

The present Bab Hitta ('Gate of Remission'), situated at the south end of the street, Tariq Bab Hitta, and giving onto the Haram (fig. 12.68), was rebuilt during the Ayyubid period (pls 12.111-12). It consists of a single outer and inner porch, each with a single cross-vaulted bay. The doorway has a semi-circular arch with a 45 degree chamfer and segmental inner arch, features similar to those found at Bab al-ʿAtm. The inner porch of the gateway is incorporated into the north portico (pl. 12.113). Internally, the doorway is set within a recess. The bay of the porch is rectangular in plan and covered with a cross vault . It is built of large stones, many of which have typical Crusader tooling and masons' marks. A further example of Crusader *spolia* is a block of stone (1.27 x 0.8m) carved with a series of miniature columns and arches surmounted by another block carved with deep vertical grooves (pl. 12.114). A fluted rosette motif is carved on a square stone set one course above the keystone of the arch and flanked by a plain circle motif on either side. Above this course there is a fine corbel-table cornice made mostly from re-used Crusader material (pl. 12.115).

Geographers and chroniclers of the early Islamic period list Bab Hitta among other names of gates leading into the Haram, but no precise location is given by them. After the Ayyubid conquest of Jerusalem, some old names were lost, others were given to different gates, and new names were introduced. In the case of Bab Hitta, the old name was given to the present gate in the north wall of the Haram.

In his analysis of the order of the gates listed by the various early Islamic chroniclers, Le Strange[183] suggested, it seems correctly, that the old name 'Bab' (or 'Abwab) al-Asbat'

Fig. 12.68 Location of Bab Hitta.

('Gate' [or 'Gates] of the Tribes') corresponds with the present Bab Hitta. More recently Burgoyne,[184] who was relying on textual sources as well as on architectural evidence, reinforced Le Strange's identification. An inscription (now lost) over the entrance to the gateway stated that the restoration of the gateway dated to the year 617/1220, during the reign of al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa.[185]

Methods and Materials of Construction and Decoration Plans

The major Ayyubid religious foundations have a plan typical of many medieval Islamic buildings, with various cells or chambers arranged around an inner courtyard. In some cases confusion prevails as to the original purpose of a building. Khanqah al-Salahiyya, for example, was referred to by contemporary chroniclers—ʿImad al-Din, Baha' al-Din, Abu Shama—as a *ribat*,[186] while later historians identified it as *khanqah*.[187] Moreover, Qubba al-Nahawiyya was called a *qubba* in its foundation inscription and by later historians,[188] but it was also referred to as a *madrasa*, despite the fact that its original plan consists of a portico flanked by two domed chambers,[189] (figs 12.6-7) a layout which is entirely different from that of contemporary *madrasas*.

In a *madrasa* the instruction of classes was often conducted in an individual hall or *iwan*. The number of *iwans* did not necessarily correspond to the number of *madhhabs* and/or religious subjects taught within a given *madrasa*. Hillenbrand[190] points out that the overwhelming majority of *madrasas* founded in Damascus and Aleppo before 700/1300 recorded in the literary sources had one or two *iwans*, and were built to serve a single *madhhab*. While this was the general trend throughout the Islamic world, the Egyptian cruciform four-*iwan madrasa* remained rare. Scores of Syrian *madrasas* are smaller domed structures with no *iwan*. Instead these consist of a number of rooms serving as classrooms and living cells for students.

Of the surviving *madrasas*, only the Madrasa Muʿazzamiyya (dated 614/1217-18) has a single *iwan*—which may correspond to the fact that the Hanafi *madhhab* was taught within the *madrasa*—with a courtyard that was originally enclosed by vaulted cells on three sides and open on the fourth (fig. 12.15). Here, the architect achieved a certain degree of

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[182] Van Berchem 1927, 82-4, no. 162, pl. XXXVI: Hawari 2007, catalogue no. 15
[183] Le Strange 1890, 179-81.

[184] Burgoyne 1992, 121-2
[185] Van Berchem 1927, 103-4, no.168.
[186] See above, note 58.
[187] Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 341; Vol. II, 119.
[188] Van Berchem 1927, 62; Ibn Wasil 1972 Vol. IV, 211-12.
[189] Al-ʿUmari 1924, 145; Mujir al-Din 1973 Vol. I, 403.
[190] Hillenbrand 1994, 188.

contrast by juxtaposing the monumental *iwan* with the low and uncovered courtyard. The other surviving *madrasas* have the same vaulted cells but no *iwan*. Only Madrasa al-Badriyya has a *majma* or assembly hall (fig. 12.12), whereas another *madrasa* (the Muʿazzamiyya) probably had one, but was later turned into a tomb; the first floor of Khanqah al-Salahiyya served as a *majma*. The Nahawiyya is a domed building and seems to have had no more than two rooms with a *riwaq* between them. Although the Afdaliyya no longer exists, its identification in the literary sources as a *qubba*[191] puts it in the category of domed buildings.

The two surviving *zawiyas* would appear to have a distinctive layout. As already explained, Zawiya al-Khatniyya, which is partially ruined, was established in a Crusader triple-bayed hall (fig. 12.31). Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya, which also functions as a *qubba* or mausoleum, has the typical layout of a tomb chamber (fig. 12.34).

Four Ayyubid mosques are known; although three are called a *jamiʿ* (congregational Friday mosque) and one a *masjid*, in fact all of them are *masjids*. Their layout consists of a vaulted hall with a *mihrab* in the *qibla* wall, but they vary in size. Jamiʿ al-Afdal (fig. 12.36) and Jamiʿ al-Nisa' (fig. 12.38) were founded in former Crusader halls, as explained above.

No Islamic burials within the city walls are known before the Ayyubid period. Around this time, with the rise of traditions associating Jerusalem, and the Haram in particular, with the location of the Last Judgment, burial near the Haram became popular.[192] Two *madrasas* include a tomb, a feature which is also found in funerary *madrasas* in Syria during the Ayyubid period. Burial in a *madrasa* was intended to bestow *baraka* upon the dead; the terms *turba* (mausoleum) and *madrasa* could be used interchangeably in this period.[193] Madrasa al-Badriyya has a tomb in its courtyard which may indeed be that of the founder: Amir Badr al-Din al-Hakkari. Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya has a burial hall with a grilled window (originally three windows) giving onto the street.

Mihrabs

Mihrabs—niches indicating the direction of prayer—within religious foundations are quite common. All the surviving mosques (excluding Jamiʿ al-Nisa'), *madrasas*, commemorative domes, and mausoleums, including the *khanqah*, have a *mihrab*. Usually *mihrabs* are plain. However, in some cases, for example in Jamiʿ al-Maghariba (pls 12.42-43), Qubbat al-Miʿraj (pl. 12.70), Qubbat Sulaiman (pl. 12.73) and al-Qubba al-Qaimuriyya (pl. 12.81), the niche is flanked by re-used marble colonnettes. The *mihrab* of the Aqsa Mosque is an exception. It

is elaborately decorated with coloured glass mosaics and bears a foundation inscription.

Construction and Decoration

In Jerusalem, for thousands of years, stone has been used almost exclusively for the construction of monuments. Carefully cut and dressed masonry was employed inside and outside buildings, for walls, piers, vaults and domes, and in all types of structures. The local *mizzi* limestone was commonly used. Considerable quantities of marble, particularly from the Crusader period, were re-used as a material for both construction and decoration.

The walls of religious and civil foundations are usually built with dressed stone and filled with a rubble core. Façades are often faced with very finely dressed stone. In military architecture, walls are usually constructed with large blocks of stone roughly dressed, rusticated and bossed, and also with compacted rubble bonded with mortar.

Lintels and arches

Doors and windows or other simple openings in walls are covered by lintels and arches. Lintels are usually monolithic, and are sometimes surmounted by a relieving arch. A type of lintel known as a 'flat arch', which consists of regularly shaped interlocking voussoirs (joggling), is employed at Bab al-Silsila/ Bab al-Sakina (pl. 12.98).

In this period arches were usually pointed and took a variety of forms; a slight horseshoe profile is common (as at Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-Sakina), but sometimes a stilted one occurs (as at the porch of the Aqsa Mosque). A trefoil arch appears only in the portal of Khanqah al-Salahiyya. In fact, this is its first appearance in the medieval Islamic architecture of Jerusalem. It was most likely built in the same construction technique as the trefoil arch at Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya in Aleppo; it may even have copied it (see above, in the section on the Khanqah al-Salahiyya).

Supports

Apart from walls, piers and columns are used as supports to carry superstructures, usually flat roofs. Piers are commonly used to support large halls. The mosques of Jamiʿ al-Nisa' and Jamiʿ al-Afdal, which were established in Crusader halls, have piers dividing their prayer halls into a number of bays. The north portico is also carried on piers. In order to support walls in countering any lateral thrust that might have been transmitted by the vaults, buttresses with sloping tops were employed, as in

[191] Al-Nabulsi 1990, 154.

[192] Burgoyne 1987, 88.

[193] Hillenbrand 1994, 190.

Khanqah al-Salahiyya and Qubba al-Nahawiyya.

Columns, mainly of re-used marble or granite with a variety of re-used capitals, are frequently found as supports. Having access to abundant Crusader *spolia* which survived from demolished Frankish structures, Muslim architects employed re-used capitals to crown any shaft, often regardless of style. Apart from ordinary capitals, consoles or elbow capitals were employed, as at the porch of the Aqsa Mosque. Certain buildings display capitals of varying shapes and styles employed side by side, as in the porch of Siqayat al-ʿAdil and the porch of the Aqsa Mosque. The outcome is a remarkable mixture of capitals with vegetal and figurative motifs characterized by a lack of unity and homogeneity, as can be seen at Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina (pls 12.100, 101), Qubbat al-Miʿraj (pls 12.62-64) and the porch of the Aqsa Mosque (pls 12.54, 58, 60). One example of a capital with Christian iconography in re-use depicts Daniel in the Lions' Den and is found at Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina. The two capitals flanking the portal of Siqayat al-ʿAdil are a type of *muqarnas* capital. In my view, this is the first appearance of such capitals in the medieval Islamic architecture of Jerusalem. They were to become a common feature in the Mamluk period.[194]

Corbels (or corbellings) and decorative brackets—external stones that support the transverse rib of a vault, the exterior base of a dome or a simple cavetto cornice—are also employed. For example, the frontal arch of the *iwan* at Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya is supported on either side by corbels (pls 12.15). A series of brackets, which display a decorative rather than a structural function, support the base of the dome in the western domed chamber of Qubba al-Nahawiyya and similar brackets occur at the level of the cavetto cornice above Bab Hitta. Similar bracketed cornices are a reasonably common feature in Crusader architecture in Jerusalem. Parallels are found in the domes of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Church of St Mary (Gethsemene) and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. This feature continued to be used in the Ayyubid and early Mamluk period.

Vaults

Numerous types of vaulting are used, including barrel (tunnel) vaults and cross (groined) vaults, pointed in section. Barrel vaults usually cover rectangular spaces, as, for example, in the *iwan* of Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya (pl. 12.15). Sometimes excisions in the haunches of a barrel vault were made to prevent the vault from blocking door or window openings in the side walls. This is seen in the surviving eastern hall of Jamiʿ al-Maghariba (pl. 12.47).

Cross vaults constitute the ceilings of square spaces. The vaulting systems of Jamiʿ al-Afdal, Jamiʿ al-Nisa' and Qubba al-Nahawiyya, plus the porches of the Siqayat al-ʿAdil, Aqsa Mosque, Bab al-ʿAtm and Bab Hitta are all good examples.

Domes

A wide variety of dome types and sizes are encountered as a means of roofing. Usually the spaces covered by domes are the most important and conspicuous parts of a building. Most of the domes are well built with ashlar masonry and a feature of simple unadorned cupola. One of the main problems of dome construction in medieval Islamic architecture was the transition from a square or octagonal chamber or space into a circular domed area. In Ayyubid Jerusalem, various solutions and construction techniques were offered by Muslim architects.

The first is a transition by means of pendentives, which are spherical triangles leading from the angle of two walls of a square to the base of a circular dome. This device was used in the dome above the central bay of the porch of the Aqsa Mosque (pl. 12.53). This method was in use in Jerusalem from the Byzantine period. The second method is a transition made by deep, simple squinches in the corners of the square, as at Zawiya al-Jarrahiyya. The third type of transition from octagon to circular drum consists of eight fluted niches or arch-backs, which act like miniature squinches above the corners of the octagon. A cavetto cornice defines the conjunction between the drum and the dome. This technique is employed in both Qubbat al-Miʿraj (pl. 12.62) and Qubbat Sulaiman (fig. 12.49). The fourth way incorporates the two previous techniques. It is effected in two stages: (a) from square to octagon by means of squinches, deep in the corners and shallow at the sides, surmounted by a pair of arches, one within the other; and (b) from octagonal cornice to circular drum by means of eight small fluted arches above the corners of the octagon, with another cavetto cornice defining the dome from the drum. This solution is adopted in Qubba al-Nahawiyya. The fifth solution for the zone of transition comprises two stages: (a) two arches, one within the other, and fluted niches set in the corners, culminating in an octagonal cavetto cornice; and (b) eight small pointed or trefoil scalloped arches in the corners of the octagon, with another cavetto cornice separating the drum from the dome. This technique is used in the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina, Qubbat Musa and Qubba al-Qaimuriyya (pls 12.98, 12.75-76, 12.83).

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[194] Rihawi 1990, 257.

Portals

The entrance portals of the Ayyubid buildings vary in type and size. The first type of portal has a plain doorway spanned either with a plain monolithic lintel or a pointed arch. A modest foundation like the Madrasa al-Badriyya, for example, has a low doorway with a pointed arch which resembles the entry into a private dwelling (pl. 12.10). However, a large and important foundation like the Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya also had a small, plain doorway (as is apparent from a 19th-century photograph). The entrance door of both buildings opened into a vestibule and a corridor from which another door opened onto the central courtyard. The entrance doors of the small mosque, known as Masjid Muharib, and Qubbat Musa are also plain; the former is spanned by a semi-circular arch (pl. 12.49) and the latter by a monolithic arch (fig. 12.52).

A second type of portal has the doorway set into a pointed-arched recess. The entrance to the Madrasa al-Afdaliyya, which no longer survives (it was demolished in 1967), had a recessed doorway spanned by a moulded lintel and a relieving arch, which was in turn surmounted by a cushion arch similar to the one at the entrance into the Siqayat al-'Adil. It is possible that this doorway was composed of assembled Crusader *spolia*. A similar entrance is found at the Qubba al-Qaimuriyya, but here it is surmounted by a plain, pointed arch (pl. 12.78). The large entrance portal of Jami' al-Maghariba consists of a pointed-arched doorway built largely of re-used Crusader elements, including hood moulds and elbow brackets supporting a lintel (pl. 12.45). Qubbat al-Mi'raj and Qubbat Sulaiman have similar portals: each has a small doorway with two flanking, re-used marble columns, set within a recess (pls 12.63 and 12.72).

The third type consists of a portal set within a cross-vaulted porch. The portals of Khanqah al-Salahiyya and Siqayat al-'Adil each have an entrance portal set in a cross-vaulted bay. The bay of Khanqah al-Salahiyya has stone benches on either side, and the doorway is surmounted by a trefoil arch, the only example of its kind in Jerusalem from the Ayyubid period, as pointed out above (pl. 12.22). At Siqayat al-'Adil, the cross vault of the bay is supported on the outside by re-used Crusader elbow capitals to either side (pl. 12.84). The doorway itself is surmounted by a cushion arch, another Crusader feature. The doorways at Bab al-'Atm and Bab Hitta also have a cross-vaulted porch both inisde and outside (pl. 12.110). The porch of the Aqsa Mosque consists of seven cross-vaulted bays which correspond to seven doorways leading into the seven aisles of the mosque, while the central bay is covered by a dome on pendentives (pl. 12.60). Both doorways of the double Haram gate, the Bab al-Silsila/Bab al-Sakina (dated before 595/1198-99), have an outer porch with two bays covered by two domes and an inner porch with two cross-vaulted bays (pl. 12.94).

Doors and windows

In religious foundations, most rooms have doors and windows which open onto an internal courtyard. Doors and windows are usually rectangular, and spanned by a monolithic lintel and relieving arch. Occasionally there are windows in street façades at ground level in assembly halls and funerary foundations to provide light and ventilation. Through these windows prayers and blessings could be delivered from the street, and people passing would receive *baraka* from prayers said inside the building. Sometimes these windows are provided with iron grilles.

Windows on façades or street frontages are often arranged in groups in order to achieve symmetry, as in Qubba al-Nahawiyya and Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya. The windows of the west chamber at the Nahawiyya are arranged in groups of three (pls 12.7-9); the lintels here have curious carved motifs (fig. 12.10). Lancet or splayed windows, reminiscent of those in Crusader buildings and military architecture, are found at Khanqah al-Salahiyya, Jami' al-Nisa' and Qubba al-Qaimuriyya.

Mouldings

Mouldings are used to define cornices and emphasize structural conjunctions, as in façades and domes. Most of these cornices seem to be part of the original design; a curious cavetto cornice at the portal of Khanqah al-Salahiyya starts at the springing of the frontal arch, continues on either side of the porch, and then rises to form a pointed arch above the portal. Simple cornices in the zone of transition of domes mark the conjunction between the drum and the dome. Marble imposts at the springing of arches and *abaci* over re-used Crusader capitals are also in secondary use, often not matching the capitals.

Some portals are decorated with gadroon (cushion) or chevron arches and often have hood moulds in the Crusader fashion, as at Siqayat al-'Adil and the porch of the Aqsa Mosque (pl. 12.53). The *mihrabs* of Qubbat Sulaiman and Qubba al-Qaimuriyya also have hood moulds (pls 12.73 and 12.81).

Stone carving

Two Ayyubid buildings have carved stone decoration. On the spandrel of the outer arch of Bab al-Silsila there are two stones which are carved with a rosette and an eight-pointed star motif (pl. 12.101). A medallion in the zone of transition of the dome at Qubba al-Nahawiyya is decorated with an arabesque motif, which appears to be original.

Patrons, Architects and Craftsmen

Architects, craftsmen and artisans often moved as a result of economic prosperity as well as in times of war. They brought with them not only methods of construction, but also techniques and motifs of decoration which were transmitted from one place to another. The bulk of the founding inscriptions on the Ayyubid buildings in Jerusalem refer to the patron, usually the sultan, or a senior member of the Ayyubid family, the local governor or an *amir*, and sometimes the official who supervised the work.

If we exclude the inscriptions on Nur al-Din's wooden *minbar*, which include the names of its craftsmen, only one instance of an inscription provides evidence of an individual craftsman—this time an architect *(mi'mar)*, who was responsible for the construction of a section of the city wall. This is not so extraordinary if we examine the contemporary epigraphic material from Egypt, Syria and the Jazira. Usually, the main emphasis was on the patron who ordered the construction *(amara bi-'insha')* of the monument, and in second place came the governor or the official under whose supervision *(bi-tawali* or *bi-nazar)* the construction work was achieved. Only rarely, as we have noted, was the name of an architect or craftsman responsible for the execution of a work mentioned.

In similar vein, the literary sources fail to provide much information on architects and craftsmen. However, an insight into contemporary architectural practice relating to the construction of fortifications in Jerusalem is provided by a unique account by 'Imad al-Din.[195] On 28 Dhu'l Hijja 587/16 January 1192, a group of fifty stone-cutters *(hajjarin)* from Mosul were sent to Jerusalem by the governor, the *atabeg* 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud. They arrived in Jerusalem to take part in the project. During their stay, which lasted half a year, they worked on deepening and extending the rock-cut ditch, and on the construction of sections of the wall and towers between Bab al-'Amud and Bab Mihrab Da'ud (the present Bab al-Khalil/Jaffa Gate) along the northern and the northwestern sides of the city.

Conclusion

The majority of Ayyubid monuments in Jerusalem were constructed in the first thirty-two years, beginning with Saladin's reconquest of the city in 583/1187 until the destruction of fortifications of the city by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa in 616/1219. During the later Ayyubid period only two foundations were erected. This stagnation in Ayyubid construction activity in Jerusalem was due to the turbulent political and military situation at the time, including the

renewed Frankish control of the city (from 626/1229 to 642/1244). Dynamic changes, inspired either by patrons or by migrating craftsmen, and resulting mainly from contacts with the principal regional Ayyubid centres (Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo), led to the re-emergence of architectural activity in Jerusalem under the Mamluks.

Under the Ayyubids, both geopolitical and religious factors left the newly restored city of Jerusalem open to a variety of influences. Local traditions surviving from the early Islamic period continued to flourish despite the interruption of Frankish rule. The restoration and rebuilding of monuments on the Haram, especially the Dome of the Rock and Aqsa Mosque, were in most cases faithful to their original architectural forms and decorative aesthetic. This is reflected in the rebuilding of the Haram gates, the southeast colonnade, and in the principle of erecting commemorative domes. It is also exemplified in the use of glass mosaics, as in the *mihrab* of the Aqsa Mosque and the Ayyubid inscription in the Dome of the Rock, and in the classical capitals in the porch of the Aqsa Mosque and the southeast colonnade.

The architecture of Jerusalem, as re-created by the Ayyubids of Syria after nearly nine decades of Frankish presence, reflected a number of different local and regional cultural connections. Out of the three Ayyubid regional centres of Cairo, Damascus and Aleppo, the last two undoubtedly had the greatest influence. Jerusalem drew more on Aleppo when it came to fine and skilled stone-cutting, and this preference is reflected in a stark plainness.[196] Even in Damascus some *madrasas*, such as Madrasa al-'Adiliyya al-Kubra (620/1223) and Madrasa al-Rukniyya (631/1233), display clear Aleppan influence in the style of construction and stereotomy.[197] But in general, type, scale and size all relate the buildings of Jerusalem most closely to Ayyubid monuments elsewhere in Syria. As a provincial but politically and religiously important city, Jerusalem, alongside its ostentatious monuments of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, developed in the Ayyubid period a more modest functional architecture for both its religious and its civil buildings. Although sponsored by senior members of the Ayyubid family, as well as by local governors and *amirs*, none of the buildings exhibit either the scale or the affluence of comparable Syrian or Egyptian structures. In fact they are characterized by their notable austerity and plainness.

While the plans used are more modest in size, they are nonetheless close to their counterparts in other Syrian cities. The Jerusalem *madrasas*, for instance, do not have minarets but have a proportionately large and well-defined place of prayer, or *majma'*. The plan, with or without an *iwan*, is more akin to the Syrian one-*iwan* or two-*iwan* court with a place of prayer than to a cruciform four-*iwan* madrasa like the Salahiyya

[195] 'Imad al-Din 1902, 289.

[196] Allen 1986, 15.
[197] Moaz 1990, 364.

in Cairo. The commemorative domes and mausolea also closely resemble other Syrian examples, displaying the same architectural and constructional elements.

In our analysis, then, the buildings in Jerusalem closely resemble their counterparts in Syria. We may therefore assume that the architects of these monuments came from Syrian cities, particularly from Damascus. This was precisely due to the fact that, during most of the Ayyubid period, Jerusalem was included within the principality of Damascus, and the rulers of Damascus were likely to summon their architects to the Holy City for the execution of their acts of patronage.

Second only to the influence that Ayyubid Syria left on the architecture of Jerusalem is the influence of the presence of the Franks. Many Crusader buildings, known from the historical sources to have been elaborately decorated with architectural sculpture, have completely vanished. The conversion of entire Crusader buildings to Islamic use characterized the first decade of Ayyubid rule in Jerusalem. Certain features of Crusader architecture are distinctive— Romanesque style, typical masons' marks, diagonal stone dressing—and these all facilitate identification. However, fragments of Crusader sculpture and *spolia* such as marble columns, capitals, imposts, mouldings and simple masonry were incorporated into Ayyubid constructions and were commonly re-used throughout the later Islamic periods. In addition, numerous Crusader construction methods and decorative elements were extensively employed; these include the cushion arch, chevron arch, elbow capitals, and corbels or brackets. It is not surprising, therefore, that Hamilton[198] identified the work of the period in the Aqsa Mosque as 'Crusader and Ayyubid' whenever he found it difficult to distinguish between Crusader work *in situ* and in secondary use.

Does the re-use of Crusader elements and forms in Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem have any iconographic meaning? Was it intended to represent pre-Ayyubid Christian architecture converted to the service of Islam? Or can it even have been intended to have a contemporary anti-Frankish significance, and be a visual celebration of the triumph of Islam? It is pertinent to ask why, for instance, the façade of an important Islamic monument such as the Aqsa Mosque was principally constructed with re-used architectural elements in the style of Crusader buildings. This phenomenon is not confined to Jerusalem, however, but is found in numerous other cities which were taken during the Muslim counter-crusade. An interesting example, although from the Mamluk period, is the Gothic portal brought by Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un from Acre and re-used in his funerary *madrasa* in Cairo.

While it is tempting to see some sort of ideological motivation behind such moves, the nature of that motivation

is still ambiguous, and cannot be established without concrete evidence in the buildings themselves, and in the epigraphic material, as well as in the contemporary historical sources. As I have previously noted, the Ayyubid architects in Jerusalem were highly practical. They made use of available construction materials, especially when these materials included high-quality, sculpted marble. Often their re-use of Crusader material seems to have been haphazard and governed by local circumstances.

There is also the question of craftsmen, Frankish or non-Frankish, who may have continued to work in Jerusalem under the new regime. The historical sources do not provide enough evidence to resolve this question. Perhaps one hint of this possibility is provided by ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani, when he refers to the presence of two thousand Frankish prisoners, along with local workers, who worked on the rebuilding of the city walls under Saladin.[199]

In general, Jerusalem at this time witnessed a great renaissance in Islamic architecture as well as the introduction of new socio-eco institutions, which would determine the character of the city until the present day. Despite the war situation and the continuous Frankish invasions, the Arab regions under Ayyubid rule saw a revival in various aspects of cultural life, including architectural activity. To summarize our findings, Ayyubid architecture is generally characterized by a trend towards austerity, the use of minimal decoration, and a high quality of construction with well-cut stones as the principal material.

Far beyond the historical context, the architecture of the Ayyubids in Jerusalem, and the ideas it embodied, the institutions, and the economic support system *(waqf)* related to the monuments, had a far-reaching influence on the city's architecture for the subsequent Mamluk and Ottoman periods. In terms of Sunni Islam and its institutions, the same concepts and types of monument were carried through, and were even developed. The institutionalization of the *madrasa*, which was begun by Nur al-Din in Syria, for instance, was introduced to Jerusalem by Saladin and his Ayyubid successors, and continued by the Mamluks. The inclusion of mausolea within the *madrasa*, a concept and architectural form which gathered pace under the Ayyubids, became a common practice in the following periods. Moreover, monuments dedicated to public welfare, like *maristans*, *ribats*, *sabils*, and *suqs*, continued to be built by both the Mamluks and the Ottomans. The construction of commemorative monuments and shrines for prophets of the Old Testament and early personalities of Islam continued after the Ayyubids. By the end of the Mamluk period, Jerusalem and its surroundings contained many mausolea, shrines and tombs of pre-Islamic and Islamic figures which amplified its status as the Holy City.

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[198] Hamilton 1949, 44-7.

[199] ʿImad al-Din 1902, 289.

The image of Saladin as the champion of Sunni Islam, the liberator of Jerusalem and the ideal Muslim leader, was the product of a common consensus among contemporary and later historians. It seems certain that his dedication to *jihad*, his piety, and his inclination to public welfare and patronage of architecture, made him a model to be emulated by later Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers, especially Baibars and Qa'itbay. These qualities created the incentive for succeeding rulers to initiate constructions in post-Crusader Jerusalem. The foundations of Mamluk Jerusalem lie in the building activities of the Ayyubids after 583/1187.

Chapter 13
ECONOMIC GROWTH AND CURRENCY IN AYYUBID PALESTINE

Stefan Heidemann

1 Introduction[1]

In 583/1187 Saladin conquered Jerusalem. This occurred in a period of renewed economic growth in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, which lasted until the Mongol invasion. The economic recovery after the political and economic collapse of the ʿAbbasid empire began slowly in the Saljuq period in the late 5th/11th century with political and fiscal reforms, and accelerated in the time of Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zangi (who reigned 541-569/1150-1174) and the Ayyubids. It then blossomed in the first half of the 7th/13th century. This growth is still visible in the splendours of Zangid and Ayyubid art and architecture.

At the same time it was a period of transition for coinages in western Asia, as it supported and fostered economic development from the last remnants of the monetary systems of the early heights of the Islamic empire to the monetary system of the Ayyubids. Syria has no metal resources of its own for the production of coins. This evolution of the monetary system would not have been possible without close economic relations with the neighbouring regions of Byzantium and Egypt in the early phase, and later with Italy and central Europe.

The study of the currency situation in Ayyubid Jerusalem and Palestine has to be placed within the medieval framework of the economic and monetary evolution in historic Syria. Emphasis is laid on the situation in Jerusalem which changed its government several times, from being the political capital of the Crusader Kingdom to a provincial town under the Ayyubids, then once again coming under Frankish control, and finally back to Ayyubid sovereignty.

Money as a means of co-ordinating human decisions and economic exchange is a complex social invention. It must always be adjusted to the prevailing economic, political and juridical conditions. Seen from another angle, its design and evolution reveal much about the societies creating it. Money in the pre-modern world was based on different concepts from those operating today. The supply of coins, the physical instruments for the exchange of goods and services, was usually restricted. The absence of coins increased the cost of economic exchanges and thus prevented the economy from growing. However, in order to function as an absolute price *(thaman mutlaq)* or equivalent, that is as money, a certain type of coin has to be available in sufficient quantities. Non-physical forms of money, bills of exchange *(hawala)* and cheques *(suftaja)*, were developed in the Near East, but they were used only among small communities bound by ties of trust and kinship, for example networks of long-distance merchants in major trade cities. In pre-modern times, two distinct currencies always existed side by side, serving distinct needs within different social classes—high-value money, usually gold or pure silver coins, and the petty coinage, usually debased silver, billon, or copper coins. Geographically well-defined borders of currency zones hardly existed. If they did exist then it was for economic and fiscal reasons.

Gold coins, and to a certain extent silver coins, constituted the principal money for wholesale and long-distance merchants *(tujjar* and *jallabun)* as well as for fiscal administration and state expenditure. It was also the money

The geographical names used, such as Syria, Palestine and Iraq, do not correspond to any modern state or political entity.; they refer to classical Arab geography. Syria denotes *bilad al-sham*, the land between the Mediterranean Sea and the Euphrates. It includes the region of Palestine or *filastin* (Palaestina Prima) and of historical Jordan *al-urdunn* (Palaestina Secunda). The western part of *al-urdunn*, between the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean Sea, is of special significance here as part of the former Crusader territories. It includes the cities of Tabariyya (Tiberias) and Acre. Palaestina Prima and Palaestina Secunda are referred to here for reasons of simplicity as Palestine. The *jazira* represents northern Mesopotamia, a region stretching from the Euphrates in the west and north, to the Tigris, up to Takrit in the east and south. Iraq denotes lower Mesopotamia, south of Takrit.

of high ranking *amirs* who relied on land-tax or rent from a defined tax-district *(iqta')*. These groups needed to store wealth, to transfer it conveniently over long distances, and to make payments of large sums. These monies could be traded between regions and existed in competition with other high-value coins. The value of the coins was bound to the metal content but was always somewhat higher than the value of the same amount of metal as a mere commodity. If a coin-type was generally accepted and was in sufficient supply, it was maintained over a long period and remained stable in design and metallic content in order to ensure that wealth could be securely stored, and would be accepted interregionally.

The second type of money fulfilled the needs for daily purchases. It was the money of small dealers, artisans, workers *(suqa* and *ba'a)* in the urban market *(suq)* and, of course, the rest of the urban population. The rural population relied mainly on subsistence. Only certain extra requirements and some excess produce was bought and sold in the *suq*. At least part of their taxes, probably most of them, had to be paid in kind to the *amir*, who held the privilege to crop the land-taxes *(kharaj)* of his *iqta'* in order to support his military household.

The ratio in price between the different types of high-value coins and petty coinage was always determined by supply and demand. The urban population was dependent for its livelihood on income from its activities within the bounds of city or town, and on purchases in the urban market. In pre-modern times it was usual that the demand for small coins grossly exceeded their supply. Most of the time the authorities mentioned above did not feel responsible for the organisation of a sufficient supply of petty coins. In contrast to the high-value money, the price of the petty coinage was determined far more by interest in their use by the public than by their intrinsic value. This allowed a much higher profit for those who could provide these means of exchange, in other words the fiscal and political administrations or money-changers. Price manipulation and debasement of petty coinage can be interpreted as a kind of taxation on activities related to the urban market. It is a kind of fiscal skimming of the urban economy which would otherwise be hard to tax. In addition, the value of petty coins could be manipulated by an acceptance of these coins by fiscal administrations for tax debts at a set rate, and by refusing to take any other coinages. Petty coins could be imported from other regions at a profit, if the local administration was not of a mind, or not able, to provide coins for expanding urban markets. Presumably such an import was organised by moneychangers (sing. *sarraf, sairafi)*.

According to Islamic legal theory based on Qur'anic revelation, the value of money is bound only to its metallic content. Silver and gold were the commodities which could be legally used for any transaction. The Islamic jurists of the 5th/11th century were aware of the contradiction between these different concepts. Islamic law thus acknowledges only

the physical metal content as a legitimate base for the value of coins. But jurists observed that in reality a fluctuating value was based on the interests of the public, that is, on the market forces of supply and demand. This contradiction between the normative divine imperatives and observed empirical reality explains the jurists' frequent discussions on *riba*, or illegitimate profit. Islamic law forbids two equal amounts of precious metal being valued differently in one single transaction. This is the core of the prohibition of *riba*. The translation, frequently cited, of *riba* as 'usury' or 'interest' constitutes only one specific case. For example, an unequal assessment existed if someone was required to give back one and a half dinars for a single dinar which he had once taken as a loan. The notion of time did not play a role in these normative legal considerations. The majority of the jurists did not regard copper coins—the generic term is *fals/fulus*—as money or absolute equivalent; if they regarded it at all, then it was only as a substitute for money. Copper coins could not serve in all legal transactions, as did gold and silver coins.[2] These concerns influenced the future design of the system of Ayyubid currency.

There are only a few sources for any research into the monetary situation in Palestine. They are archaeological, numismatic and philological in nature.

Coins of the period in question have been found in different locations in Jerusalem[3] and its vicinity: ʿAin Karim (7km to the west of the city),[4] Belmont (Suba, 10km to the west),[5] Bait Jibrin/Bethgibelin (Beth Guvrin, 35km to the south-west on the way to Asqalon),[6] the Frankish village of Parva Mahumeria (Emmaus/al-Qubaiba, 14km to the north-west),[7] Bethlehem (5km to the south-west),[8] and Jericho (Ariha, about 25km north-east of Jerusalem).[9]

The northern part of Palestine around Lake Tiberias or the Sea of Galilee has been particularly well researched. Sites

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[2] Cipolla 1956, 27-37; Brunschvig 1967; Sprandel 1975, 156-69; Heidemann 2002, 356-61, 367.

[3] Miles 1985 reported on finds of coins in the Armenian Garden, Jerusalem and Lowick in Carradice 1994 on coins from the German Church of the Redeemer (in the Muristan, Jerusalem). Glücksmann and Kool 1995 describe a hoard dating to the Crusader period from the Haram al-Sharif. Older reports are less useful, because for the first three-quarters of the 20th century few people were able to identify Islamic coins with sufficient accuracy. Gordon 1925 reported on coins found on the sites of Ophel and Siloam within greater Jerusalem. The report is full of errors due to the state of knowledge at that time. However, for some coins, an identification could be established from illustrations and a critical view of a description. Crowfoot and Fitzgerald 1929, 103-20 on the finds in the Tyropoeon Valley, and Saller 1957 on the coins from excavations in Bethany, about 3km east of Jerusalem. It must be recognised that in places of special veneration many diverse coins are found together which are not representative of the normal daily circulation in the region.

[4] Bagatti 1948, 84-8.

[5] Metcalf 2000b.

[6] Kool 2007.

[7] Bagatti 1947, 156-7, pl. 21; Metcalf 1975b; Kool 2007.

[8] Metcalf 1975b.

[9] Miles 1958.

include the Frankish Chastelet Vadum Jacob[10] (Ateret, 10km to the north of the Sea of Galilee), Nabratain,[11] Khirbat Shama[c],[12] and Mairun[13] at Mount Mairun (Jabal Jarmaq, all to the north-west of the Sea of Galilee), as well as Hammat Ghadir[14] (7km east of the Sea of Galilee), and Khirbat al-Karak[15] (at the south-western tip of the Sea of Galilee). Most important of all are the finds of coins from the short-lived Ayyubid fortress of Mount Tabor,[16] located between Tabariyya (Tiberias) and Acre.

Many sites with finds are located within the coastal strip. There are a number of coins reported as coming from Acre (Akkon, [c]Akka),[17] the capital of the Restored Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the region of Acre lay Tall Kaisan[18] (about 8km to the south-east of Acre), Yoqne[c]am (Qaiman, Caymont)[19] (about 30km south of Acre at the foot of Mount Carmel), Chastel Pélerin or [c]Athlith[20] (about 21km south of modern Haifa) and Caesarea Maritima (Qaisariyya).[21]

For the rest of southern Syria, the main excavations for reference are the one in the citadel of Damascus,[22] and the one at Tall Shaikh Sa[c]d[23] (37km east of the Sea of Galilee).

Only one literary source deals with the specific currency situation in Ayyubid Palestine. A handbook dealing with *hisba*—regulations regarding public order with special reference to the urban market *(suq)*—gives information on certain aspects in the period following the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin. The author was the well known physician and judge *(qadi)* of Tabariyya, [c]Abd al-Rahman al-Shaizari

(who died *c.* 589/1193).[24] Although the manual deals with a general topic, it is obvious that al-Shaizari drew on his local experience as *qadi* in the matter of money.

2 Gold coinage
2.1 *Overview*

Gold coinage developed in three different stages. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, two gold coinages were current in the Crusader states and in Syria and northern Mesopotamia: the Fatimid *dinar* (pl. 13.1) and the Byzantine *histamenon*[5] *nomisma* (pl. 13.2). In the 530s/1140s, however, a scarcity of Fatimid and Byzantine gold coins in circulation led to the production of the *dinar suri* (pl. 13. 3) within the Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was to remain the predominant gold coin in Ayyubid Syria until the Mongol wars and the establishment of the Mamluk sultanate.[26]

2.2 *The Fatimid* dinar

In the period before the Crusades, southern Syria and Palestine formed part of the Fatimid empire. The standard gold coin in the region was the Fatimid *dinar*, which was minted not only in Egypt but also in several Syrian cities. It was known as the *dinar maghribi*, 'western *dinar*', or simply as *dinar misri*, the 'Egyptian *dinar*' (pl. 13.1). Venetian documents refer to it as *biçancius auri saracenatus* or some similar term.[27] It was struck from almost pure gold.[28] The weight was tightly regulated at about 4.2g. From at least the first half of the 5th/11th century, the Fatimid *dinar* had become one of the most favoured coins in transactions, not only in territories immediately under Fatimid sway but far further afield. Literary and archeological evidence corroborates its wide circulation in northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia and Iraq, especially in the caliphal capital Baghdad and the commercial centre of al-Basra, as well as in the Arabian peninsula. In Iraq it remained in circulation until the first half of the 6th/12th century. However, its importance seems to have declined—at least in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia—from about the 460s/1067-8 onwards.[29]

The second half of the 5th/11th century saw a new gold coin emerging in significant numbers in Syria and northern Mesopotamia: the Byzantine *histamenon nomisma* (pl. 13.2). The advance of the *nomisma* was partly due to the

[10] Kool 2002. This site is of special importance because occupation was short, lasting only from October 574/1178 to October 575/1179.

[11] Raynor 1981.

[12] Hansen and Bates 1976; Meyers 1985.

[13] Kool and Ariel 2002.

[14] Amitai-Preiss and Berman 1997.

[15] Delougaz and Haines 1969, 50-3, pl. 47.

[16] Battista and Bagatti 1976, 143-63.

[17] Rahmani and Spaer 1965-1966; Meshorer and Spaer 1965-1966, 77; Metcalf 1975a: 141-9. These find reports do not include Islamic coins. This is probably due to the specific interest of the authors in coins from the Crusader period. Syon 1997; a catalogue of the coins from the recent excavation is in preparation by Danny Syon (forthcoming). I am indebted to him for providing me with the manuscript.

[18] Fulco 1980.

[19] Meshorer 1996; Kool 2005.

[20] Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999. In 583/1187 [c]Athlith fell into the hands of Saladin. The Crusader castle [c]Athlith was constructed in 613-4/1217-18 and was sacked and evacuated in 690/1291.

[21] Metcalf and Holland 1994-1999; Metcalf and Holland 1992-1993; Hohlfelder 1980; Metcalf 1987; Ariel 1986. With the exception of Hohlfelder and Ariel, the other reports deal only with Crusader coins. This is probably due to the special interests of the authors. Although much damaged in the Ayyubid period, Qaisariyya remained in the hands of the Crusaders. For the history of Qaisariyya during the period, see Hazard 1975, 85-8.

[22] A Syrian-French excavation of the citadel of Damascus under the direction of Sawsan Khalifa, Direction Générale des Antiquités and et des Musées de Syrie, and Dr Sophie Berthier, Insutut Français du Proche Orient. The catalogue is currently under preparation by the author.

[23] Militký and Novak 2002.

[24] Hajji Khalifa 1835-58, *Kashf* III, 510, identifies him as *qadi Tabariyya*; Brockelmann 1937-1942 Suppl. I, 832; al-[c]Arini in Shaizari 1946, p. ‏بح‎.

[25] Grierson 1966.

[26] For a general discussion, see Bates 1989a.

[27] See, for example, Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, no. 53 (document dated April 523/1129).

[28] Oddy 1980; Gordus and Metcalf 1980, 119-20.

[29] Heidemann 2002, 381-3; Bates 1989a, 424-30.

expansion of Byzantine influence after the Byzantine conquest of Antioch in 358/969. The types of imported *nomismas* included only issues up to the reign of Michael VII (who reigned 464–470/1071–1078). Their cup-like shape has earned them the name *skyphates* in modern research literature. The debased *nomismas* of Michael VII still retained a theoretical gold content of 66 percent, although the measured content was between 50 percent and 68 percent of gold. After Michael's reign the gold content again dropped dramatically, and by then *nomismas* were no longer imported. They are called various names: western sources usually refer to them as *bezants* or *bisantii* or, in particular, to the most common one as *michaelita*, *michaelaton* or in Syriac *mikhilata* (pl. 13.2). Some Arabic sources call them *dinar rumi* or, of one particularly common issue by Romanus III (reigned 419–425/1028–1034), as *dinar armanusi* (pl. 13.5). Beyond the confines of the empire, these gold coins remained in sufficient supply even after the reign of Michael VII. In particular, the *michaelaton* became the dominant gold coin for the Crusader states during the first half of the 6th/12th century.[30]

2.3 The dinar suri *and other new gold coinages*

The middle decades of the 6th/12th century saw a series of reforms in gold and silver coinages, not only in the Crusader states but also in the Islamic principalities in Syria and northern Mesopotamia; these were later followed by reforms in Saljuq Anatolia, Iraq and the Caucasus. The reforms can be interpreted firstly as a reaction to the scarcity of gold coins in circulation as the former significant import of *dinar maghribi* from Egypt diminished and the Byzantine *michaelaton* was no longer struck; and secondly as a result of economic growth, which began slowly at the end of the 5th/11th century but accelerated in the middle of the 6th/12th century. The first introduction of a new gold coin, the *dinar baid*, the 'white dinar', occurred in Damascus in 530/1136, but had no lasting effect.[31] It was followed by the introduction of the *dinar suri* into the Crusader states probably in the late 530s/1140s. Finally there was a new gold coin struck in Mosul, the *dinar amiri*, at the latest by 540/1145–6.[32] It was only the introduction of the *dinar suri* (pl. 13.3) within the Crusader states which had a lasting impact on Ayyubid Palestine, Syria and northern Mesopotamia.

In their design and in their simplified, partly distorted, legends, the main series of the new gold coins resemble Fatimid *dinars* from the reign of Caliph al-Amir bi-Ahkam

Allah (who reigned 495–524/1101–1130). Three sub-series can be distinguished. The first was obviously a short-lived—and nowadays rare—sub-series with a gold content of over 80 percent.[33] The second and major sub-series contains a ratio of about four-fifths gold with an intended weight of *ca* 3.7–3.8g. The third, and most important, sub-series has a content of two-thirds gold and a weight of about 3.3–3.4g. The series are difficult to date in absolute terms. A Venetian document naming *bisancios saracenatos bonos auri de rege illius terra*, that is, of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, is the first secure literary reference, dating from July 537/1142, just before the accession of Baldwin III (who reigned 538–558/1143–1163).[34] It is probably a reference to *dinars* of the first series. Similar renditions of the name appear in documents during the following decades. The second series may have already begun in the 530s/1140s but almost certainly before 560/1165, when a document made a distinction between old and new *bisancios auri saracenatos*.[35] For the last and third series (pl. 13.3), the conquest of the Kingdom by Saladin in 583/1187 and the establishment of the Restored Kingdom in 588/1192 may provide explanations for the debasement. Two documents from October 614/1217 and November 636/1238, both naming the *bisantios albos*,[36] 'white *bezant*', in the sense of 'silver-alloyed *bezant*', probably are a reference to them.[37] Although the *dinar suris* are imitative, they can be easily distinguished from authentic Fatimid coins, and are obviously not an attempt at fraud.[38] It was a normal feature of western European currencies to strike imitation coins with an immobilised design.[39] Arabic sources refer to them as *dinar suri*, the '*dinar* from Tyre' (Sur) and in one Genoese document of August 551/1156 they are called *bisancius* (....) *saracenicus de Sur*.[40] It is possible that a mint was situated in Tyre,

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[30] Heidemann 2002, 383–7; Morrisson 1968. On the gold content, see Grierson 1954, 385–6.

[31] Heidemann 2002, 425–6; Ilisch in *Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Auktion* 75 (1989), no. 361; Ibn al-Qalanisi (ed.) Amedroz 1908), 257; (ed. Zakkar 1403/1983), 405.

[32] Heidemann 2002, 425–6.

[33] Metcalf 1995, 45; Balog and Yvon 1958, 150 no. 26.

[34] Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, no. 81; Metcalf 1995, 43, 46; Metcalf 1989, 441–2; Gordus and Metcalf 1980, 137.

[35] Metcalf 1989, 442–3 sees the end of the Restored Crusade (1148) as the most plausible earliest time for the beginning of this series, but as yet there is no further evidence for this suggestion; Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940, 164 no. 167 (document of 1165). For the second series, evidence from hoards provides *termini ante quem* of *c.* 1180 (Metcalf 1975b, *Bethlehem*) and of 1179 (Kool 2002, *Vadum Jacob*. Corrigenda no. 1 is a clearly legible coin of the second series dated AH 506).

[36] Röhricht 1893, 242 no. 903, 283 no.1085.

[37] On the *dinar suri*, see Heidemann 2002, 423–5 (circulation in Syria); Metcalf 2000; Bompaire *et al.* 1998 (metal analyses); Metcalf 1995, 43–51; Ehrenkreutz 1994 (response to Metcalf and Bates); Metcalf 1989, 439–48; Bates 1989a; 429–30; Gordus and Metcalf 1980 (metal analyses); Irwin 1980, 91–3 (Arabic sources); Ehrenkreutz 1964 (older views); Balog and Yvon 1964; Balog and Yvon 1958, 145–63. Röhricht 1893 (Latin documents from the Kingdom of Jerusalem); Morozzo della Rocca and Lombardo 1940 (Venetian documents).

[38] Metcalf 1989, 440 in response to Ehrenkreutz 1964.

[39] Immobilisation of a coin type means that the design and text are fixed or immobilised and did not respond to a change in the political situation. The famous Maria-Theresa Thaler, circulating for centuries in the Levant and struck in many mints all over Europe, is still minted in Vienna with the fixed date of 1780. This phenomenon is usually due to contracts or to the great success of a distinct coin type in the history of money.

[40] Gordus and Metcalf 1980, 138. *Historiae Patriae Monumenta* VI 1853, 350 no. 348.

because of the name itself and because it had a Fatimid mint previously, but there is no other evidence for it. [41] Literary and numismatic evidence, however, point to Acre as the site of the main mint, probably with a royal privilege. [42] Tripoli should also be considered as a site for a mint producing the *dinar suri*. It once had a Fatimid mint for gold, and later the mint produced another minor but distinct Crusader gold series. [43] In addition, Tripoli is mentioned in the Papal decree of 650/1253 (see below). An early document of 544-45/1150 may well contain a reference to *bezants* of Acre and also of Jerusalem *(VI millia bisantiorum Accaronensium et M[ille] Hierol.)*, [44] but, despite being the capital, the city was of low economic importance.

At first these *dinar suris* may have been intended to act as the local gold coinage, as Michael Metcalf assumed. [45] It might have been expected that the low grade of gold would have prevented their export, a drain which would have deprived the Kingdom of the necessary means for domestic commercial and fiscal transactions. Although the *dinar suri* is frequently mentioned in texts concerning transactions between Franks and Muslims, it should be recognised that a demand for these gold coins was equally a fact in neighbouring Islamic principalities in Syria. Here those payments due to be paid in *dinars* sometimes had to be made in copper coins owing to the scarcity of gold ones. [46] The route to success for the *dinar suri* had been paved by a universal acceptance of the *michaelaton*, which was equally an alloyed gold coin. Furthermore, the well regulated *dinar suri* was in sufficient supply. Most of the gold bullion was presumably imported by Italian merchants. The circulation of the *dinar suri* went far beyond the Crusader states, and probably even beyond Syria itself, including into regions of northern Mesopotamia. Presumably the coin was struck until the late 640s/early 1250s, when the papal legate Odo, bishop of Châteauroux, condemned its being struck in Acre (see below). The last text referring to the circulation of the *dinar suri* concerns a ransom payment for an Arab *amir* in Lebanon in the year 702/1302-3. [47]

No gold coins were struck in Ayyubid Syria except for a single, rare issue in Damascus in 583/1187-8 (pl. 13.7), the year of the conquest of Jerusalem (see below). In Ayyubid Egypt, the *dinar* continued to be struck in the Fatimid type (pl. 13.6), with some major changes in design in the year 622/1225. The sources continued to call it the *dinar misri*. The coins made their way into Syria, but there they did not become a major gold coin. [48] There are no recorded hoards of Egyptian Ayyubid dinars from Syria. The *qadi* of Tabariyya warned against the exchange of *dinar suris* for the pure *dinar misris*, and of different kinds of *suris*:

> It is not permitted (...) like the sale of *dinar misris* against *dinar suris* or [the sale] of *dinar suris* against [other kinds of] *dinar suris* because their [gold-] content *(miqdaruha)* is unknown and there is no equivalence *('adm tamathul)* [in the value based on the gold content] between them. [49]

For his contemporaries, the reason behind the prohibition was clear: *riba*, the illegitimate gain acquired by exchanging different amounts of gold in a single transaction. The second warning may refer to a change in purity in the two main sub-series of the *dinar suri*. The second and third sub-series are hardly distinguishable. The latter one, with a much higher level of alloy, is believed to have been issued after the conquest of Jerusalem.

2.4 Gold fragments *or* qurada

From the 3rd/9th century onwards, all the regions in the core Islamic lands—Egypt, Syria, northern Mesopotamia and Iraq—suffered from a lack of smaller denominations of coins. As a consequence, gold coins in circulation were cut into tiny irregular fragments (pl. 13.4 and 5) so that economic exchanges could be undertaken involving a value well below that of a full gold coin. These gold fragments were called *quradat* (sing. *qurada*). Archaeological information about finds of these is scarce, because fragments were usually not hoarded in the same way as complete coins; moreover, they have been frequently overlooked by modern archaeologists who are not aware of the importance of objects only a few square millimetres in size and usually well below a gram in weight.

[41] Metcalf 1995, 47, discusses as well a late reference in a Venetian document dated October 641/1243 referring to a house in the Venetian quarter of Tyre which served as a mint in c. 1190-1192; Tafel and Thomas 1856, 386 (document). However, in fact it refers to a house belonging to the Venetians and sequestered by Conrad of Montferrat. In his time coins were minted, but nothing is said about the preceding use *(Retinetur nobis una domus in nostro tercierio magna, in qua in tempore marchionis Montisferrati, qui fuit dominus regni, fabricata and incussa moneta fuit)*; see Heyd 1879, 238-9. I owe this reference to David Jacoby.

[42] Such royal privileges are not known among the documents. And the relation of these mints with the Kingdom of Jerusalem are hypothetical. However, there existed a royal monopoly of coinage and the production of *'faus besans'* was forbidden according to the 'assise' in the *Livre au Roi*, dating back to the middle of the 6th/12th century, meaning in turn that to be legal, *bezants* had to be minted at least under royal supervision or privilege; Greilsamer 1995, 112.

[43] Metcalf 1995, 150-2.

[44] Röhricht 1893, 66 no. 261 (citation); Metcalf 2000a; Metcalf 1995, 45-50. Bates 1989a, 480.

[45] Metcalf 1995, 43-4; Metcalf 1994; Metcalf 1989, 440.

[46] Heidemann 2002, 414-15.

[47] Irwin 1980, 92.

[48] In contrast to the frequent mention of the *dinar suri*, there are few references to the *dinar misri* in Syria. In 581/1185 the treasury at Damascus had only *dinar misris* at its disposal, but was obliged to pay *dinar suris*; Isfahani (ed. al-Kutubi 1321/1903), 345; (ed. Landberg), 481-2; (transl. Massé 1972), 431. In 615/1218, after the death of al-'Adil Abu Bakr, the treasury in Damascus is said to have included 700,000 *dinar misris* in gold coins *(cainan)*; Ibn Wasil (ed. al-Shayyal 1957) Vol. III, 275-6; Humphreys 1977, 16. In the year 636/1238-9 Abu Shama in Damascus had to explain the value of the *dinar misri* in terms of the *dirham [nasiri]*; Abu Shama (ed. al-Husaini 1947), 168.

[49] Shaizari (ed. 'Arini 1946), 74-5. See translation by Buckley 1999, 94.

But complaints about their circulation are abundant enough to assume that they were a regular feature of daily life in Iraq, northern Mesopotamia and Syria. Some hoards and hoard material[50] with such fragments have come to light, most of them without a definite provenance but originating in modern Lebanon and Israel.[51] The Kingdom of Jerusalem even produced coin types which are only known in the form of cut fragments. These gold fragments with Latin legends were minted in the middle 6th/12th century by one of the Baldwins, probably Baldwin III, and Amaury (who reigned 558-569/1163-1174). They had a gold content of about 50 percent-60 percent. So far, cut fragments of the *dinar suri* have not been found. The Latin fragments were struck alongside the *dinar suri*, obviously as a supplement to the circulation of fragments of Fatimid, and to a lesser extent of Byzantine gold coins.[52]

The use of gold fragments constituted a major problem for Islamic jurists concerned with the validity of transactions. The phenomenon of their circulation can be found mentioned first in texts from the end of the 5th/11th century, when Iraqi jurists complained about their use. There is a frequent demand for the introduction and use of complete coins (sing. *sahih*). The reason behind their complaints once again lay in the Qur'anic prohibition of *riba*. In the history of money, it is a repeated fact that people accepted a real loss in value when a complete coin was cut up in order to produce smaller amounts for daily purchases; at the same time, this allowed the remainder of the coin to be saved as a high-value currency. In modern times this situation has occurred only in extreme situations.[53] The *qadi* of Tabariyya, al-Shaizari, who has already been mentioned, pronounced the following dictat:

The sale of a complete dinar (*dinar sahih*) against a *dinar* in fragments (*dinar qurada*) is not permitted because of the difference in their values.[54]

All previous proclamations concerning the prohibition against *quradas* were without lasting effect, because there was no available alternative in everyday life. In Syria it can be assumed that the circulation of fragments stopped at the end of the 6th/12th century about the time of *qadi* al-Shaizari's warning. It is possible that this coincided with the introduction of an almost pure silver *dirham* with a regulated weight (see below) in Syrian mints. In Iraq, in 632/1234-5, silver *dirhams* were introduced explicitly in order to prevent the use of *quradas*, according to the chronicler al-Suyuti (who died 911/1505-6).[55] The new silver *dirhams* could be used as coins of intermediate value, between copper and gold, in place of gold fragments, thus avoiding the possibility of *riba* in daily life.

3 Petty coinage
3.1 Overview

A supply of petty coinage was more important for urban economic life than a supply of gold coins. A solution for the problem of small denominations can be taken as a measure of urban and economic development in the society creating them. Communities depending primarily on their own subsistence can live by means of barter or by deferring payment, as well as by relying on small amounts of credit provided to consumers, based on personal relationship, kinship or trust. But when urban communities grow, and more people have to depend on a specific profession,[56] they have increasingly to rely for their daily needs on markets, which tend to become anonymous. This calls for an increased supply of coins as a medium of anonymous exchange. Petty coins usually remained within the area in which they were issued. When they were transported to another zone, they were frequently discarded, to be found in future archeological excavations.

The middle decades of the 6th/12th century not only saw reforms in gold coinage, but also a series of reforms in the petty coinage of Bilad al-Sham and northern Mesopotamia. These brought to an end the period of the indigenous *dirham aswad*, the 'black *dirham*' (pl. 13.8) as well as to the imported *denier* (pls 13.9 and 13.10) in the Crusader states. Both consist of a highly alloyed silver. Three major regions in Syria must be distinguished—northern Syria with its centre in Aleppo, southern Syria with its centre in Damascus, and the Frankish coastal region. After decades when Byzantine copper coins

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[50] Hoard material is a feature of the antiquity market. There are groups of coins which obviously belong together, to a hoard or constitute parts of unrecorded hoards. Sometimes hoard material is mixed with other coins which do not belong to the group.

[51] The appearance of hoard material in Beirut and Israel may have something to do with the peculiarities of the antiquity market. The interest of dealers and authors lay in the distinctive Latin fragments and they only took accompanying Fatimid fragments as 'context' without analysing them. In Syria and Iraq no Latin fragments were found and interest in these damaged and unmarketable coins is probably rather low.

[52] For Syria, northern Mesopotamia and Iraq, see Heidemann 2002, 365-99. For a new assessment in the light of a small hoard of two fragments from the citadel of Damascus, see the forthcoming excavation report, as well as Heidemann 2003a, 2003b. In Bethgibelin a single fragment of the crusader type was found; Kool 2007, 151-3 with further references fn 46. For hoard material of cut fragments from the regions of the Crusader states, see Metcalf 1995, 107-8; Metcalf and Holland 1994-1999, 162; Brady 1982, 1981, 1978; Miles 1967, 189-97; Seltmann 1966a, 1966b; Bagatti 1947, 158, 164 no. 60-6, pl. 21; Besley 1985. On their gold content, Gordus and Metcalf 1980, 137, 150. None of the descriptions of the cited hoards includes a study of the Fatimid fragments. There are no reports as yet of cut *dinar suris*. It may be that they were included in summaries of Fatimid fragments.

[53] This could be observed in Belgrade during the hyper-inflation in 1993, when people were willing to accept eight ten-mark notes in exchange for a (high-value) German hundred-mark note. N Mappes-Niediek, 'Dinar im Teufelskreis', in *Die Zeit* 45 (5 November 1993), 36 and N Mappes-Niediek 'Ein Brot für eine Milliarde', in *Zeitmagazin* 45 (5 November 1993), 8-9.

[54] Shaizari (ed. 'Arini 1946), 75; see the translation by Buckley 1999, 94-5.

[55] Suyuti (ed. al-'Uthmani 1986), 528-9; Heidemann 1994, 325-6.

[56] Division of labour was one of the criteria of a city (*misr*) according to Islamic jurists; Johansen 1981-1982, 141-2.

were imported into northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia, Nur al-Din Mahmud and his successors successfully re-introduced indigenous copper coins. The way the reforms were designed was probably much influenced by concerns about *riba*. Although copper coins were not allowed to function as money in all legal transactions, they are not considered a *riba* commodity. This meant it was possible to complete transactions with petty coins without the fear of violating the prohibition of *riba*. Saladin's conquest changed the supply of petty coins in Jerusalem and Palestine from a zone of circulation with Frankish billon *deniers* to one with Damascene copper coins. But the circulation in Palestine may have retained some features of the Crusader past, at least for a couple of decades.

3.2 The 'black dirham'

After the political and economic collapse of the central lands of the ʿAbbasid empire during the 4th/10th century, the silver *dirham* became a much debased coin with no regulated purity or weight (pl. 13.8). It had once been a pure silver coin with a regulated standard weight, which circulated freely between North Africa, Central Asia and the Baltic. Now different kinds of *dirhams* were used, each only within a limited and defined zone. Amounts of money were expressed in terms of money of account.[57] Actual payments were weighed in transactions. The number of coins being struck diminished dramatically.[58] The monetary sector of the urban economy in the core lands of the Islamic empire—northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia, Iraq and western Iran—shrank to a low the level of which may not have been experienced since Hellenistic antiquity. These local *dirhams* differed from region to region. In the narrative sources the coins are given the generic term of 'black *dirham*', *dirham aswad* (plural *darahim sud*), because of their normally dark appearance (pl. 13.8). In Egypt they were called *dirham wariq*,[59] the 'silver[ish] *dirham*'. In legal texts they were more properly identified as *darahim maghshusha*, 'debased *dirhams*'.

Islamic jurists saw the same problem of *riba* in connection with different kinds of billon coins as they saw with gold coins and gold fragments. *Dirham aswad*s from different zones of circulation might contain a different amount of silver alloy, that is, a different silver content. In a transaction, the intrinsic amount of silver in foreign *dirhams* might be unknown *(majhul)*, or the coins might be valued differently with no regard to the real content of precious metal. This would imply numerous possibilities for an unequal exchange of precious metal in a single transaction. In order to avoid *riba* and to enable commerce to take place at all, jurists allowed transactions with *dirham aswad*s only as long as they involved current *dirhams* circulating within a single zone *(ra'ij fi'l-balad)*.[60]

3.3 Billon deniers in the Crusader states

As the main means of daily transactions, the Crusader states possessed a coin which resembled the *dirham aswad* in many respects, but was European in origin—the billon *denier* (pls 13.9-13.12). When the Crusaders arrived in the Levant, the *denier* took over the role played by the local *dirham aswad* within the territories under their domination. These *deniers* were imported from seven privileged mints in Italy and France. The choice of coins which were to be imported was probably made before the Crusader advance. Most important among them were the *deniers* of Lucca in northern Italy (pl. 13.9), and of Valence in southern France (pl. 13.10).[61] The *deniers* were small, debased coins and dark in colour. Like the *dirham aswad*, their zone of circulation seems to have been restricted, here to the Crusader states on the Mediterranean coast.[62] But, in contrast to the *dirham aswad*, there seems to have been a sufficient supply of *deniers*, to judge by finds of coins and hoards.[63]

During the reign of Baldwin III, at about the same time as the introduction of the *dinar suri* in the 530s/1140s, the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli began for the first time to mint indigenous billon *deniers*. These new *deniers* were similar in appearance to the imported ones, with Baldwin's coins showing the Tower of David (pl. 13.11). They superseded all other European coins in circulation.[64] In about 562/1167, Amaury introduced a new

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[57] 'Monies of account' are coins not actually struck or struck any longer, but are used in order to determine legally amounts of money in transactions, contracts or debts. In the history of currencies, monies of account were used particularly when the weight of actual coins was not regulated, or coinages were constantly being debased. For example a payment in a contract of 100 *dinars* (of account, which determines the weight and value) could equal 104 real *dinar* coins of unregulated weight, which added up to the stipulated weight of 100 *dinars*. A modern example of a money of account is the old British guinea with a value of 21 old shillings or 105 new pence. In Britain it is still used for the purchase of racehorses in such places as Newmarket (Suffolk). It resulted from the debasement of the old gold pound coin (guinea) to the new gold pound which was lighter in weight (sovereign), first struck in 1817.

[58] This can be determined by counting the dies used for each individual issue. At the height of the ʿAbbasid empire, it is almost impossible to count the dies, even for the lesser mints. In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th century, the coins usually show only a very limited number of dies. See Noonan 1986.

[59] M Bates, 'Wariq' in *EI* Vol XI, 147.

[60] Heidemann 2002, 369-80. On the legalities of the *dirhams aswad*, see Ghazali (ed. Abu Hafs 1414/1994) Vol. II, 108-9; see as well Vol. IV, 142-4.

[61] Schulze and Schulze 2003; Heidemann 2002, 407-9; Metcalf 1995, 12-21; Matzke 1994, 1993a, 1993b; Metcalf 1984-5. Older views are to be found in Stahl 1986, 86-8.

[62] The numerous finds of imported *deniers* were all within Frankish territories with the exception of a few found during the excavations at the Citadel of Hama; Hammershaimb and Thomsen 1969, 168 nos 1236-1248 (Lucca), 1249-1252 (Valence).

[63] On Crusader coins in Palestine in general, for a brief overview see Kool 1999; Metcalf 1995; Metcalf 1989. Robert Kool, Israel Antiquity Authority, is currently preparing a thesis on coin circulation during the Crusader period.

[64] Metcalf 1995, 53-7. Metcalf 1978 (Burgey hoard).

type of *denier* depicting the Holy Sepulchre (pl. 13.12). The Amaury type was immobilised and for a long time it became the standard small coin for the Kingdom of Jerusalem—superseding the earlier Baldwin *deniers*—until at the latest 575/1179.[65] These findings suggest a strict, well-regulated regime with regard to petty coinage. There were two successive series of Amaury *deniers*, the earlier, heavy one of some 0.9g,[66] (pl. 13.12) and a lighter one, of about 0.5g. The immobilisation of *denier* types also occurred in many mints in Europe, especially in Italy and France. However, the importation of the seven preferred European *deniers* continued up to the conquest by Saladin. But the coins were imported with the intention of melting them down to be re-minted into the new coinage of the Kingdom.[67] After the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 588/1192, there was a resumption of production of Amaury *deniers* in Acre, presumably initiating the light series. The preceding series of heavier *deniers* could also have been produced in Acre. The Amaury *deniers* continued to be struck probably until the 620s-630s/1220s-1230s.[68] Dies counted for these issues run into thousands, thus providing the cities of the Latin East with abundant petty coinage.[69]

3.4 Re-emergence of copper coins in northern Syria

From the middle of the 3rd/9th century, copper coins were not in general use in the central lands of the Islamic empire. Under Saljuq rule, the former Byzantine Antioch was the only exception. A regulated local copper coinage was introduced there, probably following a Byzantine model. These issues were frequently recalled, overstruck and then newly put into circulation. This system continued unchanged in Antioch without interruption under the Crusader princes.[70] It may have been one of the models for the later copper coinage system in northern Syria.

In northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia, Armenia and the Caucasus, copper coins came back into general circulation

(and modern archeological finds) as imported anonymous Byzantine bronze '*folles*' (pl. 13. 14). These *folles* were struck in Byzantium in huge quantities between the end of the 4th/10th and the end of the 5th/11th century. Arriving perhaps in about the 420s/1030s, they slowly took over the circulation role of 'black *dirhams*'. In Byzantium, a reform in coinage abolished these *folles* within their country of origin in 485/1092. But outside the Byzantine empire, they remained in circulation, perhaps in even greater quantities than before. By the second half of the 5th/11th century 'black *dirhams*' were still being struck, but in rather limited numbers, as the only indigenous coinage. They continued to be produced until the reign of Nur al-Din Mahmud (pl. 13.8). In northern Syria Nur al-Din began to supplement the stock in circulation by imitating Byzantine copper *folles* (pl. 13.15). In northern Syria and in the Diyar Mudar (the western part of northern Mesopotamia), Byzantine *folles* remained in circulation until *ca* 570-580/1175-1185, when further reforms in copper and silver coinages occurred (see below). In literary Arabic sources these Byzantine *folles* are called *qirtas* or *qartis* (plural *qaratis*). This expression became the generic term for all coins of small denomination in Bilad al-Sham until the Mamluk period, but in the main it was used for copper coins.[71]

The year 571/1175 saw a decisive reform of the copper coinage in northern Syria and Diyar Mudar (pl. 13.16). Al-Salih Isma'il of Aleppo (who reigned 569-576/1174–1181), the son of Nur al-Din Mahmud, introduced a system by which copper coins were periodically recalled (demonetisation) and restruck, similar to the system in Antioch. Behind the system lay a fiscal purpose of indirect taxation on urban markets. The reform, together with the introduction of the new, regulated silver coins (see below), brought an end to the use of Byzantine *folles*.[72]

3.5 Re-emergence of copper coins in southern Syria

In 558/1162-3 Nur al-Din Mahmud introduced a different system of copper coins into southern Syria (pl. 13.17).[73] From the finds, this region was not included in the circulation zone of Byzantine *folles/qirtas*.[74] The system of periodic recall and

[65] The date 575/1179 is based on the finds from Vadum Jacob; Kool 2002, 81-2. See too Stahl 1986, 89-90.

[66] In Vadum Jacob 22 specimens of the heavy series were found in an archeological context sealed at the time of the conquest of the Chastelet by Saladin in October 575/1179; Kool 2002, 79-81.

[67] Metcalf 1995, 169; Glücksmann and Kool 1995; Stahl 1986, 89. Even before the Third Crusade French feudal coins seem to have reached the Levant; compare Duplessy and Metcalf 1962.

[68] On the Amaury *denier* see Metcalf 1995, 57-71 (for the dating of post-1167 esp. 57-8); Metcalf 1987, 84-92; Pesant 1980. It was previously thought that one of the two coin types of John of Brienne was also struck in Acre. For numismatic reasons this is now ruled out by Metcalf (1995, 80-5).

[69] For some estimates compare Metcalf 2001, 79.

[70] Extensive discussion about the Saljuq coinage in Antioch can be found in Heidemann 2002, 406-7, especially notes 208 and 209; see too Ilisch 1982 (the only attempt to reconstruct the sequence of Saljuq coins from Antioch). For earlier views, see Metcalf 1995, 23 and Bates 1989a, 437. On the copper coins of Crusader Antioch see Metcalf 1995, 22-30.

[71] For a discussion of the importation and circulation of these Byzantine *folles*, see Heidemann 2002, 387-422; for earlier views, see Bates 1989a, 437-8. The term of *qirtas* was used for the last time in historiographic literature by al-Maqrizi for the year 720/1321-32; Maqrizi (eds Ziyada and 'Ashur 1956-73), Vol. II/1, 205.

[72] On the reforms of the copper coinage, see Heidemann 2002, 424-39.

[73] Spengler and Sayles 1996, 62-3, type no. 74.1.

[74] Byzantine *folles* were also occasionally found in Palestine, but they may have arrived during the Byzantine rule of Antioch, or due to regular exchanges on the Levantine coast and centres of Christian pilgrimage. Most important of the finds is a group of 83 copper coins with 55 anonymous *folles* amongst them, as well as two *dirham asuud* from al-Mustansir billah (reigned 427-487/1036-1094). They form part of a hoard of scrap bronze, which included about 800 domestic objects, in a site which is presumed to have been a metal workshop. The hoard was found in 1998 on the outskirts of Tabariyya during a rescue excavation; Bijovsky 1999. No Byzantine *folles* were found

reminting of coins in order to skim tolls from urban markets was never introduced into the circulation zone of Damascus; nor did overstriking, a regular feature of coins from northern Syria, occur on Damascene coppers.

The size of the Damascene *fals* resembles Byzantine copper coins circulating in the north, but the type was different and distinctive, carrying merely inscriptions decorated with a variety of arabesques, stars and other ornamentation. The basic coin type (pl. 13.17) never changed its general appearance despite different successive rulers being named. The last issue was struck in the year 610/1213-4.[75] The term *qirtas* was also applied to these indigenous copper coins.[76] According to finds of coins, the Damascene *qirtas* struck by Nur al-Din Mahmud remained in circulation in southern Syria long after the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin.[77] The pattern of archeological finds underlines the fact that the circulation of copper coins in the north and the south were distinct. It seems clear that their circulation was controlled, if not by the authorities then by market forces. In general, regulated copper coinages tended to be overvalued in their respective zones of circulation. For example, it was possible for the administration to set their value, by allowing certain payments (for example taxes) to be made in fiduciary[78] coins. Due to economic revival and the subsequent integration of the different parts of Syria and northern Mesopotamia, copper coins from the north arrived in the south—and vice versa—in small quantities. This is reflected in archaeological finds. If they were accepted as payment outside their own zone then it is probable it was with a significant loss.[79]

in excavations at the Armenian Garden, Jerusalem, in the Erlöserkirche, in the Tyropoeon valley, in Bethany, in Emmaus/al-Qubaiba, in 'Ain Karim or Damascus. At Khirbat al-Karak, 2 *folles* of 'class K' of Alexius I were found; Delougaz and Haines 1969, 52 nos 33 and 34, pl. 47 nos 11 and 12. An imitation *follis* of Constantine X and Eudokia was found at 'Athlith, struck by Nur al-Din Mahmud; Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 126 no. 237.

[75] The year AH 610 is found on one specimen from the excavations at the Citadel in Damascus (CD2-secF-1500-m075) and on specimens found in the *faubourgs* of 'Athlith castle. One coin (in Balog 1980, no. 324), which Balog read as AH610, is in fact a coin of the type of the year AH598. For the coins from 'Athlith castle, see Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 127 nos 257-259, illustration of 257 on p. 108. See too Bates 1989a, 437.

[76] This is obvious from two passages by Abu Shama. Under the years 626/1229 and 643/1245-6, he named a coin of low value in Damascus as a '*qirtas*' and synonymously used the term *fals*, the generic Arabic word denoting any copper coin; Abu Shama (ed. al-Husaini 1947), 155, 178.

[77] Subsequent emissions circulated together. This is proved by a sealed context at the excavations in the Citadel of Damascus which included coins from the period of Nur al-Din Mahmud until that of al-'Adil Abu Bakr. Even clearer evidence is provided by coin finds at the fortress of Mount Tabor, which was built in 609/1212 and then demolished in 615/1218. The finds here include 48 *qirtas* of Nur al-Din Mahmud from Damascus; Battista and Bagatti 1976, 151-2, nos 68-115.

[78] 'Fiduciary coins' are tokens representing money. Their value is not based on metal content (gold or silver according to Islamic law) but only on market forces or administrative regulations.

[79] An exception to this rule can be seen in the export of Byzantine *folles*, which were in strong demand in the Islamic border lands because of a lack of sufficient coinage; see n. 72.

4 The regulated Ayyubid silver *dirham*

The introduction of a new copper coin system in Aleppo was not the only monetary innovation in the year 571/1175-6. In the same year, an almost pure, regulated silver *dirham* weighing about 2.80g was introduced in Zangid Aleppo (pl. 13.23) and Damascus (for the design see pl. 13.25). The latter had just come under the sway of Saladin (in Rabi' II 570/November 1174). It was the first successful attempt of this kind for almost three hundred years. But the production of the *dirham* did not reach a sufficiently high amount to satisfy circulation requirements until the 580s/1185s.[80] These new *dirhams* were the keystone of a reformed coinage system, which was much more in accordance with the demands of jurists and the exigencies of the prohibition against *riba* than the preceding one had been. Although we have no explicit statement from jurists about the coinage reforms of the Zangid and Ayyubid periods, there were no further complaints in the chronicles about contemporary coinage. *Dinar suris* could now be exchanged for silver *dirhams*, which replaced gold fragments in circulation. The *dirhams* could in turn be exchanged for copper *qirtas*, which had taken over the role of the billon coins. Abu Shama gave the exchange rate in Damascus for the year 636/1238-9, during a period of increasing prices, of one *dinar misri* being equal in value to nine *dirhams [nasiris]*.[81]

The Ayyubids mainly used two distinct designs for their *dirhams*. The 'Damascene' type (pl. 13.25) was mostly struck in southern Syrian and Egyptian mints. It had a square within a circle on each side. The 'Aleppan' type, struck mostly in northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia, had a six-pointed star (known as the 'seal of Solomon') on both sides (pl. 13.24). Both types of design circulated simultaneously without distinction, both being found together in hoards. In literary sources, in Egypt the new Ayyubid *dirham* was called *dirham nuqra*, 'silver *dirham*', and in Syria *dirham nasiri*. This last name refers to the honorific title *(laqab)* of Saladin, *al-malik al-nasir*.[82] In Egypt Saladin attempted to introduce the new silver *dirhams* in 586/1190-1.[83] The attempt failed with the *dirham wariq* being minted until the Mamluk period.[84] The failure illustrates the different monetary structures of Egypt and Syria.

[80] This hypothesis is based on the observation that *dirhams* from the 580s/1185-1195s are found much more frequently today than those from the 570s/1175-1185s; Heidemann 2002, 418-9, also Bates 1989b, 457. On this reform, see Bates 1989a, 435-6 and (outdated) Broome 1988-9; Balog 1961, 129-33.

[81] Abu Shama (ed. al-Husaini 1947), 168, Irwin 1980, 87-8.

[82] Heidemann 1994, 234-5.

[83] Al-Maqrizi gave the date for this attempt as 583/1187. But no coin is known of this early date. However, al-Maqrizi is allegedly imprecise in his references to Ayyubid monetary conditions. Balog mentions a single Egyptian *dirham* dated 585/1189-90. It was known to him only in a single unillustrated specimen. Its date seems likely to be a misreading of '(...) *sanat* (...) *wa-thama-*' as being '(...) *sanat khams*'; Balog 1980, 74-75.

[84] Balog 1961, 123-30. For the Mamluk period see Heidemann 1994, 213-5.

5 The merger of currency zones after 583/1187

5.1 Overview

583/1187-8, the year of Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem, saw the only Ayyubid gold issue ever minted in Syria and struck in Damascus. It carries Saladin's honorific title, *sultan al-islam wa 'l-muslimin* (pl. 13.7). It was the only occasion that this full title was used on Saladin's gold coins. The issue can be interpreted as one made specifically to extol the conquest. The pale and debased gold of the coins suggests that it was struck so that reminted booty and huge ransoms of *dinar suris* could be redistributed.[85] Jerusalem and parts of Palestine were integrated into the zone of circulation of Damascene petty coinage after the battle of Hattin.

If any mint in Jerusalem had still been active in the decades preceding Saladin's conquest, there is no doubt that by now it was definitively closed. The city of Jerusalem returned to what it had been—a medium-sized provincial town with no economic importance of its own. Frankish institutions, which had poured money into the city, had left; the number of Christian pilgrims, a common source of income, presumably diminished. As a subsidy, Saladin invested a third of the tax revenues of Nablus, which lay 50km to the north, in an endowment *(waqf)* for the support of the welfare of Jerusalem *(thulth iqta' nabulus 'ala masalih al-quds)*, and the city came to be seen as a drain on the resources of the principality of Damascus.[86]

5.2 Circulation of Damascene copper coins in Palestine

The evidence from finds shows that Palestine and Jerusalem saw an influx of Damascene copper coins. A substantial and significant number found in excavations in Jerusalem and Palestine were *qirtas*, minted over a long period from 558/1162-3 to 610/1213-4.[87] Many of the *qirtas* found were struck by Nur al-Din Mahmud (pl. 13.17).[88]

The question is, when did this influx occur, before or after the conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187? Up to now, no final conclusion on the date of their importation can be drawn on the basis of known hoards of coins or sealed archeological contexts. An exception may be coin finds from Vadum Jacob. This shortlived fortification allows a picture of the circulation for the year 574-75/1178-79.

A preliminary hypothesis would be that in general Damascene copper coins entered the circulation zone of *deniers* only after Saladin's conquest. The finds of Vadum Jacob demonstrate a high degree of control over the petty coinage in the Kingdom at that time, which in general excluded other coins. Twenty-two immobilised Amaury *deniers* of the heavy series (pl. 13.12) were found, but not a single example of the preceding Baldwin *deniers* or of any European coins. In this period sometime before the 585s/1190s, hoards have less than 3 percent foreign European coins.[89] *Deniers* were available in sufficient numbers in Crusader Palestine or, if not, their circulation may have been supplemented by local production and circulation of lead tokens.[90] There seems to have been no need to import Damascene copper coins. It is indeed questionable whether Damascene coins were accepted at all for official payments within the Crusader states. But nevertheless three Damascene copper coins of Nur al-Din Mahmud were found in sealed Frankish contexts in Vadum Jacob.[91] Zangid coins might have been in circulation in Vadum Jacob, but this may have been due to the siege situation or the vicinity of the principality of Damascus, and may reflect a regular practice in border territories. Also in Qaimun, south of Acre, the *qirtas* of Nur al-Din Mahmud might have entered after 1187.[92] Qaimun was returned to the Crusaders in 1192. However, recent excavations in Acre show that at least they entered the markets of the Crusader's capital.[93]

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[85] Balog 1980, 77 no. 79 and a correction of the reading by Nicol 1986, no. 79. See Bates 1989a, 430; Kraemer 1952, 52-3.

[86] See Pahlitzsch 2001, 239-40; Little 1989, 181-3; Humphreys 1977, 78-9, 93-6; Heyd 1879a I, 193; Ibn al-Furat, *Tarikh* Vol. IV/2, 92-3. I am grateful to Y Lev for this last reference.

[87] For example in Jerusalem, but see also n. 83: Miles 1985, 173-6; Lowick in Carradice 1994, 323, no. 125-6 (Dimashq AH598 and AH609); Saller 1957, 350 no. 65 (Dimashq AH569-570). For Belmont, see Metcalf 2000b, nos. 18-21. For Bethgibelin, see Kool 2007, 155.

[88] Jerusalem, Armenian Gardens, see Miles 1985, 174, nos 344-50 (7 specimens). For Ophel and Siloam—close to Jerusalem—see Gordon 1925, 185 no. 3 (misattributed to al-'Adil Abu Bakr). In the vicinity of Jerusalem, there were at least 28 specimens found at Emmaus/al-Qubaiba/Parva Mahumeria (Bagatti 1947, 165-6 nos 78-93, 175 nos 70-81; Kool 2007, 143-147) and 4 at 'Ain Karim (Bagatti 1948, 86 nos 18-22). A further example was found at Jericho (Miles 1958, 40 no. 57). In Bethgibelin R Kool detected about 60 Zangid copper *qirtas*; Kool 2007, 155.

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[89] Stahl 1986, 90.

[90] For Vadum Yacob, see Kool 2001, Kool 2002, 83-4 (4 specimens); for 'Athlith, see Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 109*-110*, 124* (11 specimens); for Bethgibelin, Kool 2007, 151-4; for Belmont Castle, see Metcalf 2000b, 84-5, and Kool 2002, 84 n. 22 (436 specimens); for Acre, see Rahmani and Spaer 1965-6, 73 (one specimen), Syon 1994-2000, Syon (forthcoming), nos. 67-70. In general, see Metcalf 1995, 306-7, with further references on lead tokens. For a different explanation of these tokens as game-counters, see Sebbane 1999.

[91] Kool (2002, 84-5) obviously made a general distinction between Damascene Zangid and Ayyubid coins, without taking into account that the Ayyubid coins are merely a continuation of the Zangid series and that they were circulating side by side. He therefore concludes that the Zangid coins found on Frankish sites must have arrived before the Ayyubid take-over of the Zangid state and the battle of Hattin, and as a consequence must have already been in circulation in Crusader Palestine before 583/1187.

[92] Kool 2005, 100-101 no. 5 (Dimashq AH 558-561). See also the *qirtas* of al-'Aziz 'Uthman (Dimashq AH 592-595); Meshorer 1996, 240-241 no. 13 (Balog 1980, nos 222, 223).

[93] Syon, forthcoming, nos. 16-41 (from Nur al-Din Mahmud to Qala'un).

5.3 Deniers *in Ayyubid Palestine*

What happened to Frankish *deniers* in Jerusalem and the newly integrated Palestinian territories? Despite the lack of conclusive archaeological data and datable hoard material, some evidence (a passage by al-Shaizari and an Ayyubid issue of *deniers*) allows an assumption that local use continued after the conquest of Jerusalem, and that the coins remained in circulation for some time. Firstly, al-Shaizari, *qadi* of Tabariyya, mentions certain *al-qaratis al-ifranjiyya*. This passage contains the sole reference in the literary sources. What are these Frankish *qaratis*? The context implies *riba* and hidden credit transactions employing coins with a silver content. It is probable that the term denotes Frankish billon *deniers*:

> With regard to the sale of gold for silver, a surplus *(tafadul)* is permitted, but delay *(nas')* [in taking possession of the coins] is forbidden *(yuharram)* and the separation [of both parties] before seizure [of both gold and silver as goods and price]. (...) And among them [those who are practising illicit credit transactions] are also those who purchase *dinars* with silver *dirhams (darahim fidda)* [meaning Ayyubid *dirhams*] or with Frankish *qirtas (al-qaratis al-ifranjiyya)* [meaning billon *deniers*], then he says to the seller: 'Assign them [the *dinars*] to me as a debtor to you in order to make you free from examining them *(naqduha)* and weighing them [for the moment] and draw them from me bit by bit.' And he [the seller] agrees with him about this practice because of the infinity of his ignorance *(jahluhu)*.[94]

Secondly, when the son of Saladin, al-ʿAziz ʿUthman (reigned 589-595/1193-1195), and his successor the brother of Saladin, al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr, ruled over Ayyubid Syria, they commissioned certain billon coins to be struck in southern Syria which resembled the old *denier* (pl. 13.13). Unfortunately, these billon coins bear neither mint nor date, nor are they known from any controlled excavation. One, however, was found in a hoard of *deniers* buried after 618/1221. 20 percent of the coins in this hoard consist of Amaury *deniers* (pl. 13.12). The success of the Ayyubid billon coins was obviously somewhat limited. Only five specimens are known today.[95] The conclusion cannot be excluded that circulation of the remaining billon *deniers* continued for an indeterminate period in order to keep up established regional commercial ties. But it seems that circulation of *deniers* was not significantly supplemented by coins coming from the Restored Kingdom. In Ayyubid Palestine, places like Emmaus/al-Qubaiba,[96] and Bait Jibrin/Bethgibelin[97] yielded a limited quantity of post-583/1187 *deniers*.[98] But, even at this place of pilgrimage with many foreign visitors, amongst the abundance of Ayyubid coins these *deniers* are rare. Al-Shaizari did not mention copper coins, although these had been in circulation in southern Syria for almost thirty years at the time he was writing. The reason for this silence might be that copper and copper coins are not *riba* commodities and therefore were not a topic for his treatise.

5.4 *Petty coinage in the remaining Crusader territories*

The next question is what happened to the petty coinage in those regions still under Crusader control after the reconstruction of the Kingdom in 588/1192. The Amaury type *denier* continued to be struck in the mint of Acre, probably until the 620s-30s/1220s-30s. In the period from the 530s/1140s to *ca* 585/1190, in hoards European *deniers* from the preferred seven mints make up less than 3 percent. Thereafter there was an increase in the numbers of *deniers* in hoards with different

Ilisch 1993, no. 181 (same specimen as in Nicol 1986); Tübingen University collection (1993-9-1; 0.48g); Album, Price List 218 (2006) no. 48892 (0.74g); one further specimen in a private collection (SB 7581; 0.85g; 17mm; 3h). Only the Tripolis hoard of French and Crusader billon *deniers* included one of these billon *deniers* of al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr; Cox 1933, 55, pl. VIII.6. The scarcity of these coins nowadays points to a brief period of minting. Production may also be related to an episode of urban unrest in Damascus in 611/1214-5, reported by Abu Shama, when al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr stopped the production of the traditional Damascene copper *qirtas* and introduced so-called *qaratis al-sud al-ʿAdiliyya*. The identity of the latter is not yet firmly established; Abu Shama (ed. al-Husaini 1974), 86, 125; Heidemann 2002, 408-10. L Ilisch proposes that these briefly struck billon coins of al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr might be his 'black *qaratis*' (by email, 8 February 2001).

96   Emmaus/al-Qubaiba. Firstly, two *Pogesi* of Acre of Henry of Champagne (reigned 588-593/1192-1197), and secondly three other *deniers* which are connected with the Third Crusade. The *Pogesi* was a debased *denier*, a small copper coin used as nearly half a standard *denier*. The name is derived from the French mint of Le Puy. For this type see: Metcalf 1995, 71-4 and Holland and Metcalf 1992-1993, 100 no. 77-8. Finds: Bagatti 1947, 163 no. 39, 40 (Pogesi of Acre), 164 no. 48 (Dijon), 174 no. 65 (Dijon), 174 no. 58 (Anjou). See also Metcalf 1968-9, 445.

97   Kool 2007, 155, mentions a single *denier* from Tripoli, dated to the 1230s.

98   Because most reports of finds of single coins make no distinction between the heavy and the light series of Amaury *deniers*, they cannot be taken as evidence. Only some distinct Crusader and European coin types are significant. There were no distinct *deniers* postdating 1192 found in the Armenian Garden in Jerusalem or in the Tyropoeon Valley. The excavation in the Church of the Redeemer yielded one French feudal coin and in Bethany, one Louis IX *denier* was found—Carradice 1994, 232 no. 121; Saller 1957, 349 no. 62. For French feudal coin types which are connected with the Third Crusade, see Metcalf 1995, 169-176 and also 1 onguet 1935 and Cox 1933. The Samos hoard (t.p.q. 1170-1185) suggests that the beginning of this import might have occurred even earlier: Duplessy-Metcalf 1962.

94   Shaizari (ed.) ʿArini 1401/1981, 74-5. For different translations, see Buckley 1999, 94-6; Irwin 1980, 93. I am grateful to Tilman Seidensticker for a discussion of the text.

95   Al-ʿAziz ʿUthman: Balog 1980, nos 199-200 (today Israel Museum nos. 6724-6725). Although the design is close to the contemporary Egyptian *dirham wariq*, its fabric as *denier* is distinct. Al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr: Balog 1980, no. 336 (British Museum); Nicol *et al.* 1982, no. 2384; Nicol 1986, 131 no. 336:

European, mostly French feudal, mints making up to an average of about 30 percent.[99] French feudal coins feature frequently in single finds as well.[100] Due to the diminished size of the Kingdom and subsequent much closer economic interaction with Ayyubid territories, finds of coins reveal that Damascene copper coins were now a common feature in the circulation of the Restored Kingdom. This is well documented in the finds from the Crusader castle of ʿAthlith.[101] The castle was constructed as late as 613-4/1217-8 and finally surrendered in 690/1291. Damascene copper coins were also found in other places dating to the Restored Kingdom.[102] However, further research on the circulation of petty coinage is still needed.[103]

6 The Frankish interlude of Frederick II

Frederick II, Roman emperor, King of Sicily and Germany, (who reigned as emperor from 617-48/1220-50) had taken the cross as the symbol for a new crusade in order to regain political sovereignty over the holy places for Christianity. He was hard pressed politically by the Pope to fulfil his pledge. He was indeed excommunicated because of the delay in the Crusade. Unwilling to waste his own military resources in such a campaign, in 625-26/1228-29 Frederick finally led the Fifth Crusade. Immediately after his arrival in Acre, he negotiated with al-Kamil Muhammad, who, at a period of severe family strife, was in turn reluctant to wage full-scale war for Jerusalem. The treaty of Jaffa dating from Rabiʿ I 626/February 1229 secured Frederick a ten-year armistice, sovereignty over Jerusalem, and the villages along the access route from Acre. However, the Haram al-Sharif, still with an Ayyubid garrison, and the surrounding villages in the district of Jerusalem, remained in Muslim hands. These villages had once been a source of income for the military orders. Under the treaty, the Muslim population was forced to leave the city,

thus further reducing economic activity. Indeed, the treaty was a much-criticised diplomatic victory for both sides. Frederick entered Jerusalem on 19 Rabiʿ II 626/17 March 1229. On the following day, in the Holy Sepulchre he 'walked under the crown' as King of Jerusalem.[104] Although following a Frankish defeat in 637/1239, the whole city of Jerusalem came once again under Ayyubid control, it was returned to the Franks in 638/1240. The political succession in Jerusalem for the following years is not well established. In the year 642/1244 the Khwarizmian army ravaged and plundered the city. This was the final loss for the Crusader Kingdom.[105]

It is remarkable for a medieval ruler in the Levant that no coin with his name from Jerusalem or from Acre bears witness to Frederick's sovereignty. He was well acquainted with the forms of royal representation in the Islamic world. The inclusion of the ruler's name into the protocol of coins *(sikka)* was proof of rulership. John of Brienne (reigned 607-22/1210-35) made this statement, when he commissioned coins at Damietta.[106] The absence of coins from Frederick seems to underline his awareness of political reality. In Jerusalem he wanted to keep as low a profile as possible in order avoid any compromising gesture towards al-Kamil Muhammad. Frederick created no obvious symbol *(sikka)* for the Islamic public that sovereignty over Jerusalem had passed into the hands of the Christian emperor. However, this argument should not be overstated, because it has to be taken into account that the production of *deniers* in the Kingdom, presumably in Acre, had ceased by about the 620s-30s/1220-30s and that immobilised types were the norm. For Frederick, the re-establishment of Christian sovereignty in Jerusalem and the security of the holy places for Christian institutions had value only in his play for power in Italy and Germany. In Sicily and southern Italy he represented himself on coins as the King of Jerusalem.[107] The Frankish interlude left no imprint on the monetary circulation, apart from stray finds of Sicilian *deniers* within Frankish territories.[108]

[99] Stahl 1986, 90.

[100] See, for example, on ʿAthlith Castle, Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 117* 122* nos 103-195. For Khirbat Shamaʿ, see Hansen and Bates 1976, 166 (two French feudal coins).

[101] ʿAthlith Castle: 22 Damascene *qirtas* from Nur al-Din Mahmud to al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr originating from the *faubourgs*; Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 106*-107*, 126*-127* nos 238-259.

[102] Tall Kaisan: Fulco 1980, 240 no. 55; Yoqneʿam (Qaimun): Meshorer 1996, 241 no. 13 (al-ʿAziz ʿUthman, *Dimashq*, AH594/595, Balog 1980, nos 222, 223). On the history of Qaimun, see Kedar 1996; for Qaisariyya: Hohlfelder 1980, 130 no. 10; Ariel 1986, 145 no. 142 for Khirbat Shamaʿ: Hansen and Bates 1976, 164-5, pl. 6.5 (9 Damascene *qirtas*, starting with one example of Saladin [acknowledging the overlordship al-Salih Ismaʿil] to those of al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr and al-Kamil Muhammad). Meyers (1985, 64) presumes the circulation of Islamic and European Crusader coins existed simultaneously.

[103] For a brief outline of the coin circulation in the Restored Kingdom, see Metcalf 1997, 194-6. However, he does not take the Damascene copper coins into account.

[104] On the question of the legitimacy of his rule as King of Jerusalem from a European point of view, see Hiestand 1996, especially pp. 143, 146-7. Frederick II could not be officially crowned because he was still excommunicated.

[105] Pahlitzsch 2001, 240-2, 260-2; Atrache 1996, 73-149; Little 1989, 183-5; Humphreys 1977, 183-4, 193-9, 202-4, 266, 274-5.

[106] Metcalf 1995, 80-5 , and Ilisch 1993 argue that these coins may have been struck in Acre as well. The coins of John of Brienne were certainly not struck in the sense of the Islamic *sikka*, that is, with the inclusion of the ruler's name in the coin protocol as proof of rulership. The immobilised coin types in the Crusader states show that they did not care about *sikka*. However, from an Islamic point of view, the existence of coins with the name of a Frankish ruler could have been perceived as proof of rulership.

[107] He used the title on his coinage in Sicily and southern Italy, see Grierson and Travaini 1998, 168-72, 177-83.

[108] For Acre: Metcalf 1975a, 148; Meshorer and Spaer 1965-66, 77; Syon, forthcoming, nos. 41-44; ʿAthlith: Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 119*-120* nos 127-138; Caesarea: Metcalf 1995, 358-9 (7 *deniers*); Metcalf and Holland 1994-9, 160-1, nos 173-6—the last two coins are later from Conrad I (reigned 1250-1254); Khirbat Shamaʿ: Hansen and Bates 1976, 166 nos R2016, R2090.

7 Jerusalem as part of the circulation zone of Damascus

In the year 610/1213-14, the last issue of the Damascene copper coins introduced more than fifty years earlier was struck. We know that in the following year, in 611/1214-15, there was a certain amount of urban unrest in Damascus with regard to *qaratis al-sud al-'Adiliyya*. It is possible that this *qirtas* is identifiable as the *denier* of al-'Adil Abu Bakr (pl. 13.13) already mentioned above, a billon coin which did not fit into the existing Ayyubid coinage system. As a billon coin, circulating with the silver *dirham nasiri*, it once again raised possibilities for violation of the prohibition against *riba*. The spokesman for the population was the Hanbalite Shaikh 'Abdallah al-Yunini (who died in 617/1221), father of the well-known chronicler, who condemned this innovation. The circulation of the Ayyubid *denier* did not meet with success (see above),[109] and the old copper coins remained in circulation. At least four copper different issues followed up to the time of the Mongol invasion.[110]

In 622/1225, al-Kamil Muhammad began to reform the coinage throughout his territories. However, literary sources do not give details, except for Egypt.[111] According to coins and finds of coins, in 622/1225 changes also occurred in southern Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Perhaps one aim of al-Kamil Muhammad's policy was the unification of petty coinages within the different circulation zones of his dominions.

—In 622/1225 and 623/1226-7, two undated types without the name of a mint were introduced. There is a smaller type (pl. 13.18)[112] and a larger one (pl. 13.19)[113] which is distinguished by a quatrefoil on both sides. Evidence from hoards and archaeological finds makes it likely that both coins were circulating in parallel in Egypt and in southern Syria.[114] The

relation of the smaller to the heavier and larger one in terms of value is not known. Both were probably minted in Cairo and imported into Syria, but Damascus should not be excluded as a possibility. In Palestine itself the coins have been found at Jerusalem,[115] 'Athlith[116] and Acre.[117]

—The next issue of copper coins again names Damascus as the mint. They were struck only in the years 631/1233-34 and 634/1237 (pl. 13.20). They were designed with a square-in-circle on both sides.[118] This type was first introduced into the northern Mesopotamian territories of al-Kamil Muhammad in the year 622/1225 in the mint of Harran, but in 631/1233-4 this type was also introduced into southern Syria.[119]

—In the year 641/1243 there followed an issue of copper coins in Damascus, much smaller in size than the preceding ones (pl. 13.21). It names al-Salih Ayyub (who reigned 636-47/1239-49). This type was struck in Damascus and in Hama. To judge by surviving specimens, the latter mint was much the more prolific.[120]

—In the year 648/1250 al-Nasir Yusuf (II) of Aleppo took over Damascus and for ten years ruled a more or less united Syria until the Mongol invasion in 658/1260. The copper coin types of al-Nasir Yusuf rarely display mint or date. For the majority of them it has been difficult up to now to determine either a respective mint or a relative sequence. The occurrence of about four coins of a certain type[121] (pl. 13.22) at the Citadel of Damascus, one at 'Athlith[122] and perhaps a further one at

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provenance, also comprises both types (Bacharach 2002, 61-2). A published area from a controlled excavation in Fustat by George Scanlon brought to light one example of the smaller type (no. 419) and three of the quatrefoil type (no. 420); Schultz 2001, 271 nos 11-14. Both types were also frequently found among the unpublished coin finds from the Fustat excavation, which were studied by Michael Bates. I am very grateful to him for this information.

[115] In Jerusalem two of the larger quatrefoil type coins were found in the Armenian Garden; Miles 1985, 173 nos 342. A further example was found at Ophel and Siloam; Gordon 1925, 187 no. 6 (misattributed, but see the illustration).

[116] Another example of the quatrefoil type was excavated, together with the smaller type at 'Athlith; Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 128* nos 262, 263.

[117] Syon (forthcoming) no 33.

[118] The research on the copper coin hoard mentioned in n. 114 above shows that this type was minted only in Damascus during these two years. All the other dates mentioned in Balog (1980) for the Damascus mint are misinterpretations of the same marginal legends, which are never completely legible on a single specimen.

[119] For finds of this type in Palestine—see Jerusalem: Miles 1985, 175 no. 342; Hammat Ghadir: Amitai-Preiss and Berman 1997, 303 no. 3; Khirbat Shama': Hansen and Bates 1976, 165 no. R520; 'Athlith: Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 128 nos 264-267.

[120] For the *fals* of Damascus, see Heidemann 2003c, 185, no. 315; 3 further specimens in a private collection SB7265 (the only specimen with a clearly legible 'Dimashq') and 2 further specimens (SB7266, 7267). So far, none of the coins known has a legible date, but AH641 can be presumed with confidence from the parallel and much more frequent dated Hama issue; Balog 1980, no. 566 and Korn 1998, nos 101-105. On the historical context for this issue, see Humphreys 1977, 272-3. One coin of this type either from the issue of Damascus or from Hamah was found in Tall Shaikh Sa'd; Militký and Novak 2002, 46 no. 283.

[121] Nicol 1986, no. 782b.

[122] Metcalf, Kool and Berman 1999, 129* no. 278.

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[109] See n. 95.

[110] The sequence of Ayyubid coin types from Damascus will be discussed in detail in the excavation report of the Citadel of Damascus currently being prepared by the present author.

[111] Bates (1989a, 433-4, 439) concentrates on Egypt. Allouche (1994, 67-8), Cahen (1981) and Rabie (1972, 177-84) use only literary evidence with a passing reference to Egypt. Balog 1977 describes the new copper coin types.

[112] Balog 1980, nos 416-19.

[113] Balog 1980, nos 420-21.

[114] One coin of the larger type (CD5.1-1070-m004) and one of the smaller type (CD8-1996-m011) were found in the Citadel of Damascus. In addition, a hoard of some 350 copper coins is preserved in a private collection. These were studied by the author in 2003. The latest issue represented in it, that of al-Salih Ayyub, is dated to the year 641/1243. The majority of this hoard comprises copper coins of al-Kamil Muhammad from Damascus dated 631/1233-34 and 634/1237-37. From its composition, the hoard is obviously southern Syrian in origin. The quatrefoil type is represented by 33 specimens and the smaller type by 9 specimens. Paul Balog (1977) suggests the mint in Cairo for both types. The Amin Awad collection, consisting of finds from Fustat with no archaeological

'Ain Karim,[123] allows a preliminary conclusion that this coin type was current in southern Syria and Damascus, and was minted there as well. This was probably the last copper issue minted in Damascus before the advance of the Mongols. However, for the last ten years of Ayyubid rule the picture of the circulation of copper coins in southern Syria is far from being complete.

8 The importation of silver from Europe

The establishment of the Restored Kingdom of Jerusalem, with its capital and main entrepôt at Acre,[124] began a period of unprecedented economic exchange with Europe. Despite a severe reduction in territory, there followed significant economic growth in the Kingdom and in the Ayyubid confederation. The success of the introduction of silver *dirhams* (pls 13.24, 13.25), beginning in the year 571/1185, would have been impossible without massive importation of European silver. On one hand, this silver provided the material basis for the coin circulation. The ready availability of coins provided the economy of Syria with the necessary means of exchange, easing commercial transactions and allowing much more efficient taxation. On the other hand, the influx of silver can be interpreted as a strong European demand for goods from Syria—cotton, ceramics, glass and so on. Demand stimulated production. This was crucial for the economic revival of the urban economies and growing cities in Syria, and thus also created incentives for an increase in agricultural production.

In the second half of the 6th/12th century, rich new silver mines were discovered in Saxony (Freiberg), Styria and Carinthia in the region of the Alps.[125] The north Italian mercantile republics, Venice,[126] Pisa and Genoa, exported this silver into the Levant.[127] The trade policy of the Italian republics had become largely independent of the Crusader states' politics of war. It was the importation of silver that made Saladin's reform of the coinage a success.[128] An increase in the production of Ayyubid *dirhams* during the 580s/1185s can be discerned. We have only scant literary data on this early silver trade. The

earliest documentary evidence is a treaty between Venice and the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, dating to the year 598/1201. The privileges were renewed in 643/1245. The Venetians were granted immunity from taxation on the import of gold and silver into the Kingdom of Armenia, except when these precious metals were imported for the purpose of minting, in which case the Venetians had to pay the same fee as they did for their minting in Acre.[129] But in all known cases their influence went beyond the privileged access to the mint. They were probably able to determine a suitable coin design for the purpose of interregional trade. In Cilicia they probably commissioned an immobilised imitation of the Egyptian *dinars* of Saladin.[130] In 604/1207-8, Venice concluded another treaty with the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, al-Zahir Ghazi (who reigned 582-613/1186-1216), regarding privileged access to the Aleppan mint. The Venetians were entitled to bring in silver bullion in order to strike coins for a preferential fee (seigneurage) of 5 percent.[131]

Later the coins themselves give hints as to the import of silver. From the year 613/1216, after the death of al-Zahir Ghazi, it is obvious that again an immobilised Ayyubid 'Aleppan' coin type (pl. 13.26)—posthumously naming al-Zahir Ghazi—was struck in parallel with the regular Ayyubid Aleppan series, which named the actual hierarchy of power. The dates for this immobilised type run without interruption to the year 630/1232-33 with a single final issue—at least according to present knowledge—in the year 638/1240-41. This immobilised *dirham* is a regular feature in Ayyubid coin hoards from the first third of the 7th/13th century.[132] It may be connected with the privileges granted to the Venetians which have already been mentioned. The production of these coins allowed the Venetians and other European merchants easy access to markets within Ayyubid territories.[133]

The model for a second and even more successful immobilised *dirham* type (pl. 13.28) is a *dirham* from the years 638/1240-1 to 640/1242-43 struck by al-Salih Isma'il of Damascus (whose second reign ran from 637/1245 to 643/1249). The first types of the immobilised series are known for the years 641/1243-44, 643/1246, 644/1246-47 and perhaps also 647/1249-50. In contrast to the 'Aleppan' type, the dates on the 'Damascene' type may be fictitious. Differences in style and some formulae show that this immobilised type is unlikely to have been

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[123] Bagatti 1948, 86 no. 25.

[124] For the economic growth of Acre see Jacoby 1998.

[125] Spufford 1988, 109-19.

[126] On the export of German precious metal to Venice see especially Stahl 2000, 128, 129, 131; Fryde and Stromer 1999, 44.

[127] See also Stahl 1986, 97-8. He estimated that about 1 million kilograms of silver in coins and bullion left Europe with the Crusaders for their own sustenance. In addition there was the direct import of silver for commercial purposes, which is dealt with here.

[128] Bates 1989b, 458; Spufford 1988, 148-52; Robbert 1983, 53-4. Saladin made his first contract with the Venetians in Egypt in 1173, but the details of this agreement are unknown; Rösch 1999, 240; Labib 1965, 25. Pisa also negotiated with Egypt in 1173; Ashtor 1976, 240; Labib 1965, 25, 30; Heyd 1879a II, 438-9.

[129] Metcalf 2000a, 210; Bedoukian 1979, 27-8, 45; Schlumberger 1878, 137. See the documents of 1201 and 1245 in Sopracasa 2001, 19-38, especially 27 and 36.

[130] Ilisch 2005 identified an imitation of *dinars* of Saladin as the Armenian *bezant*. The same coin is also published in Ilisch 1993, 38 no. 425, with a different attribution.

[131] Pozza 1990, 26-39; Tafel and Thomas 1856, 62-6; Irwin 1980, 38; Heyd 1879b II, 293-4.

[132] See for example Metcalf 1995, 104.

[133] Metcalf 1995, 100-1; Bates 1989b, 460-4, 471 (he counted 94 obverse and 110 reverse dies); Bates 1974, 402-6. As a possible political environment for this last, rather isolated, issue, Bates saw a short-lived alliance between the Crusaders and al-Salih Isma'il; Humphreys 1977, 265-9.

struck in Damascus, as the legend on the coin pretends. The mint for the 'Damascene' type was probably Acre, which is mentioned on some less important sub-series with Christian devices and dated AD 1251(pl. 13.27).[134] From the above mentioned document of 643/1245, we also know about the importation of silver and the privileged access of the Venetians to the mint in Acre.[135] Abu Shama and other Arab chroniclers call the Frankish imitation coin the 'everlasting or permanent *dirham*', *dirham baqi*—a name suitable for an immobilised type.[136]

Late in the year 647/spring 1250, Bishop Odo of Châteauroux arrived in Acre, accompanying the Crusade of Louis IX of France. He was upset about coins minted in Acre with the Muslim creed and date, that is the *dinar suri* and the immobilised 'Damascene' type, the *dirham baqi*. The year of his arrival coincides with the last Islamic date found on the imitation coins, if the blundered dates have been correctly deciphered. Odo wrote to Pope Innocent IV (who reigned 641-52/1243-54) and in a letter dated 12 February 1253 (pl. 13.29), the Pope replied by prohibiting the use of the Muslim creed and date on '*bisantiis et drachmis* made by Christians in Acre and Tripoli'.[137] Production was continued but now in a series which, although Ayyubid in style, contained Christian inscriptions and the date '1251' (pl. 13.27). However, the series was short-lived; it obviously did not meet with much success in circulation. From 650-1/1253 onwards the old type of al-Salih Ismaʿil was resumed, but the immobilised *dirhams* of this late sub-series carry the fixed date of AD '1253' in Arabic, and the central inscription became barely legible (pl. 13.28). This '1253' sub-series was struck in enormous quantities,[138] continuing perhaps up to the Mongol invasion of 658/1260. Hoards of coins which were buried during the years of the Mongol wars contain between 9 percent and 45 percent of these imitative *dirhams*.[139] The scholar Abu Shama, a critical observer of the situation in Damascus, noticed their huge circulation and made them—erroneously—responsible for inflation and economic hardship after the withdrawal of the Mongols.[140]

The immobilised 'Damascene' coin type in a standard quality, produced in Acre, suggests a contractual agreement as a legal basis for its production and its circulation in Ayyubid territory as in the earlier 'Aleppan' case. One party would have been al-Salih Ismaʿil, named on the coin, the other would probably have been Venice or any other Italian city-state importing silver.[141] However, only Venice is known to have been engaged in the production of precious metal coins in the Levant. From medieval Central Europe treaties between states are known which entitled one state to produce coins of another with a defined quality and usually with an immobilised design in order to have access to the common circulation zone. Such a treaty would have allowed the importing party the production in Acre and the importation of the prescribed coin type, known as *dirham baqi*. However, there is in this case no literary or documentary evidence for such a treaty, only factual numismatic data. The pieces of evidence are the existence and abundance of these coins themselves, their immobilisation and the name *baqi* (perpetual, everlasting), which fits the Central European model. Contractual agreements in monetary matters are known with Armenia in 598/1201 and 643/1245 and the one with Aleppo in 604/1207-8, allowing in both cases only a privileged access to the mint. These treaties suggest—and this is the argument here—that questions of access to the money circulation in Cilician and Ayyubid markets were a matter of treaties between states. The possibility for such a suggested treaty or privilege for the 'Damascene' *dirham baqi* may have occurred in the political environment of the short-lived alliance between the Crusaders in Acre and al-Salih Ismaʿil against Ayyubid Egypt in 641/1244.[142] Almost nothing is known about the details of the legal relation between the royal prerogative to mint coins in the Kingdom and the legal nature of the minting activities of the Venetians in Acre. The treaties with the Armenian Kingdom suggest that they at least possessed a privileged access to the royal mint.[143]

The end of 658/1260 saw the peak of the economic crisis after the Mongol withdrawal.[144] As a cure for the severe inflationary trend, in Damascus the *dirham baqi* and the old

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[134] Metcalf 1995, 103.

[135] Schlumberger 1878, 137. The economic importance of Acre becomes evident from the figure of 50,000 pounds sterling of silver as an annual tax given by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, who visited the east in 1240-1241; Riley-Smith 1973, 64.

[136] For a detailed discussion of the 'Damascene' type, see Bates 1974 (a groundbreaking study); Metcalf 1995, 101-4; Bates 1989b, 464-73. For a discussion on the *dirham baqi* and the erroneous economic assumptions in connection with the *dirham baqi* of the theologian see Abu Shama (ed. al-Husaini 1947), 211; Heidemann 1994, 236-7, 247-51; Bates 1989b, 471-3. In Heidemann 1994, 236 n. 10, Lutz Ilisch commented that in medieval Germany contractual money minted by member states was permitted to circulate between all parties. These contractual coins were frequently called the 'Ewiger Pfennig' or 'denarius perpetuus', translatable as 'everlasting or permanent penny'. *Dirham baqi* is in substance a translation of the name and concept. For older views, see Irwin 1980, 94-6. On the Armenian documents see n. 129.

[137] Berger 1897, 176 no 6336. Lavoix 1877, 52-3.

[138] Michael Bates counted 142 obverse and reverse dies; Bates 1989b, 471. Usually the Ayyubid mints had significantly less than ten pairs of dies per year.

[139] Heidemann 1994, 249 n. 32.

[140] See n. 136.

[141] The Kingdom of Jerusalem can probably be excluded because the large scale of silver imports connected with this coinage could only be conducted by one of the importers.

[142] Heidemann 1994, 236-7, 247-251; Bates 1989b, 465-73. For this alliance, see Humphreys 1977, 274 and Lupprian 1982. The nature of a commercial relation between Venice and Damascus might have prevented its entry into Latin and Arabic chronicles.

[143] See the '*livre au roi*', chapter 16; paragraphs 3 and 6 deal with the royal prerogative of minting coins and forbid the counterfeiting/striking of *bezants* by feudal lords. In turn, it can be argued that the immobilized *bezants*, struck with gold imported by the Venetians, and probably the *dirham baqis* too, were seen as royal money: Greilsammer 1995, 179-181. A Genoese document dated November 1161 clearly identifies '*bisancios aureos saraccnatos de moneta regis*' as royal money: Morozza della Rocca-Lombardo 1940, no. 154.

[144] For the Mongol raids in Palestine, see Amitai 1987, 236-42.

dirham nasiri were recalled from circulation. A new kind of *dirham*, but similar in appearance to the previous issue, was released into circulation by the usurper Sanjar al-Halabi (who reigned 658-59/1260-61). This was the 'new dirham', the *dirham jadid* (plural *darahim judad*). At the same time al-Zahir Baibars introduced the *dirham zahiri* in Cairo. When Baibars' *amirs* expelled Sanjar al-Halabi from Damascus only a couple of weeks later, this coin was introduced into Damascus. The early *dirham zahiri* depicts Baibars' blazon, a pacing lion. The production of the *dirham zahiri* lasted for almost one and a half centuries, and opened a new chapter in the monetary history of Syria and Palestine.[145]

9 Summary

The Levant connected European and western Asian economic developments during the Zangid and Ayyubid periods. The region is a key to an understanding of the political and economic recovery of the core lands of the much fragmented Islamic empire. Economic growth was supported by the development of coinages. In a nutshell, the circulation of coins in Palestine and Jerusalem reflects not only the transformation of the currencies during the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century in western Asia, but also the encounter of different monetary traditions—those of Europe and the Islamic empire. The Zangid and Ayyubid periods saw the re-emergence of an urban monetary economy. From the 5th/11th century onwards, Islamic jurists complained about the degenerated monetary system inherited from the early Islamic empire at its height. The system allowed numerous opportunities for illegitimate gain, or *riba*, prohibited by the *shari'a*, Islamic law, through the use of different kinds of debased silver coins (pl. 13.8) and gold *dinars* (pls 13.1-13.3). In addition the latter were frequently cut into fragments (pls 13.4, 13.5). The coinage reforms of the Zangid and Ayyubids appear to reflect these juridical concerns. A coinage system was created which reduced the probability of violating the prohibition of *riba* in daily life, and at the same time provided the economy with sufficient physical means for exchange, that is coins. This would not have been possible without commercial ties with Europe and its newly discovered silver mines in Saxony and the region of the Alps. The amounts of silver imported by the Italian city republics and their representatives in the Crusader states are most apparent in the Ayyubid currencies themselves.

In the pre-Crusader period and during the first half of the 6th/12th century, Palestine was merely an importer of foreign high-value gold coins from Egypt and Byzantium. Sometime in the late 535s/1140s, the Levant under the

Crusaders became the most prolific producer of gold coins for circulation in Syria and northern Mesopotamia. It is likely that the gold bullion was mostly imported by Italian merchants. The minted coin was called *dinar suri* or *bicantius saracenatus*, and presumably was struck mainly in Acre, Tripoli and Tyre (pl. 13.3). Its production continued after the fall of Jerusalem at least until the 650s/1250s, and it remained the standard gold coin for Syria and Palestine until the end of the 7th/13th century.

Urban economy depends on the availability of small coins for daily purchases. The petty coinage in the Crusader Levant consisted of billon *deniers*. These *deniers* were imported from seven privileged mints in France and Italy (pls 13.9, 13.10). Sometime around the 530s/1130-40s, indigenous billon *deniers* began to be produced in most Crusader states (pl. 13.11). After the fall of Jerusalem in 583/1187, the production of *deniers* for the Kingdom continued in Acre. The Frankish billon *denier* in many ways resembles the billon *dirham aswad* (pl. 13.8), the standard indigenous small coin in Egypt, Syria and northern Mesopotamia. The *denier* and the different types of *dirham aswad* only circulated in their own respective, rather limited, zones.

The next decade saw a major change in the currencies in Islamic Syria. In 558/1162-3, Nur al-Din Mahmud successfully introduced a copper coin in Damascus known as *qirtas* (pl. 13.17). The *dirham aswad* slowly disappeared from circulation. For Jerusalem and Palestine the major change probably occurred after the conquest by Saladin. Jerusalem and parts of Palestine became integrated into the circulation zone of Damascene copper coins (pls 13.17-13.22). But the old billon *denier* (pl. 13.12) may have continued in circulation for a couple of decades as a medium for local exchange with neighbouring Crusader territories.

Twelve years before the fall of Jerusalem, in 571/1175-6, when Saladin was advancing from Egypt, an almost pure, weight-regulated silver *dirham* was successfully introduced into northern and southern Syria (pls 13.23-13.25). It was the first coin to be so regulated for some three hundred years. During the next fifty to sixty years, similar silver coinages were introduced all over western Asia. The success of the far-reaching reforms was due to the importation of European silver by northern Italian republics into the Levant, mainly from Saxony and the region of the Alps (pls 13.26-13.28). A further factor in this importation of European silver was a strong demand for goods from Syria and their export, which fostered economic growth both in Ayyubid Syria and in Europe. While the whole Syrian region prospered, economic development in Jerusalem was neglected because of political circumstances.

[145] Heidemann 1994, 222-3, 247-55.

Gold coins

Pl. 13.1 Fatimid, al-ʿAziz billah, *dinar maghribi* or *misri*, Misr (Cairo), 368/978-9.
Oriental Coin Cabinet, Jena 401-H6. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.2 Byzantium, Michael VII, *histamenon nomisma* or *michaelaton* (Constantinople, 464-470/1071-1078).
Private collection. Photograph © A Günther and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.3 *Dinar suri* (Acre or Tyre, c. 588/1192 to 647-8/1250).
Balog and Yvon 1958, 151 no. 29; see Metcalf 1995, nos 136-141.
Private collection SB 0174. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.4 Fatimid, al-Mustansir billah (427–487/1036–1094), *qurada* (fragment of quarter-*dinar*, Sicily).
Citadel of Damascus CD2-secC-m162. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.5 Byzantium, Romanus III (419–425/1028–1034), *qurada* (fragment of a *histamenon nomisma*, Constantinople).
Citadel of Damascus CD2-secA-1837-m128. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.6 Saladin, *dinar misri*, Cairo, 586/1190-1.
Balog 1980, no. 46.
Private collection SB 4979. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.7 Saladin, *dinar*, Damascus, 583/1187-8.
Balog 1980, no. 79.
Samir Shamma Collection, Oxford, published with kind permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum. Photograph © L Treadwell.

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Billon coins
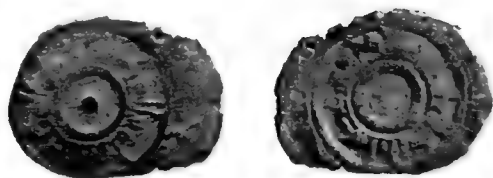
Pl. 13.8 Zangid, Nur al-Din Mahmud, *dirham aswad*, (Aleppo, 541-555/1146-1160).
Private collection SB 2432. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.
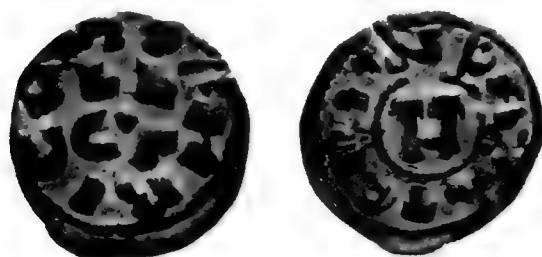
Pl. 13.9 *Denier*, Lucca, *c.* 12th century.
After Metcalf 1995, nos. 9-14.
Private collection SB 7257. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.10 *Denier*, Valence, *c.* 12th century.
Metcalf 1995, nos 22-23.
Private collection SB 7261. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.11 Kingdom of Jerusalem, Baldwin III, *denier* (Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre?, 1143-*ca.* 1167).
Metcalf 1995, nos 159-164 (Group 4, smooth series).
Private collection SB 7255. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.12 Kingdom of Jerusalem, Amaury, *denier* (Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre?, *ca.* 1167–*ca.* 1187).
Metcalf 1995, nos 169–174.
Private collection SB 7256. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.
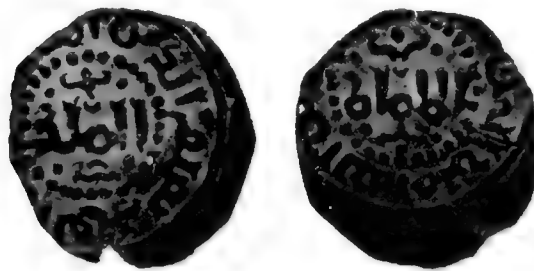
Pl. 13.13 Ayyubid, al-ʿAdil Abu Bakr, *denier* (Syrian mint, Damascus ?, *c.* 611?–618/1214–5?–1221).
Ilisch 1993, no. 182.
University Collection Tübingen CC6-B4. Photograph © L Ilisch.

Copper coins

Pl. 13.14 Byzantine Empire, Constantine X and Eudokia (1059–1067), *follis/qirtas* (Constantinople).
Morrisson 1970, no. 51/Cp/AE/01.
Private collection SB. Photograph © S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.15 Zangid, Nur al-Din Mahmud, *qirtas* (Aleppo?, 541-569/1150-1174).
Hennequin 1985, no. 603-29.
Private collection SB 1228. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.
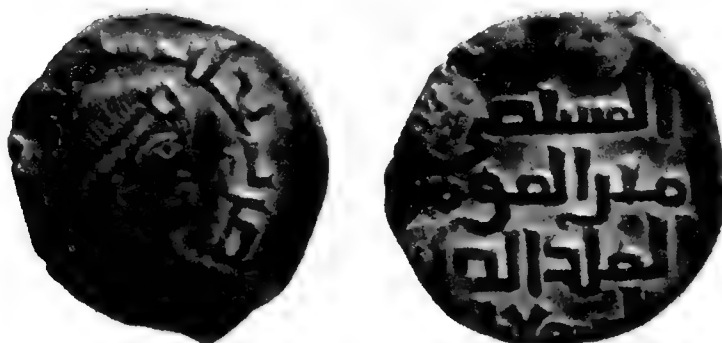
Pl. 13.16 Zangid, al-Salih Isma'il, *fals*, Aleppo, 571/1175-6.
Spengler and Sayles 1996, 71-3 type 76.
Oriental Coin Cabinet, Jena, inv. no. 353-B1. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.17 Zangid, Nur al-Din Mahmud, *qirtas*, Damascus, 558/1162-3.
Spengler and Sayles 1996, 62-3, type no. 74.1.
Private collection SB 1235. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.18 Ayyubid, al-Kamil Muhammad, *qirtas* (Cairo or Damascus, 622–623/1225–1226).
Balog 1980, nos 416–417.
Private collection SB 7005. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.19 Ayyubid, al-Kamil Muhammad, *qirtas* (Cairo or Damascus, 623–631/1226–1234).
Balog 1980, no. 420.
Private collection SB 7010. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.20 Ayyubid, al-Kamil Muhammad, *qirtas*, Damascus (631, 634/1233–4, 1236–7). Balog 1980, nos 464–465.
Private collection SB 4442. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.21 Ayyubid, al-Salih Isma'il, *qirtas*, Damascus (641/1243–4). Heidemann 2003c, 185 no. 315.
Private collection SB 7265. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.22 Ayyubid, al-Nasir Yusuf II, *qirtas* (Damascus ?, 648-658/1250–1260).
Nicol 1986, no. 782b.
Private collection SB 5387. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Silver dirhams

Pl. 13.23 Zangid, al-Salih Isma'il, *dirham*, Aleppo, 571/1175-6.
Oriental Coin Cabinet, Jena inv. no. 2001-1-1 (gift of R Bettenhausen).
Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.24 Ayyubid, Saladin, *dirham*, Aleppo, 583/1187-8. Balog 1980, no. 133.
Private collection SB 0800. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.25 Ayyubid, al-Kamil Muhammad, *dirham nasiri*, Damascus, 616/1218-19. Balog 1980, no 425.
Oriental Coin Cabinet, inv. no, 1993-2-123. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.26 *Dirham*, 'Aleppo' [mint unknown, Aleppo or Acre?], 620/1223-4. Balog 1980, no. 639; Metcalf 1995, no. 217.
Private collection SB 7253. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.27 *Dirham*, Acre, AD 1251, with Christian devices. Metcalf 1995, no. 229.
Private collection SB 2265. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.28 *Dirham baqi*, 'Damascus' (Acre), AD 1253 in Arabic. Metcalf 1995, no. 233-9.
Private collection SB 7254. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Pl. 13.29 Innocent IV, lead seal for the authentication of documents.
Private collection SB 1221. Photograph © K Gutberlet and S Heidemann.

Chapter 14
THE AYYUBID AQSA: DECORATIVE ASPECTS

Robert Hillenbrand

There are several possible approaches to the study of the Aqsa mosque in Ayyubid times. They include the architectural, the archaeological and the epigraphic. Instead of adopting any one of these, the present chapter will focus on two closely related topics: first, the re-use of alien material *(spolia)* in a context for which it was not originally designed, and secondly, after a brief glance at the Aqsa portico, the applied decoration that the mosque acquired in this period in a bid to re-assert its Islamic identity.

Spolia: general considerations

It is a truism that many cultures have practised the use of *spolia*, and for many reasons. The cases of Rome[1] and, more generally, of medieval Italy[2] quickly come to mind. In the Islamic world, the re-use of earlier material in early medieval Spain, though sufficiently well known, is illuminating, and it may serve as an introduction to the subject of *spolia* in the Haram al-Sharif, especially the Aqsa mosque. The enormous sanctuary of the Great Mosque of Cordoba has its roof supported through the intermediary of hundreds of columns removed from Christian and Roman buildings.[3] That might well have been a purely practical solution to a pressing problem of construction. But the story that some of its lamps were Christian bells brought back as booty by al-Mansur in 997 from the great pilgrimage church of Santiago de Compostella, and hung in inverted fashion, while the leaves of that city's gates were re-used in the mosque to form part of the roofing of newly added sections,[4] raises quite different considerations. While captured Christian bells from Spain were melted down to provide material for Muslim lamps

in the Qarawiyyin mosque in Fez,[5] the Cordoban bells were not melted down but recovered by Ferdinand III after his capture of Cordoba in 1236.[6] They were then carried back to Santiago by Moorish prisoners.[7] But the message of domination comes across clearly enough, and is driven home by the account of how al-Mansur used Christian captives for the huge extension of the mosque.[8] Cases of such symbolism could be multiplied; in much the same spirit Alfonso VI of Castile placed his throne on the tomb of the Muslim ruler al-Mansur when receiving an embassy from the Banu Hud of Saragossa.[9] And, still in the Spanish context, the horizon could be broadened still further to embrace the use of minarets as bell-towers and the conversion of churches into mosques and vice versa.

At the other end of the Muslim world, in the Indian sub-continent, the use of *spolia* by Muslims in the early period of their rule became habitual. The most celebrated case, documented by a contemporary Persian inscription, records that the Quwwat al-Islam mosque in Delhi (1192) was constructed 'from the ruins of 27 idol temples'.[10] It is telling that some of the most extensive uses of *spolia*, in time as well as in space, occur in the context of protracted inter-confessional struggles: in Spain, in India and in Palestine. Moreover, evidence from the Yemen shows that *spolia* from pre-Islamic times were in frequent use in the early centuries of Islam.[11] Nor, as we shall shortly see, should the discussion be confined to the context of architecture.

[1] Claussen 1996, cols 843a-845a.
[2] Esch 1969, 1-64; Settis 1984-6, 375-86.
[3] Ewert and Wisshak 1981, *passim*. Theirs is the first detailed attempt to discuss the columns of the mosque.
[4] Lévi-Provençal 2, 1999, 250.
[5] Maqqari I, 2002, 501.
[6] Maqqari II, 2002, 501.
[7] Dodds 1992, 18.
[8] Lévi-Provençal 3, 1999, 394. For the use of Christian captives see Maqqari I, 2002, 228: 'the addition built by Al-Mansur ... being rendered still more meritorious by the circumstance of Christian slaves from Castile and other infidel countries working in chains at the building instead of the Moslems, thus exalting the true religion and trampling down polytheism.'
[9] Lévi-Provençal 2, 1999, 256.
[10] Horovitz 1914, 13.
[11] Finster 1978, 100 and n.34, 125-32 and Taf. 50-69; Finster 1980, 492-500.

Possible motives for using *spolia*

(a) Introductory comments

It is now time to investigate the possible motive forces for the use of *spolia* in an Islamic context. Often enough, no doubt, as in the case of the hundreds of columns at the Cordoba Mosque, simple pragmatism—the need to decorate the mosque expensively but also quickly, and to do so at minimum cost—could be a major motive force, though not necessarily the only one. But other possibilities present themselves. They include the lure of the exotic; the desire to display; the politico-religious aim to islamise such material; a frank delight in its intrinsic beauty; and its symbolic potential. Some of these motives fit somewhat uneasily with each other even if they are not frankly contradictory; all of them apply, for example, to the richly carved classical arch incorporated into the main gateway at Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi,[12] and one has only to note how everything competes for attention on the *qibla* wall of the Aqsa mosque. It is worth looking at some of these drivers in a little more detail.

(b) Exotica

Let us begin with the exotic. The griffin of Pisa, the largest of all Muslim free-standing sculptures, was a piece of war booty that for centuries proudly crowned the west front of Pisa cathedral.[13] But even though it is used in an architectural setting, as indeed are the brightly glazed Islamic pottery dishes *(bacini)* mortared into the walls of many Tuscan churches, elegant grace notes for the simple brickwork,[14] it does not really qualify as

a *spolium*. Better examples, and ones in which a triumphalist motive may be discerned, are the Pharaonic sculptures that were laid on the threshold of certain Mamluk mosques[15] or the fragments of the lingam of Shiva from Somnath brought back to Ghazni by Sultan Mahmud to form steps both to his own palace and to the city's Friday mosque; and he sent other fragments to Mecca and Medina for similar purposes.[16] In Hama Frankish columns were used upside down.[17] Perhaps the most significant and well-known example of this kind is the Gothic portal of St John of Acre that was dismantled and re-erected on the façade of the funerary *madrasa* of al-Nasir Muhammad in Cairo, with the addition of the word 'Allah' in the top cusp of the hood, and a two-line Arabic inscription above the lintel.[18] Thus the Aqsa *spolia* fit comfortably into a well-established tradition.

(c) Display

But there were other European responses to Islamic luxury objects, and one of them might be termed the museum motive. This is where the notion of display comes into its own. The pulpit of the Ottonian emperor Henry II in Aachen is so studded with such objects—in rock crystal, precious metal and glass—that it is effectively a museum of alien artefacts.[19] And remarkably enough, the *qibla* wall of the Ayyubid Aqsa mosque provides an Islamic parallel for this. Despite the examples cited above, earlier Islamic architecture provides no satisfactory parallels for the large-scale and proclamatory use of *spolia* at the Aqsa mosque, which suggests that this emphasis was a deliberate act of policy.

One of the most striking aspects of the use of *spolia* in the Aqsa mosque[20] (pls LXIX-LXXI and LXXIII-LXXIV) relates to the location of these elements in what was after all a huge mosque which offered lots of space for their display. Yet this ample display space is largely wasted. Most of the

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[12] Creswell 1969, 1/2, pl. 87d.

[13] Jenkins 1982, 79-81.

[14] Berti and Torre 1983; n.a. 1996. Other Islamic objects were re-used in more subtle ways but their exotic quality was still a potent factor. A good example is a cut glass cup from eastern Iran, probably of the 10th century, in the treasury of St Mark's, Venice. It imitates a rarer material and is given added value by its lavish Western mounting (Shalem 1995, 65-8). Many Islamic rock crystal containers, popularly believed by medieval Europeans to be made of magically congealed ice and to symbolise the mystery of the Virgin Birth, were elaborately remounted in Europe to serve as containers for relics, notably the blood of Christ. An example is La Grotta della Vergine, again in Venice (Shalem 1996, 223-4). An Islamic enamelled glass pilgrim bottle made in 13th-century Syria and now preserved in St Stephen's church in Vienna is allegedly filled with earth from Bethlehem saturated with the blood of the Innocents, whose massacre occurred on the day of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr (Shalem 1996, 238-9). A glass beaker of similar type known as the Luck of Edenhall was obsessively preserved for centuries in the keeping of a noble English family, for it had acquired the legend that the fortunes of that family would last only as long as it remained intact (for a discussion and brief bibliography, see Shalem 1996, 241). The so-called Veil of St. Anne in Apt, in southern France, is nothing of the kind; the prosaic fact is that it is a cloth inscribed with the names of a late 11th-century caliph and vizier (Marçais and Wiet 1934, 177-94). These, then, are merely a random sample of objects from the Islamic world whose workaday meanings were transformed and heightened by European credulity, ignorance and love of the exotic.

[15] Rogers 1976, 67; cf. Meinecke-Berg 1985, 153-9.

[16] Haig 1928, 25.

[17] Herzfeld 1943, 46-7; he cites (47) two further examples of this practice. The first is the comment of Baha al-Din ibn Shaddad: 'Saladin turned the cross that was on the Kubbat al-Sakhra in Jerusalem upside down, *nakkasa*, it was enormously large, and Allah made Islam triumph by his hands, an overwhelming victory.' The second is the use of reversed columns at the end of the second millennium BC, in Assur, as trophies of victory.

[18] Behrens-Abouseif 2007, 154. For a close-up colour plate, see Kotzur 2004, 144, Abb. 74, and Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller 2005, 252, Abb.149; for its wider context in that façade, see *ibid.*, 91, Abb. 52.

[19] These themes were taken up by Professor James Allan in an unpublished lecture at the Smithsonian in 2005, entitled 'Metalwork in Iraq in Early Islamic Times', which revealed the wide horizons of this masterpiece (for a brief report, see Kolb 2005, 19). See also Allan 1994a, 46-8. For a general discussion of this pulpit, see Doberer 1957 (I am grateful to Professor James Allan for this reference).

[20] For a good survey of the indisputably Crusader material in this assemblage, see Folda 1995 441-52, a study of the Templar workshop which extends to the material in the Dome of the Rock; see also Jacoby 1992.

pieces are closely packed together in three areas, namely the *qibla* wall, the *mihrab* of Zakariyya (pl. LXXIII), and the *dikka*. The latter functioned as a raised platform from which supplementary prayer leaders could co-ordinate the prescribed motions of prayer. It has undergone repeated dismantling and re-erection and has been dealt with in authoritative detail by Folda,[21] while Strzygowski[22] and Buschhausen[23] have studied the *mihrab* of Zakariyya.[24] Neither monument, therefore, needs further discussion here. The *qibla* wall is another matter. It displays literally dozens of slabs, panels, medallions, plaques, capitals, columns, arches, fragments of cladding and what can best be termed decorative bits and pieces. To avoid potential misunderstanding, it is important to stress that many of these elements were complete in themselves, so that the term 'fragments' used as a general category misrepresents them. They were chosen with extreme care for their superlative craftsmanship, their intrinsic completeness and their precious material. Nor should one exclude the possibility that they were chosen as representatives of interesting foreign styles—and this, of course, brings us back to the theme of the exotic. But for all their quality as individual pieces, they were of course never intended by their makers to be packed together cheek by jowl as they are on the *qibla* wall of the Aqsa. The change of context ineluctably brings in its train a change of meaning. In this particular case, the very scale of the display was in some sense its undoing. Indeed, this collection of precious but disparate material necessarily forswears any attempt at an integrated design.

When one remembers that the Aqsa, even in its reduced post-'Abbasid form, has seven aisles perpendicular to the *qibla* wall, plus the Jami' al-Nisa' to the west and the Jami' 'Umar to the east, and is thus one of the very broadest of all medieval mosques, it will become clear that this *qibla* wall is exceptionally well suited to act as a vast continuous display space, much in the nature of a modern picture gallery, or museum display, for the objects mounted on its walls. Only the captions are missing. As with the pulpit of Henry II, the task of integrating smoothly into a single design a potpourri of objects that differ in size, colour and texture, with some in two and others in three dimensions, was too tough a challenge. Nor was that the Muslim way of doing things. They preferred a scattershot method—though there are important exceptions—yielding a kaleidoscopic array of individually striking details: 'orient pearls at random strung'. It is a magpie assemblage in which no single theme stands out. Instead, the aim seems to have been to cram maximum variety into minimum space.

(d) Islamisation

So we have seen Christian artefacts valued as exotica and displayed like museum pieces. But that is not all. Islamisation was a third response. It is worth noting first that, while there is no lack of Islamic fragments, such as incomplete inscription bands, the principal emphasis in the Aqsa as a whole is on Christian elements, and among these Crusader work predominates. The exact balance between Christian and Muslim elements on the *qibla* wall itself is almost impossible to determine, and while it is of course possible to attempt a dating of some of these pieces on the basis of criteria like motif, style or technique—a task already performed by Folda for the distinctive Crusader elements—the issue of when they were set in their present position simply cannot be resolved. This may seem a rather pessimistic conclusion. However, the work of Burgoyne and Meinecke illustrates that throughout the later medieval period one part or another of the Aqsa was constantly being repaired, though these repairs tend to be mentioned in the most general manner.[25] This process continued in the Ottoman period; for example, there were no less than four major restorations of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque between 1705 and 1780.[26] A useful list of the repairs recorded in texts or epigraphically has been published by Bieberstein and Bloedhorn.[27] Nor has it lost any momentum in living memory; it is a sobering experience to compare the visual evidence of Creswell's close-up photograph of the main *mihrab*, which shows that little had changed on the central part of the *qibla* wall between *ca* 1880 and *ca* 1920, with the current aspect of this area. It would be no exaggeration to say that this area has suffered a thoroughgoing makeover in recent times. All this imposes severe caution on any attempt to reconstruct what the Aqsa's *qibla* wall looked like between 1187 and 1250.

Moreover, this inherently difficult situation is complicated yet further by the material assembled by Michael Meinecke in his great—and last—book, which focuses on Mamluk architecture (Meinecke 1992). Here he demonstrates conclusively that in Ayyubid and Mamluk times in the Near East there was a well-established taste for loading the *qibla* wall with assertively patterned marble panels in strong contrasting colours. These inlaid slabs were far removed from the earlier fashion for marble whose graining matched from one slab to the next,[28] though this same technique was not forgotten and indeed is found in the lower part of the main *mihrab* in the Aqsa. Some of these bold inlaid panels, moreover, for example in Hebron,[29] bear exactly the same designs as those in the

[21] Folda 1995, 451-2, 596-7 and pls 10.13a-w; see also Flood in this book.

[22] Strzygowski 1936, 499-500.

[23] Buschhausen 1978, 199-200 and figs 172-4 and 179-80.

[24] See too Folda 1995, 596, n.184.

[25] Burgoyne 1987, 337, 341-2 and pls 30.6-30.7.

[26] St Laurent 2000, 419.

[27] Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Band 3, 50-63.

[28] For an excellent recent treatment of this technique and its widespread use, see Barry 2007; for the Islamic context, see especially 638-9.

[29] Where the work was carried out under the same patronage (that of the

Aqsa mosque and in the Dome of the Rock. This makes it very likely that such panels, at least, were Muslim work made to order rather than Christian *spolia*. And the current state of research does not permit close distinctions to be made between Ayyubid and Mamluk work in this technique.

What makes the Aqsa interior so striking is the sheer quantity of Christian material re-used in it. Irrespective of the isolated impact of any one piece of such work is the cumulative impact of large quantities of it scattered throughout the building. In some areas—the *qibla* wall, the *dikka*, the *mihrab* of Zakariyya, the *mihrab* of the Jami' 'Umar—the Christian flavour was very strong. It is no accident that all of these locations have a ritual significance in Muslim worship—there is no need to dilate, for example, on the implications of Muslim prayer being orchestrated from a *dikka* made up of Christian carved stonework taken from a Christian place of worship, with Muslim feet standing on Christian carvings. Elsewhere the touch was lighter—a marble panel here, a moulding or a capital there. One need not posit an exclusively triumphalist agenda in this pervasive recourse to marble (or occasionally stone)[30] of immediately Crusader origin,[31] since there is no mistaking the urgency of the need to restore the principal sites on the Haram to Muslim use.[32] In this context it is worth noting that Saladin's mosaic inscription in the great *mihrab* of the Aqsa mosque states that the work was ordered (the normal formula) 'in the months of the year 583'. Since Saladin entered Jerusalem on 27 Rajab, that would have left barely five months of the year 583 in which to carry out this major task of cleansing, demolition, reconstruction and re-consecration. It was the norm to put up such inscriptions that recorded work done only after the work had been completed, as common sense dictates.[33] Moreover, de-Christianising these sites was not the only aim. It was equally important to ensure that they quickly regained their status as jewels of Muslim architecture, and that could best be done by the lavish employment of precious materials. And it was precisely because the Christians

had themselves worked so hard to beautify Jerusalem with new and splendid buildings that there was so much raw precious material available, already worked and close at hand. So long as it bore no explicitly Christian decoration, it could serve Muslim purposes equally well.

In short, a certain lack of consistency in the use of Christian materials in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque is precisely what one might expect in this turbulent period when Jerusalem changed hands, when time constraints were pressing and when, for a whole range of reasons—political, theological, emotional, practical and even economic—the re-use of Christian artefacts seemed desirable. In the Aqsa, the prime examples are in fact not the *qibla* wall, which in its present state is a farrago of different accents and times, but the intensive re-use of Crusader material to form the *dikka* and the *mihrab* of Zakariyya. In both cases it seems to have been part of the plan to ensure that as much as possible of the structure was composed of Crusader elements. So, as noted briefly above, it was not only the location of the *spolia* in a mosque—a mosque formerly occupied by the Christian infidel—but their re-use to form an element of Muslim ritual significance that mattered

The intensive use of the Aqsa by the Templars in the 12th century might explain the survival of so many of these Christian pieces. After all, once the Crusaders had been ejected from the city, these reminders of their presence were there for the taking; their precious material and assured craftsmanship together made them objects of instantly recognisable value. So long as they contained nothing offensive to Islamic sensibilities,[34] they could be re-used in one context or another.[35] But while many of these foreign architectural elements are scattered broadcast around the body of the mosque, their concentration in the place of honour and of the highest religious significance, namely the *qibla* wall, implies deliberate organisation. It ensured that they were seen by the maximum number of worshippers. This material could perhaps be interpreted as an offering to God as well as a shout of triumph and a memory bank of victories. And the further fact that the densest cluster of these elements on the *qibla* wall is around the *mihrab*, and thus carefully placed to ensure maximum visibility, clinches the matter. Finally, many of these pieces take the form of an arch—usually a blind arch—in a niche. Thus Christian sculpture intended for quite another context is pressed into service as a *mihrab*. These diminutive Christian or classical arches and niches flank the great *mihrab* of Saladin like so many chicks round the mother hen. Together they underline

Amir Tankiz) and at almost exactly the same time as that in the Aqsa mosque (Burgoyne 1987, 235 and 239). See Meinecke II, 1992, Taf. 57c and, for the *qibla* wall of the mosque of Abu'l-Fida' at Hama, *ibid.*, Taf. 57a.

[30] As in the chevron moulding of the main arch of the Aqsa portico (for an archival photograph, see C Hillenbrand 1999, pl. 6.4). On this whole issue, see the chapter by Dr Barry Flood in this book.

[31] Not all of these *spolia* were necessarily the work of Crusader craftsmen. After all, they in turn may well have re-used earlier work, for example in porphyry.

[32] One of Saladin's first actions on recapturing the city was to have the huge golden cross on top of the Dome of the Rock removed, to the cheers of the watching populace. But see n.17 above for another account.

[33] For a discussion of whether the date of foundation given in monumental inscriptions marks the beginning or the end of the work, see Blair 1992, 62-3 and 84-5. But while Professor Blair argues, in the case of the Dome of the Rock, that the date of 72 AH does not mark the date of completion, as is widely assumed, she does cite evidence to the contrary—i.e. that dates commemorating building or restoration work do mark the date of completion—from later medieval times in Iran and Anatolia (*ibid.*, 63), and these are parallels closer in time to the historical inscription on the Aqsa *mihrab*. Obviously the issue must remain open.

[34] These sensibilities were not always uniformly delicate. Wilkinson 1992, 134-8 and 1987, 205 has noted the survival of depictions of living creatures on Byzantine capitals in Umayyad re-use (later to fall victims to 'Abbasid orthodoxy); and the phenomenon can be paralleled in Sultanate India.

[35] For Jerusalem examples outside the Haram, see Hawari 2006, cat. nos 1 (al-Khanqah al-Salahiyya), 3 (Jami' al-Afdal) and 18 (al-Madrasa al-Mu'azzamiyya).

its incomparably greater size and splendour. It would be hard to find a similarly varied series of *mihrabs*, all but one of them liturgically redundant, and some so small that they represent only the idea of a *mihrab*. While most of them are indeed set into the *qibla* wall, some form part of the embellishment of the impressive *dikka*. Thus the connection with properly orientated worship remains a constant and provides a unifying theme. This is especially important given that, as already noted, these *spolia* were originally used in quite different contexts.

Inscription bands were also used to connect and integrate—and, frankly, to islamise—the disparate elements so rudely juxtaposed. Thus the familiar Qur'anic passage (9: 18) inscribed on the *minbar*, proclaiming that only those are worthy of entering God's mosques who believe in Allah, and pay the poor due, certainly knits together heterogeneous panels. But it also acquired a peculiar and powerful resonance in the Aqsa, formerly the haunt of the Templars and now packed with Christian *spolia*. These sacred words effectively functioned as a cleansing agent, removing the pollution left by the generations of Christians who had used this space. It will be clear, therefore, that the theme of islamisation operates simultaneously on several levels.

(e) Objects of beauty

What of the role of *spolia* as objects of beauty? More specifically, what aesthetic determined how they were used?[36] Several possible answers present themselves, and they need not be mutually contradictory. First, there is the frank enjoyment

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[35] Dr Barry Flood has tackled this issue extensively in his chapter in this volume, which of course has areas of overlap with the present chapter. His comments on the aesthetics of the use of Crusader *spolia* are subtle and penetrating, with an especially discriminating assessment of the vexed question of their symbolic dimension for Muslims.
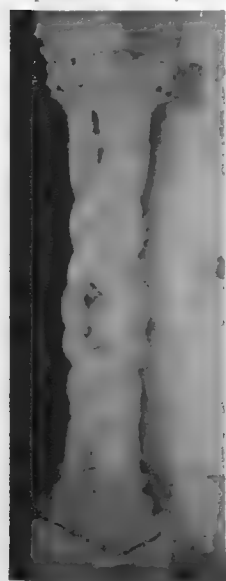
Pl. 14.1 Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya: detail of Crusader knotted column.

of colour, together with the contrasts and harmonies that can be achieved by this means. Hence the lavish use of glass mosaic, of gilding, or the sequence of expensive marble columns and piers in close proximity to each other, or the colouristic impact of larger panels comprising various tones of naturally flecked marble. Next, one may detect a sensitive awareness of texture which manifests itself in the constant variety of surfaces—whether flat or in low relief, deeply engraved or so sculptural as to be virtually in the round. A third component is the role of ornament, from full-bodied windblown acanthus of Crusader workmanship but of Byzantine and ultimately Roman inspiration (similar work of 6th-century date is found on a huge wooden beam re-used in the Aqsa roof),[37] or Corinthian capitals, to surreal biomorphic fantasies that sprout from no earthly seed. Huge marble panels featuring bold angular shapes alternate with small-scale intricate inlay work in geometrically patterned multi-coloured marble, topped and tailed by inscriptions.

(f) Symbolism

But perhaps the defining feature of this aesthetic is something which no doubt loomed large in the contemporary imagination and made this *qibla* wall so much more than a museum of petrological rarities or a Cabinet of Curiosities. This is of course the re-use of Crusader *spolia* in a symbolic sense. Central to the symbolic role of these *spolia* is, as we have already seen, their location around the main *mihrab*, rather than being scattered evenly throughout the mosque. One may suggest that the key factor here is triumphalism. Just as the Ka'ba itself was hung in early Islamic times with military trophies and precious objects, so here it is the area closest to Mecca that receives the most magnificent visual display. By definition these fragments have—as noted above—lost their original context, which alone had made them meaningful. But now they stand out like a sore thumb. Dwarf triple arcades, perhaps wrenched from a chancel screen or tomb, and with 5- or 7-lobed arches resting on columns of porphyry, streaked grey and white or yellow-flecked marble, have an arresting illusionistic backdrop of horizontal marble veining which flows from one slab to the next but contrives to suggest sharply angled flanges. Other, superficially similar, arcades seem to have been cobbled together from unrelated sources. Capitals with birds or monsters have been re-used, with a degree of light but inconsistent editing in that some (but not all) of these creatures have had their heads chopped off or have been concealed by later stucco-work.[38] Paired Crusader columns joined by elaborate tight knotting are used in the place of honour in the doorway of the Nahawiyya *madrasa* (pl. 14.1),

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[37] Hamilton 1949, pl. XLVII/3.

[38] Wilkinson 1987, 17, 205 and catalogue numbers 49, 121 and 146-51.

in the Aqsa and elsewhere in the Haram; the Muslims cursed them with the wincingly evocative nickname 'testicles of the unbelievers'.[39] Sometimes scale and placing are enough to drive home the triumph of Islam, as in the two diminutive Gothic blind arched niches which like bodyguards flank the main *mihrab* of the Aqsa mosque—minnows guarding a whale. Another example is the two-tier arch whose lower keystone bears an acanthus of Christian type while directly above it, at the centre of the outer profile of the arch, is a quintessentially Islamic joggled voussoir, a *tour de force* of masonry technique and arch technology alike. Perhaps the most concentrated of these Christian *spolia* is the *mihrab* of Zakariyya, a small miracle of compression and dynamism, with its paired columns, its gilded capitals and spandrels, and the constantly shifting patterns of its more than a dozen constituent marble panels all held together by the baroque exuberance of its multi-profiled trilobed hood. Altogether, despite the odd solecism,[40] these disparate elements have been successfully integrated into an impressive whole.

(g) Spolia *in the Dome of the Rock*

As a coda to this discussion of the *spolia* on view in the Aqsa, it is worth noting briefly the parallel use of such elements in the Dome of the Rock. Naturally *spolia* were not restricted to the Aqsa Mosque, though it is noteworthy that this was the prime site for them, and the Dome of the Rock, not being a place of congregational prayer, would naturally not draw such numbers, but here too there was a need to counteract the Frankish presence and to assert the rededication of the site for Muslim purposes. Thus here too there are displayed, necessarily in a more random way, *disiecta membra* of Crusader architecture (pls LXIII-LXIV and LXXXVII). Small scale and precious material seem to have been the basic criteria for putting these objects on display. But there was no easy way of integrating them into a building whose natural focus was not a long wall but the great mass of the central Rock. Thus in a sense they are floating elements in the overall decorative scheme. Moreover, the decision to enclose the outer perimeter of the Rock with a continuous decoratively carved wooden screen necessarily excluded building a wall there instead—a wall which could have been studded, like the *qibla* wall of the Aqsa, with variegated specimens of marble carving. The huge length of that screen, which goes far to explain its relatively uniform character, may also have played a role. That screen was a clear challenge to the Crusader grille, which was still more uniform, but which had served the purpose of visually exalting the Rock, and which had made it more visible than did the screen. The expense and time required for a *cordon sanitaire* of

similar length in polychrome marble, even if many *spolia* could have been found for it, would clearly have been prohibitive in the period immediately following the recapture of the city, when architectural activity reached a feverish scale. As for the lower portion of the inner wall of the outer octagon, that was already sheathed in marble slabs deliberately chosen for their decorative veining, topped long since by a continuous band of vegetal ornament in mixed media, whose strongly accented colouring in black, white and gold provided an effective finishing touch for the dado. These earlier decisions about the interior revetment of the Dome of the Rock left little room for manoeuvre in the display of fine marble, whether carved or intarsia work. So the existing panels of marble seem to be scattered somewhat randomly around the interior—though it must be conceded that no close research has been devoted to their precise location. They seem to have been fitted into the most convenient spot—and of course there is no guarantee that their original location is also their current one. Indeed, the case of the *spolia* displayed in the cave below the Rock proves conclusively that such movement did take place (pls LXV and LXVI).

A good example of this apparently casual practice is a small triple arcade of white marble with lightly scattered blue markings set in a rectangular frame (pl. LXVII). The outer border is marked by vertical strips of white marble with wavy blue graining. Each of its three hoods has a sunburst design in strong relief with spandrels comprising in one case a leaf on one side and a roundel on the other, in another two roundels and in the third two leaves. Two central porphyry columns are flanked by two others in white marble. Each pair has different capitals—the porphyry ones display a continuous arcade of lightly incised lanceolate arches, while the white marble ones are two-tier but again of drastically reduced type, with the upper tier featuring an arcade of pointed arches each enclosing an ovoid bud, and a lower tier comprising regularly spaced corbels. Neither capital type corresponds to the norms of either Crusader or Ayyubid work. A heavy entablature of white marble dramatically veined in dark blue striations crowns the whole bijou composition.

Such Crusader *spolia*, of which there were formerly more on display,[41] should be considered in the context of other self-standing decorative compositions of flamboyantly coloured marble intarsia which are probably independent Muslim creations. Outstanding among these is a long panel which abuts at 90 degrees the wooden screen enclosing the Rock and rises to just below the top of that screen. It is essentially a display piece that showcases marble of at least half a dozen colours and uses them to create striking abstract geometric patterns on both a large and a small scale.

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[39] I am grateful to Dr Yusuf Natsheh for this information

[40] For example, the cyma moulding that crowns the whole composition projects uncomfortably far beyond the *mihrab* on both sides.

(h) *Summary*

It would be very wrong to give the impression that the interior of the Aqsa mosque (pls 14.2, 14.3) is little more than a jumble of re-used material, an up-market builder's yard. For the mosque was also, of course, the focus for new work, which is the second major theme of this chapter. This new work, whether it comprised architecture or applied ornament, was designed to re-assert the Islamic identity of the Aqsa after almost a century of Christian use. Beyond question it is the main *mihrab* which was intended as the prime focus of attention in the reconsecrated Aqsa. Moreover, it seems clear that the *qibla* wall was laid out very soon indeed after the recapture of the city, for *spolia* of some importance and value were set into the wall immediately to the west of the main *mihrab*, only to be blocked from view by the *minbar* once it had arrived from Aleppo. Only after the destruction of the *minbar* in 1969 did they re-appear.

The Aqsa *Mihrab*
(a) *Marble work*

To judge from surviving material alone, this *mihrab* (pls II and LXXIV), which is unusually broad for a *mihrab* that uses marble so lavishly, sets new standards of design and technique. It is an explosion of colour in what was clearly intended to be a richly polychromed *qibla* wall. It seems to be an early example of that fascination with marble ornament which was to characterise the Near East, and especially Egypt, throughout the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods—for it seems clear that the marble here, like the mosaic work, is Muslim rather than Christian work. This is made plain enough by the format of the *mihrab* itself, with its characteristically Muslim pointed arch and frame, both executed in a spectacularly patterned blue and white marble which recurs in the key central strip of the main body of the *mihrab*. More specifically, it may well be the earliest major example of the use of long vertical strips of marble in contrasting colours for the innermost niche of a *mihrab* or indeed for a dado—the technique known as *mushahhar* (pl. LXIX). These strips take up the colours of the outer and the recessed inner arch of the *mihrab* (blue and white and mauve and white respectively) used in an irregular rhythm, but always in alternation with strips of white. All this must again be Muslim work, since it would be an unacceptable

Pl. 14.2 Al-Aqsa Mosque, view towards *qibla* wall. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 524)

Pl. 14.3 Al-Aqsa Mosque, interior, looking east. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5003)

waste of expensively cut marble to reduce larger worked slabs to these narrow strips. The evidence of re-use is unmistakable: cracks, patches and awkward junctions, even in the long strips. This use of thin marble strips reached its full development only in the Mamluk period, as for example in the mosque of al-Malik al-Nasir in the Cairo citadel—early 13th-century practice tended to privilege knotted designs instead.[42] The same theme also turns up on a smaller scale in one of the minor *mihrab*s of the Aqsa (pl. LII)

The question of whether this confident use of marble should be attributed to the time of Saladin or that of Baibars, or indeed subsequent Mamluk rulers who are recorded to have repaired the Aqsa mosque, is hard to resolve.[43] But since this display of marble is the principal visual accent of the *mihrab*, including as it does the wavy continuous graining at the base, which mimics an undulating set of pointed arches (pls LXXII, LXXVIII and LXXIX), and since Saladin's dated inscription records that he renewed the *mihrab*—and it is specifically the *mihrab* that is mentioned first, immediately followed by the mosque itself—it is hard to see what else could have been meant than the marble work, plus of course the mosaics of the hood. The situation—the long-awaited return of the Aqsa to the Islamic fold—called, moreover, for a grand gesture, surely something more than a tympanum filled with mosaic. The lavish use of precious marble panelling, something of an innovation in the context of its time but nevertheless a technique for which slightly later Ayyubid parallels can be cited, would have constituted just such a gesture. Moreover, the range of coloured marbles used here is exceptionally wide: dark green, salmon pink, purple, orange, sea green, black, white and grey, with most of these tones flecked by other colours. The balance of

probability, then, favours a late 12th-century date for most of the *mihrab* in its present form, as defined by the trio of columns with gilded capitals that flank it on each side (pls LXIX and LXXV). It seems a reasonable assumption that the presence of such marble ornament in the main *mihrab* of this, the third most revered mosque in the Islamic world, set the trend for this type of decoration in the Near East in the decades to follow.

It is quite impossible to recover the appearance in Ayyubid times of the area immediately surrounding the *mihrab* as defined above. Here Creswell's excellent photograph is of key importance (pl. 14.4), for it predates the major 20th-century refurbishment of the *mihrab*.[44] It seems likely enough that the tiny blind arch of white marble carried on porphyry columns which flanks the *mihrab* to east and west (pls LXX, LXXI) is Crusader work inserted in the *qibla* wall in the Ayyubid period. But the nearly identical oblong panel set directly above each of these blind arches on each side of the *mihrab* is perhaps later work. It comprises a collage of different coloured marble in square or rectangular panels. Above it, again on either side of the *mihrab*, is a square panel of carved stone featuring a stem and a bloated pair of gilded tendrils growing out of a gilded wreath. This seems to be Crusader work (pl. LXXIV).[45] Above this to the west Creswell's photograph shows a herringbone pattern enclosing a truncated version[46] of a tall, narrow, carved stucco panel repeated twice to the east of the *mihrab* at the same level, flanking a stained-glass window.[47] Its motifs of crisply defined luxuriously curving leaves and undulating balustrades suggest the Ottoman baroque style. All three of these panels have now

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[42] As in the *mihrab* of the Firdaus funerary *madrasa* in Aleppo (for an illustration, see Hillenbrand 1994, colour pl. 6), the portal of the palace of al-Malik al-'Aziz in the Aleppo citadel (for a colour plate, see Rogers 1976, 48) and the portal of the Zazadin Han near Konya (for colour plates, see Acun 2007, 194-5, 208) – all three of them dating to the early 1230s– and the *mihrab* of the Sultaniyya *madrasa* in Aleppo (Meinecke 1992, Taf. 10c). The fashion continued into, and indeed gathered pace in, the early Mamluk period. Examples include the *mihrab* of the Dome of the Chain in Jerusalem, probably dating from the restoration of Baibars between 1263 and 1273 (Meinecke 1992 I, 14 and II, Taf. 10d), and the mausoleum of the Khanqah of the Amir Aqbugha min 'Abd al-Wahid in Cairo (*ibid.*, Taf. 59a), the *mihrab*s of the Tankiziyya in Jerusalem (Meinecke 1992 II, Taf. 61a) and the shrine in Hebron (*ibid*, Taf. 61b); the *madrasa* of Afridun al-'Ajami in Damascus (*ibid.*, Taf. 66a); the mosque of Mankalibugha al-Shamsi in Aleppo (*ibid.*, Taf. 66d), the portal of the mausoleum of Amir Araq al-Silahdar in Damascus (*ibid*, Taf. 73a); and the *madrasa* of Jaqmaq al-Arghunshawi, also in Damascus (*ibid.*, Taf. 94d).

[43] It must be conceded that this work in the Aqsa *mihrab* is practically identical to that in the *mihrab*s of the *madrasa* of Tankiz in Jerusalem (Meinecke, Taf. 61a) and the shrine of al-Khalil at Hebron (*ibid*, Taf. 61b) and of the mosque of Sanjar al-Jauli in the same city (*ibid.*, Taf. 28c); the mosques of Ibn Tulun and al-Azhar in Cairo (*ibid.*, Taf. 27a and b respectively), and the mosque of Abu'l-Fida' at Hama (*ibid.*, Taf. 57a). Cf. too the various inner walls of the mausoleum of Baibars in the Zahiriyya *madrasa* in Damascus (*ibid.*, Taf. 15a, 30a and b), the citadel mosque in Ba'labakk (*ibid.*, Taf. 37c), the mosque of the Amir Altunbugha al-Maridani in Cairo (*ibid.* Taf. 58d); and the *madrasa* of 'Isa b. 'Umar al-Burtasi in Tripoli (*ibid.*, Taf. 67a).

[44] This was probably taken in the 1920s (reproduced in C Hillenbrand 1999, 302, pl. 5.6). It is a precious document indeed, not only because its quality is far higher than that of any published photograph but also because it documents the sheer scale of subsequent restorations.

[45] For parallels, both of them also Crusader work in Muslim re-use, see the scrolling designs in the tympanum of the arch leading down to the cave in the Dome of the Rock and a panel in high relief in the Aqsa interior (Boase 1967, 18).

[46] Much of its east side is missing, for the blue and white marble frame of the *mihrab* cuts it off. This raises the intriguing possibility that the frame is not Ayyubid at all but post-dates this Ottoman stucco; but of course it is no less plausible that the artist, while eager to achieve maximum symmetry, was so constrained by the limited space available that he was in no position to carve the whole of the design and so opted to produce, to scale, as much of it as he could. The marble of these framing elements (which turns up again as the border of the great oblong panel just to the east of the *mihrab*) is very rare in the Aqsa and seems to be confined to the central area of the *qibla* wall, an indication of how highly it was valued. Its use is integral to the *mihrab*, for it defines the shape of the niche as well as marking its lower central point by means of a thin vertical strip. All this might argue for its Ayyubid date; but see n.66 below.

[47] There is a similar window placed symmetrically just to the west of the *mihrab*; its top is visible just above the topmost canopy of the *minbar* as photographed by Alistair Duncan just before its destruction (C Hillenbrand 1999, colour pl. 10—an image, incidentally, which vividly illustrates why Max van Berchem complained so bitterly about the 'horrible' painting of the *minbar* [van Berchem 1902, 423]). The Bonfils photograph of c.1880 shows its full extent, confirming too that it had the same framing panels as the lower stained-glass window just to the east of the *mihrab*. By the time of Duncan's photograph all trace of this Ottoman stucco-work had disappeared.

Pl. 14.4 Al-Aqsa Mosque, central *mihrab*. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C.5000)

disappeared, to be replaced by a frothy thicket of gilded modern interlace work. Immediately to the east of the eastern blind niche with porphyry columns, and on the same vertical axis as the western edge of the stained-glass window just mentioned, is a large oblong panel of grey marble with irregular vertical graining. It has a border patterned with continuously joined figures of eight in low relief, the whole enclosed by a broad frame of the trademark blue marble with white graining that borders the *mihrab* proper. At the centre of this panel, again executed in low relief, are three roundels, each with a different revolving design. This panel (pl. 14.5) is probably Ayyubid; it is of the same general type as some panels now in the nearby Madrasa al-Farisiyya for which Burgoyne has suggested a provenance from the Aqsa.[48]

(b) The dwarf arcade

Another major loss which occurred in the 20th century—presumably in the course of the repairs undertaken between 1938 and 1942 of which Hamilton's book is a partial record[49]—was that of the remarkable dwarf arcade which formerly crowned the upper blue and white marble framing band of the *mihrab* just below a further strip of herringbone moulding which formed the base of the border framing the huge window directly above the *mihrab*. Dr Flood, in his sophisticated chapter on Crusader *spolia* in this book, describes it as 're-used', but does not discuss this opinion in detail. In a mosque full of re-used material this is indeed an entirely reasonable view; but there is nevertheless some room for argument. For the dwarf arcade is a theme which by the late 12th century already had a distinguished lineage in Islamic art. It had occurred as a decorative motif in some of the earliest surviving monumental Qur'ans,[50] in Umayyad religious[51] and palatial[52] architecture, in Umayyad metalwork,[53] in the *mihrab* of *ca* 354/965 in the Cordoba Mosque,[54] and in Tulunid Qur'an covers made of ivory

Pl. 14.5 Al-Aqsa Mosque, *qibla* wall directly to the east of the *mihrab* (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5001)

and wood intarsia.[55] Most significantly, Dr Flood himself draws attention to the reference by Ibn Jubayr to such a feature in the Great Mosque of Damascus.[56] These few examples, which could easily be multiplied, suggest that, in early Islamic art at least, this motif was commonly used in religious contexts, where it may indeed have acquired specific meanings. Sometimes these columns were themselves decorated, thereby asserting their ornamental rather than their structural role.[57]

The present case—apparently the first surviving example of the dwarf arcade in a *mihrab* in the Arab world since Cordoba, some two centuries previously—introduces

[48] See Burgoyne 1987, 341–2.

[49] It is a matter for regret that while Hamilton, in his book of 1949, gives an authoritative account – as the sub-title of his book makes clear (*A Record of Archaeological Gleanings from the Repairs of 1938-1942*) – of what those excavations revealed as to the earlier history of the Aqsa, the remit he set himself did not extend to examining the history of the numerous changes made to the decoration of the mosque's *qibla* wall over the centuries. As a result he makes no mention of the massive refurbishment of that wall in the Mandate years, a process which can only be described as continuous (thus the eagle capital located by Folda [Folda 1995, 448, pl.10.14c] as on the west side of Saladin's *mihrab* is no longer in place, and indeed was already not there soon after the arson of the *minbar*: see Rosen-Ayalon 1986, pl. VIII; while the dwarf arcade discussed in detail below is now preserved in the Haram Museum—for a colour plate, see Schubert *et al.* 2007, 191).

[50] See Grabar 1992, 165, figs 133–4.

[51] As in the Dome of the Rock, where it occurs three times: Nuseibeh and Grabar 1996, pls 60, 116–7 and 130–1.

[52] Hamilton 1959, pl. LXV/1 and fig. 174f-g.

[53] King 1980, 23–57

[54] Creswell 1940, 142–3; for a colour plate, see Goitia 1965, pl. 22. It is worth noting that the arcade here is perhaps too large to qualify as a dwarf arcade;

and that its lobed arches and two-tone masonry place it immovably in the Western Islamic tradition, which makes it of limited relevance to the Near Eastern scene.

[55] For a colour plate, see Hillenbrand 1999, 57, pl. 42.

[56] Dr Flood, in his chapter in this book, quotes the Spanish traveller as saying that the interior of the Damascus *mihrab* was decorated with a series of miniature arcades; Ibn Jubayr, in Broadhurst's translation (Broadhurst 1952, 279) says 'Within it [the great *mihrab*, "the most wonderful in Islam for its beauty and rare art"] are small mihrabs adjoining its wall and surrounded by small columns, voluted like a bracelet as if done by a turner.' The Arabic text is difficult, and indeed ungrammatical. I am grateful to Carole Hillenbrand for the following translation (Ibn Jubayr 1907, 268) of the relevant passage, including the key words *tuhiffuha siwanatun mattulatun tala aswrati ka annaha makhrutatun*: 'There have risen up in its centre small mihrabs adjoining its wall; there surround them rows of stone entwined like bracelets, as if they had been shaped by a lathe.' As so often with medieval texts describing architecture, the lack of consistent specialised vocabulary makes itself felt. To conclude, all one can say with certainty is that the Damascus *mihrab* contained small columns; their arrangement remains obscure. The most relevant parallel in the present case is the set of carved consoles nailed to the underside of the great transversal beams that helped to carry the roof of the central nave of the Aqsa; for a discussion of the miniature columns depicted on this woodwork, see R Hillenbrand 1999, 304-6.

Pl. 14.6 Haram al-Sharif. Doorway, Bab al-Sakina. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5366)

further novelties. Ten pairs of columns—rather than single columns—support an arcade of round-headed arches knit together by a continuous moulding, a theme that had been familiar in the Near East at least from early Christian times.[58] Single motifs—roundels and plant motifs can be made out—fill the spandrels. The foliate capitals of the arches merge, as do their stylobates, while their shafts are kept separate; moreover, a distinctive rhythm is set up, whereby pairs 1 and 10, 2 and 9, 3 and 8, 4 and 7 and 5 and 6 are deliberately matched. Thus pairs 5 and 6, which mark the central chord of the *mihrab*, are identical and thereby create a strong central accent. Two pairs of columns are plain, while the rest bear a variety of ornament: spiral, herringbone and sawtooth motifs. But the most striking innovation is seen in pairs 2 and 9, whose columns are of a zigzag form accentuated by corresponding zigzag mouldings. It would be hard for a column to travel further away from its original structural

function than this. Whether this can be seen as a clinching argument in favour of this being a piece of Arab craftsmanship is, however, another matter. For Romanesque sculptors did indeed experiment very boldly indeed with the column, subjecting it to some serious indignities—such as multiple knotting, as in the Nahawiyya façade (pl. 14.1), in the Bab Sakina (pl. 14.6), in the cave under the Dome of the Rock (pls LXV and LXVI) and in the *mihrab* of 'Umar in the Aqsa itself (all of them later re-used in Muslim contexts, which demonstrates how thoroughly the Muslims had acquired a taste for this specialised kind of virtuosity)—and they even created sets of columns which had their entire surface covered in knotting.[59] It is therefore unwise to be dogmatic about whether it was Arab or Crusader craftsmen that took the further and fundamentally even more absurd step of creating zigzag columns as bearing members. When the dwarf arcade next appeared in a *mihrab* in the Arab world, it was a century later, in the mausoleum and also in the *madrasa* of Qala'un in Cairo (684/1285), and it was used within the body of the niche rather than as a crowning element.[60]

(c) The historical inscription

What of the mosaic work in this *mihrab*? Three quite different polychrome schemes are employed here, and they are used respectively for the historical inscription, the Qur'anic inscription and the hood of the arch.[61] The focus of interest to date has justifiably been Saladin's panel recording the restoration of the *mihrab* (pls 14.4, LIV and XLVIII). Its four-line text is written in gold on a green ground, set at a height that makes it possible for the viewer to read it with ease, and—perhaps for that very reason—executed in standard Ayyubid *naskh*, as indeed were so many historical texts in the later 12th century in Greater Syria. It is a hand that set a benchmark for a combination of legibility and elegance. The script is well-proportioned; the somewhat plump letters tend to thicken as they rise. They have plenty of room to breathe, and there is no undue emphasis on either the elongation of the uprights or the horizontal extension of other letters.[62] It moves easily between the upper and lower register of the band allotted to each line in a buoyant, undulating rhythm, so that there are numerous double-decker elements in each line as well as sub-linear extensions which allow letters to nest within

[58] In the Aqsa *mihrab* it is triple, but in the stone churches of pre-Islamic Syria the number is sometimes higher still. For typical examples see Claire and Balty 1998, 40 (Burdjke), 43, 60-1, 88-9, 95 and 102-3 (Qal'at Sim'an), 122 and 127-9 (Qalb Lozeh), 146 (Meez—upper plate), 146 (Surqanya—lower plate) and 151 (Baqirba).

[59] See Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller 2005, 399 for an illustration of an example of three engaged columns forming as it were the aboriginal Gordian knot. The Solomonic associations of these and other knotted columns are discussed by M.Piana (*ibid.*, 400).

[60] Creswell 1959, pl. 108b-c

[61] The much-restored and rather muddy colouring of the spandrels is excluded from this generalisation.

[62] The only exception is the word *yasala* near the beginning of the last line, where the intention is perhaps to underline Saladin's earnestness in asking for God's favour and pardon

each other.[63] The format of this text carries into *mihrab* design the standard Ayyubid practice of using an oblong panel placed just above the arch of a doorway for inscriptions of historical content. If there is any criticism to be made, perhaps the scale of the inscription might be considered as too small to be easily legible from any distance.

(d) The Qur'anic inscription

Far less attention has been paid to the Qur'anic text in Kufic script (pls LXXXIV-LXXXV) which frames the *mihrab* in notably unequal fashion, even though it is executed on a much larger scale and is thus far more visible from afar than the inscription that mentions Saladin (pls XLVIII and LXXXIV). The text gives perhaps the most appropriate of all Qur'anic verses for this exact spot: Sura 17:1, though in its present state—which is very likely to be different from its original appearance—the text stops with the word *haulahu*, which demands the next three words (*li-nuriyahu min ayatina*) to make full sense, so that the full clause reads: 'in order that We might show him some of Our Signs'. In its present state,[64] the text reads, in translation:

> 'Glory to (God)
> Who did take His servant
> For a Journey by night
> From the Sacred Mosque
> To the Farthest Mosque,
> Whose precincts We did
> Bless—in order that We
> Might show him'.[65]

This mosaic has had a somewhat chequered history. Creswell's photograph shows that in the 1920s most of it was obscured by Ottoman stucco ornament. At that time only the words '*al-haram ila al-masjid al-aqsa alladhi barakna*' could be read, though it seems likely that the last four words of the verse were also there. What about the earlier part of the verse? This shows a distinctively different surface appearance, presumably because it was damaged once the overlay of stucco carving had been removed. The gaps between the tesserae are much more apparent and give this part of the inscription a much looser appearance. The letters are for the most part three tesserae across, rising to four tesserae at the terminations. But

one further factor demands explanation, namely the uneven balance of the whole. This has two elements: first, the placing of the words *bi'sm*; and second, the disjunction between the length of the inscription to the west—a matter of inches—and to the east, where it is a matter of several feet.

In its present state the inscription begins, as is normal, with the *bismillah*; but the placing of that phrase is highly irregular. Only the *bi'sm* is located to the west of the *mihrab* arch; thereafter, the inscription takes a 90 degree turn upwards. No parallel for this remarkable placing suggests itself. Is this aberrant placing of *bi'sm* the result of an inept modern restoration, or is it part of the original layout? Creswell's photograph is of no use here, for it shows the western portion of the Kufic inscription still covered by Ottoman stucco-work. Certainly the area below the word 'Allah' is large enough to have accommodated the phrase '*bi'sm*' written in the same vertical register as what follows. Moreover, Rosen-Ayalon's pl. VIII clearly shows ample remains of mosaic scrollwork in the eastern part of the inscription here, just below the word 'Allah'.[66] The western part had all gone at the time that the photograph was taken, which must have been after the arson of the *minbar* in 1969. So was that entire oblong space occupied, as it is now, by *bi'sm*? The balance of probability seems to suggest that this was indeed the case. Four reasons may be adduced. First, *bi'sm* in its present form corresponds perfectly to the breadth of the two panels and the niche below it. Second, if the *bi'sm* had been placed on the vertical rather than the horizontal plane, it would have left a small but unsightly gap in the decorative scheme to the west, and would thus have created an obvious vertical discontinuity with the elements below it. Third, a similarly abrupt and awkward transition from the vertical to the horizontal register occurs in the eastern part of this same inscription, between the words *al-masjid* and *al-haram*. Fourth, the standard location of a *minbar* was always as close as possible to the *mihrab*. Photographs of the Aqsa *minbar in situ* show that its eastern flank was co-terminous with the western edge of four successive superposed features: the marble niche, the polychrome marble panel, the Crusader panel with wreath and tendrils and finally the *bi'sm* in its present location.

All this points to a deliberate embellishment of the *mihrab* in such a way as to accommodate the *minbar* whose arrival was imminent. As for the much greater length of the inscription to the east than to the west, this could have been averted by continuing the inscription—as would have been normal practice at the time—over the oblong panel with Saladin's inscription, and raising the dwarf arcade correspondingly. It is idle to speculate why this was not done. To conclude, one might well argue that the designer who

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[63] See also the remarks of Professor Korn on this inscription, in his chapter on mosaics in this book.

[64] See Rosen-Ayalon 1986, figs. 6-9 and pls. VIII-XI and XI. A salient marble-clad pier, surely a later addition, cuts into the inscription at this point (its edge can be seen to the far left of her pl. XI).

[65] Creswell's photograph shows a placard of modern calligraphy which gives the entire text of Sura 17:1 and is located above the later (eastern) part of this inscription. This placard has now gone.

[66] It also proves that much of the blue and white marble of the western frame of the *mihrab* is a modern reconstruction, particularly at the bottom where it veers sharply into the field of the mosaic inscription (presumably it was damaged in the 1969 arson of the *minbar*).
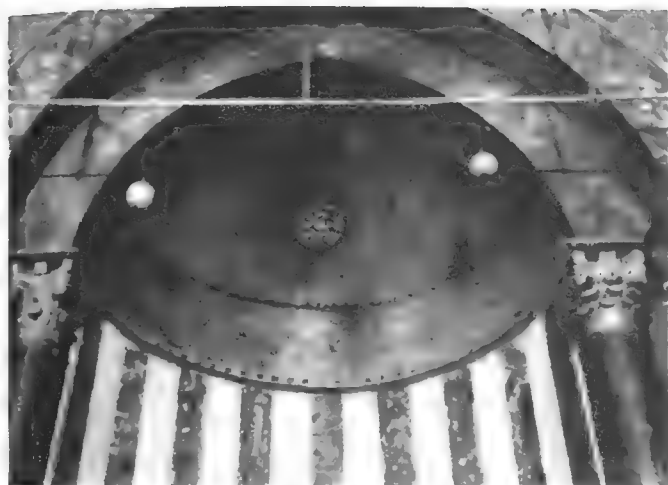
Pl. 14.7 Al-Aqsa Mosque: mosaic of *mihrab* hood. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5002)

tolerated the gross imbalance between the eastern and western parts of this inscription would not have been troubled by the isolation of *bi'sm* or by the two abrupt and clumsy changes of direction in the layout of the text already noted.

There remains for discussion the style of this inscription. In comparison with the natural finesse displayed by the cursive text it encloses, it is curiously maladroit. This was noticed long ago by van Berchem, who sets his remarks within the context of a more general discussion of how cursive script gradually overtook Kufic for monumental epigraphy of historical content in the Near East, while Kufic continued in use rather longer further to the east.[67] He notes that while Saladin's Kufic inscription is only some thirty years later than that of the Fatimid mosque of al-Salih Tala'i in Cairo, it has taken a decisive turn towards the decorative, has acquired an archaic quality and indeed resembles such 15th-century inscriptions as those in the *madrasa* of al-Ghuri in Cairo.[68] Elsewhere he describes this kind of decorative style as mannerist.[69] The drawings and close-up photographs published by Rosen-Ayalon fully justify these reservations. The hunchbacked form of *dal*, the crass junction of *ba*, *alif* or *sin* and *ha/jim* in the words *subhan*, *haram* and *masjid*, the ballooning upper extension of *ha/jim*, the jerky and angular execution of free-standing or terminal *ya*, the uneven bevelling of the letters, the use of pointed terminations for certain letters—each of these details strikes a discordant note, and their cumulative effect is to render this inscription stiff and laboured. The lack of outlining for the letters does not help matters, for it denies them extra body, in contrast to the five-fold modelling of the scrolls. Nor is the scrolling background typically Ayyubid; it lacks the unforced rhythm

and supple, muscular energy of the authentic Ayyubid type. Moreover, in place of the crisply executed bifurcated leaves so typical of Ayyubid scrollwork, and the subtle alterations in the thickness of line in the tendrils, the individual leaves are often tripartite, while the scrolls themselves are of uniform thickness. They produce quite complex, even bloated, buds and flowers, along with hooks, swellings and nodes which break up the even surface of these tendrils. Their sequence is also mathematically exact and repetitive, and in this respect too they lack the unpredictability of the best Ayyubid ornament. These aberrant features would help to justify suggesting a much later date for this mosaic,[70] but it is also worth noting here Professor Korn's hypothesis that there are elements of Crusader inspiration in this scrollwork.[71] The *tesserae* which form the gold background are set at slightly different angles, giving it a slightly jagged appearance, like crazy paving. The scrolls, which are executed in gold, white, and red within outer frames of black, were enlivened by sparkling pinpoints of light, perhaps mother-of-pearl,[72] but recent restoration seems to have toned these down. Similar grace notes of white are used to fill the spaces of certain letters (principally *mim*, but also undotted *ha* and *qaf*). In sum, the evidence suggests that this inscription in its present form is largely a restoration of late Mamluk times at the earliest. But there is no reason to doubt that the choice of text was made in Ayyubid times.

(e) Other mosaics

What of the other mosaics of this *mihrab*? The spandrels have much-restored grid patterns of a prevailing blue and white tonality reminiscent of those decorating the soffits of the portal vaults of the Dome of the Rock, which represent virtually the only remnants of the original exterior decoration of that building. The interior of the hood (pl. 14.7), however, has a striking knotted design[73] featuring golden 5-leaved plants (like a fleur-de-lis with an extra leaf flanking the central bud on each side), each set in an interlaced golden roundel outlined in black (pl. LXXXIII). Each leaf is bisected by a red line. At the centre of the design glows an 8-pointed mother-of-pearl star enclosing a smaller such star with dark blue points.[74] A single gold fleur-de-lis fills a small medallion directly beneath it. The

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[67] Van Berchem 1891, 73-9. His remarks are prescient; cf. the discussion of the same problem by E Herzfeld almost fifty years later on the basis of far more material (see his appendix to M B Smith 1935, 74-81).

[68] Van Berchem 1891, 79.

[69] *Ibid.*, 77. He also terms such inscriptions 'tourmentées' and 'recherchées'.

[70] This is the implication of the remarks by Rosen-Ayalon 1986, 562

[71] See his chapter on mosaics in this book. He proposes Crusader book illumination as a possible source.

[72] See Rosen-Ayalon 1986, especially pls. IX-XI

[73] *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

[74] Rosen-Ayalon suggests (1986, 554) that it is later work since it cuts into the design. It does indeed shave the rounded outlines of some of the interlacings, which suggests that there was some later work in this area. On the other hand, she notes the similarity of this motif to the very similar feature at the centre of the *mihrab* hood in the Haram al-Khalil in Hebron (1986, 556, fig.3 and pl.V).

ground throughout is dark blue,[75] modulated by scattered cubes of dark red, and both the intersections themselves and the background of each plant have highlights significantly larger than the other tesserae and of uneven cut and size; they are of mother-of-pearl. From a distance the effect is of a starry night sky. The gold is variegated: by turns bright, dark, shiny and matt, and sprinkled with brown cubes. A few touches of bottle green here and there—no consistency is attempted in the filler motifs —suggest leaves. Around the centre of the hood, the spandrels between the roundels are mostly filled with a fleur-de-lis in gold. The lower border comprises interlaced roundels in white,[76] each enclosing a complex vegetal form (these are similar but not quite identical), whose debt to the pictorial repertoire of the Dome of the Rock is plain (pl. LXXXII). Three-leaved forms like a bird with outstretched wings fill their spandrels above and below.

(f) Symbolic elements

This *mihrab* develops with sovereign assurance a key symbolic theme of 12th-century Islamic art, namely light.[77] That theme takes various forms. Photographs taken more than a century ago[78] show clearly that the *mihrab* was lit by huge candles[79] set on cylindrical candlesticks complemented by globular hanging lamps, now all removed thanks to electricity.[80] And the wall directly above is lavishly fenestrated, letting in a flood of light: principally by means of a round-headed arch containing a stained-glass window divided into an upper tympanum and two leaves below. This lower part of the main window is flanked by a bull's-eye window on each side. Similarly, the tympanum of the main window is flanked by another smaller, rectangular window on each side. These are both fairly standard ways of illuminating this key area.

But the familiar theme of the *mihrab* as a source of light is interpreted in fresh ways in this masterpiece. The difficulty

lies in dating the various components of the *mihrab* as currently constituted. Light is a theme given quite special contemporary significance by the installation next to this *mihrab* of the pulpit ordered by Saladin's famous predecessor, Nur al-Din. That title, of course, means 'Light of Religion', and the *minbar*—burned down by a Christian fanatic in 1969—developed the theme of light intensively by carefully selected Qur'anic quotations,[81] by the cunning use of white elements, by gilding and by radiating solar and stellar patterns. The *mihrab* right next to it takes up similar themes. They therefore work together in concert. Located at the far end of the huge central nave, the *mihrab* draws the eye like a magnet. At the centre of its hood, which is coated in glittering, iridescent glass mosaic—itself formerly brought to flickering life by the unpredictable illumination of oil lamps—glows a mother-of-pearl star (pl. LXXXVI). Below, the thin vertical slabs of marble which line the lower part of the *mihrab*, in the technique known as *mushahhar*, are so arranged that every alternate slab is dazzlingly white. At their base unfolds a dado of white marble with a wavy grain in pale blue at three levels that often runs from one slab to the next. Thus at successive levels the association of this *mihrab* with light is asserted. It was an association familiar to pious Muslims from a passage in the Surat al-Nur in the Qur'an:

> 'Allah is the light of the heavens and the earth. His light may be compared to a niche that enshrines a lamp, the lamp within a crystal of star-like brilliance … Light upon light. Allah guides to His light those whom He will. …[82] His light is found in temples which Allah has sanctioned to be built for the remembrance of His name'.

Finally, the colours of the main mosaic inscription above the arch of the *mihrab*, in which Saladin celebrated the recapture of Jerusalem and renders thanks to Allah for it, are green and gold. These are the dominant colours, inside and out, of that first and most revered of the shrines of Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock. Green, the Prophet Muhammad's favourite colour, is of course the traditional colour of the sacred in Islam. Mosaic was a medium that had definitively fallen out of use in the Muslim Near East after the mid-8th century, and on the very rare occasions on which it was revived it was confined to the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque, as in the Fatimid restorations of the Aqsa Mosque in the early 11th century, which incidentally also echo the style, subject matter and colour scheme of the Dome of the Rock mosaics. And of course the medium of mosaic was a traditionally Christian one in the eastern Mediterranean world, so that its use in the recently reclaimed Aqsa mosque had a special

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[75] Not 'bright green' as stated by Rosen-Ayalon (1986, 554).

[76] While their white outline is the main accent from a distance, they are in fact successively outlined (reading from the inside) in single-tessera rows of black, white, beige, red and black.

[77] See Allan 2003, 31-41.

[78] Osman 1999, 91 (a Bonfils photograph, No.865, 'El Aksa Mosque', *ca* 1880). This picture appears to show the remains of a *maqsura* carried on lofty columns; these columns, like the carved wooden beams which they carry, have disappeared.

[79] I am grateful to Dr Khadr al-Salameh for showing me, in the Haram Museum, an apricot-coloured beeswax candle so huge that it would have required the combined strength of several men to lift it; it was, he informed me, made for the Aqsa mosque. Compare al-Maqqari's account of how, in the glory days of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, the 'great wax taper which burned by the side of the Imam weighed from fifty to sixty pounds; it burned night and day throughout the month of Ramadhan, and its materials of both wax and wick were so contrived that the whole might be consumed on the last night of Ramadhan' (Maqqari I, 2002, 228)

[80] The candlesticks, minus the candles, may still be seen in Creswell's close-up photograph of this *mihrab*.

[81] Dr Auld even suggests that there is a kind of pre-echo of Sura 24:35 (the Light Verse); see Auld 2005, 58.

[82] Dawood 1956, 211.

charge. So the choice of medium for Saladin's inscription was indeed portentous, and marked a brief—if not aesthetically or technically distinguished—revival of mosaic work in *mihrabs* in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, Hebron,[83] Hims, and most notably Damascus, both in the Great Mosque itself and in the mausoleum of Baibars.[84] By using mosaic, then, Saladin was asserting the continuity of the Muslim claim to the Holy City and to the Haram in particular, and inscribing his own name in the list of its celebrated guardians.

The *qibla* wall: general considerations

It is practically impossible in the present state of knowledge to assign a date to the *qibla* wall in the Aqsa mosque as it appears today. This is because it is so plainly the work of many hands over many years. A detailed comparison between how the area of Saladin's *mihrab* looked in the 1920s and how it looks now reveals a multitude of changes merely in that most recent period of some eighty years. When one reads in Mujir al-Din that the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Nasir reconstructed the southern wall of the Aqsa around the *mihrab* of Da'ud and lined the *qibla* wall of the mosque with marble, and pierced the wall on either side of the *mihrab* with a window in 731/1330, as well as redecorating the Aqsa's great dome, it is clear that he left the building in a very different state from how it was before this ambitious campaign.[85] Mujir al-Din, writing in 1496, notes that 180 years later it is still as beautiful as if the craftsman had just finished his work.[86] Yet the melancholy fact is that it is currently impossible to pinpoint with certainty any of this work except the two windows. By the same token, it is equally impossible to identify how much of the marble revêtment of the *qibla* wall is Ayyubid. Indeed, the refurbishment carried out by al-Malik al-Nasir might very well have removed Crusader material and replaced it by Islamic marble slabs. The *dikka*, as noted above, has been re-assembled more than once, and it is conceivable that the decision was taken *after* the Ayyubid period to concentrate the Christian fragments in only a few places in the mosque, among which the *qibla* wall scarcely figured. However, common sense would suggest that such few elements as are plainly Christian were probably set in place in that wall in Ayyubid times rather than later, since it is unlikely that work of this quality would have escaped

re-use at precisely the time when such fragments were most urgently needed, namely in the immediate aftermath of Saladin's recapture of Jerusalem.

What, then, are these Christian elements? The most likely candidates are the columns and capitals of the *mihrab*; the two square panels immediately adjoining those capitals; the slabs of dark green marble which support the shortest and outer column on each side of the *mihrab*; the niche on porphyry columns which flanks each of those slabs; and the bifurcated acanthus scroll crowned by a central pine-cone which is set into the *qibla* wall to the west of where the *minbar* stood. All these elements differ markedly from Muslim work in some way, whether in their mouldings, arch forms, vegetal motifs or carving technique. And all are sited close to the *mihrab*. When that fact is placed alongside the use of the other major Christian elements in the Aqsa mosque to form the *mihrab* of ʿUmar, the *mihrab* of Zakariyya and the *dikka* (to which might be added the Mamluk marble *minbar* of Burhan al-Din, the 'summer pulpit' on the Haram esplanade), it becomes clear that the preferred use of Christian elements by medieval Muslims was to conscript them, so to speak, for a Muslim liturgical purpose.[87]

One might go further and point out that perhaps the most spectacular Christian *spolia* were those taken from the funerary monuments of the Latin kings of Jerusalem,[88] so that their re-use in a Muslim context had political as well as religious significance.[89] That said, it remains true that it was not in the main *qibla* wall that the most arresting assemblage of Crusader material in the Aqsa mosque was located. Probably this was deliberate, for Saladin's *mihrab* stands out all the more strongly in scale and polychromy by virtue of being flanked by two white niches of Christian origin, strikingly diminutive in scale, re-used as *mihrabs*, and carried on columns made of the royal material *par excellence*, porphyry.[90] Here again, one may feel, there resurfaces the theme of Muslim triumph.

The Aqsa porch

Two further aspects of the architectural and decorative embellishment of the Ayyubid mosque deserve close attention here. One is the porch (pls 14.8-14.10 and XLIX-L);[91] the other the painted woodwork of the ceiling.

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[83] For Jerusalem and Hebron, see Rosen-Ayalon 1986, pls IV and V.

[84] For Damascus, see Meinecke 1992, II, Taf. 15a-d. The Zahiriyya funerary *madrasa* illustrates a striking interplay between mosaics and boldly patterned polychrome marble; see Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller 2005, 172.

[85] Sauvaire 1876, 246.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] Cf. Strzygowski 1936, 502.

[88] For the arguments supporting this idea, see Strzygowski 1936, 506.

[89] As noted long ago by Strzygowski (1936, 506).

[90] For the aura of sanctity that encompassed porphyry, see Glass 1969, 386-90; and for its dynastic associations see Deér 1969, 22, 46-85, describing its use for the sarcophagi of the Norman and Hohenstaufen rulers at Cefalù, Palermo and Monreale, not least as instruments of legitimacy. Pope Innocent V was also buried in a porphyry sarcophagus; see Gardner 1990, 214. Strzygowski argues that its use betrayed megalomania (1936, 507).

[91] The fullest discussion of it to date is that of Hamilton (1949, 37-47).

The porch in its present state (pls 14.8, 14.9) is a hotch-potch of elements from several distinct periods, not easily distinguished from each other. There were major Mamluk interventions, especially in the four outer bays, but the two surviving Mamluk inscriptions, dated 746/1345 and 751/1350 respectively,[92] do not identify exactly what was done at that time. Nonetheless, it seems plausible that the principal Mamluk contribution to the Aqsa porch was to extend it by two bays to the east and two to the west. The impact of this change was to emphasise the breadth of the mosque—though it was still far short of the fifteen bays of the 10th-century mosque façade seen by al-Muqaddasi[93]—and to integrate the porch visually with the major northernmost vault of Crusader or Ayyubid date that projects eastwards, sunken and slightly recessed, from the current portico, and which accounts for some 45 percent of the mosque's façade. These Mamluk extensions were thus, it seems, specifically intended to tidy up the broken aspect of the northern façade of the mosque. They were further embellished by a group of four hexagonal blue and white tiles with Qur'anic inscriptions of probably 15th-century date distributed parsimoniously on the two central piers of the portico.[94]

It takes an effort of the imagination to reconstitute the façade of that portico as it appeared at the end of the 12th century, with its modest three-bay Crusader porch, complete with a wider and higher central arch, still in place.[95] The core of that composition can still be recognised today(pl. 14.10),[96] but to unpick, date and suggest plausible attributions for its constituent parts is a daunting task. The challenge facing the Ayyubid architect was how to islamise this Christian porch while maintaining its essential structural character. It is an open question whether this has been achieved. The strongest impression of this façade, after all, is its motley character. The most obvious method of islamising it, given its long occupation by the Christians, would have been to employ unmistakably Muslim ornament. Yet Ayyubid taste, as the dynasty's buildings in Damascus and Aleppo make clear enough, turned away from this option. The other method would have been to use the written word in a far more proclamatory way and on a much larger scale. This too was not done; again, it was against the canon of Ayyubid taste. Indeed, the curious fact, which has long been recognised, is that Crusader and Ayyubid construction had a good deal in common, and not only because of the use of *spolia*. It was the type of applied ornament that identified a building as Christian or Muslim.

The porch dome itself is of course the centrepiece of the entire design. It reclaims for Islam the previously Christian

Pl. 14.8 Al-Aqsa Mosque, side view of porch. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg C 4996)

Aqsa, and does so in a way that is recognisable as such from a distance. It possesses the characteristic Ayyubid simplicity and austerity of form, and is identified as an Ayyubid construction by a typically understated small-scale historical inscription virtually buried in the seventh of fourteen concentric masonry courses in the dome interior (pl. XLI).[97] The fact that it was painted guaranteed that it would not last, and indeed it is now, even after later repainting, barely visible. It seems that al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, the prince who ordered this work, was indifferent to the plaudits of posterity. The modest rectangular panel, dated 614/1217-18, that records his work uses the phrasing 'was built this façade (*al-wajha*)[98] of the porch ...'; the wording and the panel itself are of a piece with this low-key approach. It currently occupies a somewhat skewed position slightly to the west of the apex of the main façade arch,[99] which is probably not its original location. But the key point is rather its unpretentious scale.

Hamilton 1949, 38 and pl. XXI/2-3.
Hamilton 1949, 36 and fig. 20 on p. 37
Meinecke 1988, 209-10 and pls 38e-f and 41a-b
Hamilton 1949, 44 and 47.
Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller 2005, 237.

For a discussion of this inscription, and an attempt to reconstitute its content, see Hamilton 1949, 46-7 and Hussein 1949, 47-8
As luck would have it, this is the one word that is now unrecognisable, for Hamilton's justification of this reading, see Hamilton 1949, 38-9.
Hamilton 1949, pl. XXII 1 and 2

Pl. 14.9 Al-Aqsa Mosque, central portion of the façade. (Fondation Max van Berchem, Geneva)

This does not mean, however, that this porch followed some standard-issue design. Quite the contrary. To begin with, a porch of this size is an unusual feature in medieval Islamic architecture in the Near East and came into general use only in Ottoman times.[100] A far more commonly used way of drawing attention to an entrance in Ayyubid architecture was the projecting single-arched portal, which turns up in formulaic fashion in literally dozens of buildings in this period.[101] The Aqsa portal, then, with its monumental dome and two flanking bays, and its arches resting on coupled columns and pedestals, stands out as an ambitious public statement of ownership and a suitably grand prelude to the mosque behind it.[102] Inside, the Muslim contribution seems to have comprised primarily the dome itself; what the Crusader porch had in its place is uncertain. The piers have quarter-round angle-shafts set on fluted pedestals and terminating in capitals, while the transverse ribs rest on elbow brackets in the form of amputated coupled colonnettes, again with capitals. The upper portion of the shafts and capitals, plus the elbow brackets and their capitals, were all carved out of a single block. All this adds up to an unobtrusive enrichment of this central section of an otherwise somewhat Spartan interior, and Hamilton argues strongly that it all represents Crusader work.

The marks of the Ayyubid refashioning of the porch are most clearly to be seen, as al-Muʿazzam ʿIsaʾs inscription clearly states, on the façade itself. Here the main portal arch departs decisively from the model of arched Ayyubid portals, with their distinctive *muqarnas* hoods and modest doorway beneath. This arch is fully open, and successive chevron mouldings, perhaps of Crusader origin, as well as a running dog motif, or Vitruvian scroll, mark its profile. The flat surface above is richly articulated by an array of devices. These include paired blind pointed arches (indistinguishable from Gothic work) in the spandrels on either side of the main arch, a flat-topped double recess above it articulated by a trio of paired columns, and above this a row of pawn-shaped merlons of obviously Islamic type.[103] This row of merlons steps down to continue along the eastern and western facades flanking the main arch. The central row of merlons partially obscures three adjoining arched windows behind, which are filled with openwork tracery. This overall arrangement creates a stepped profile with overlapping accents.

What of the interior of this porch? Once again, a dignified simplicity is the order of the day. The bays are

Pl. 14.10 Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque, central bay of north façade (photograph courtesy L Korn).

spaciously laid out, with lofty plain sexpartite pointed vaults, outset at their springing, supported on rectangular piers (pl. LIII). The irregularly disposed clustered engaged columns at their corners have already been mentioned. The stonework of the piers features courses of irregular height comprising blocks of uneven size, clear evidence that the masonry was re-used. Similarly, the arch profiles comprise stones of uneven size. Each bay opens into the interior of the mosque via a square door-frame with an arched tympanum above it filled with plaster tracery. The entire space is dominated by the dome. Its interior coursing tells the same story of re-used worked stones, with oblong, square and narrow blocks used virtually side by side. Yet the dome interior is redeemed from merely workaday construction by the confident elegance of its line and proportion, and by eight circular inset fluted scallops that add a play of light and shadow and underline the key points of the composition. Within the dome proper, they mark the cardinal points; and further down they break up the extensive open surfaces of the upper reaches of the pendentives. Distributed as they are on either side of the

[100] Goodwin 1971, 16-22, notes the appearance of the vaulted or domed portico at the very beginning of Ottoman architecture, notably at the Hacı Ozbek Cami and Yeşil Cami, both in Iznik, and the Alaettin Cami in Bursa; but these are all of the 14th century.

[101] See Abbu 1973, *passim*; for a typical example, see *Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas*, II, 1940, pl. XVII/1 (the ʿAdiliyya *madrasa*).

[102] This muted splendour can perhaps be most clearly realised in the drawing published by Hamilton (1949, pl. LXXIX).

[103] These merlons were renewed under Qaʾit Bay in 1474 (Hamilton 1949, 47).

Pl. 14.11 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam W7 from the nave. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 1480)
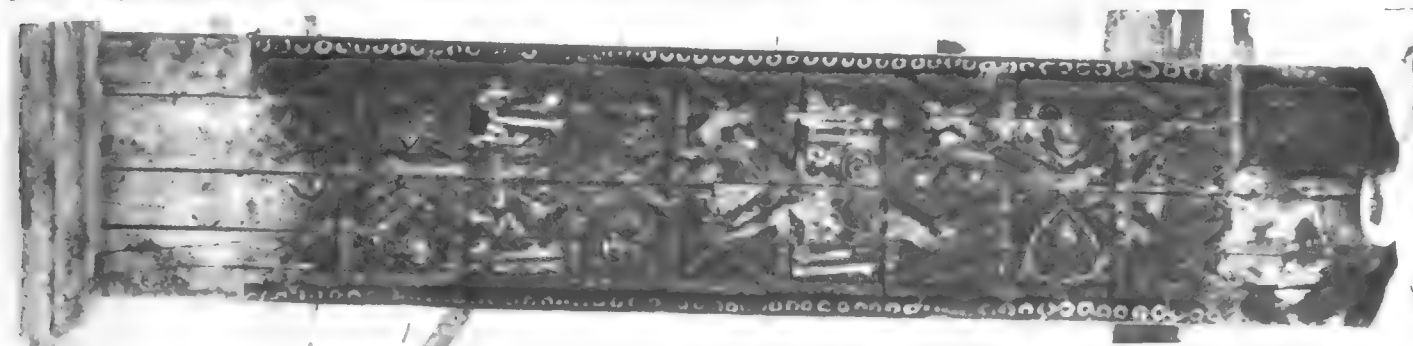
Pl. 14.12 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E from the South arcade. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 1482)

Pl. 14.13 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam I. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5041)

projecting collar of the dome,[104] they are its grace notes. It seems reasonable to link them with similar features in the contemporary architecture of Damascus.[105]

The porch, then, is composite through and through. Its Ayyubid character, however, is reflected in three ways. First one may note the easy, unselfconscious and pervasive use of *spolia*, which co-exists with a readiness to leave well alone wherever possible, even when that means leaving Christian structures largely unchanged. Next, the dome, whose impact can be felt only within the porch, since externally it does not compete with the main dome in front of the *qibla*. Finally, the façade is liberally garnished with applied articulation in the form of strictly architectural elements: blind single and twin arches and a trio of twin colonnettes; all of this was held together by a

long continuous double moulding, raised to accommodate the central three bays and crowned with a row of merlons.[106]

The painted tie-beams

The repairs of 1938-42 revealed at least 25 painted planks nailed to the tie-beams associated with the main nave, as well as some from lesser arcades. Their style suggests an Ayyubid date and they were summarily published with brief commentary by Hamilton.[107] Some of these beams are now stored in the Haram Museum, in which further painted beams from the arcades to the east and west of the central nave were preserved, though it seems that today the tally of surviving beams is

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[104] The inner scallops are evenly distributed; the outer ones are disposed irregularly, some close to the collar and others further away from it.

[105] *Monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, II, 1940, 68, fig. 39 ('Izziyya funerary *madrasa*); 94, fig. 50 and pl. XX/1(bath of Sitt 'Adra); and pl. XX/3 (bath of Osama); and III, 1940, pl. XXII/3 (the Maridaniyya *madrasa*).

[106] This same easy combination of *spolia* with Muslim features characterises the *madrasa* of Nur al-Din at Damascus (for a colour plate, see Wieczorek, Fansa and Meller 2005, 263). Nor was this a flash in the pan; the *mihrab* of his Dar al-Hadith also features a classical *spolium*, in this case a semi-circular antique arch (*Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas*, I, 1938, 19 and pl.VIII/3).

[107] Hamilton 1949, 3, 74-82, figs.34-41 and pls.XXXIX-XLIII and LXXVI.

Pl. 14.14 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E6 from the nave. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 1483)

Pl. 14.16 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam H. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5042)
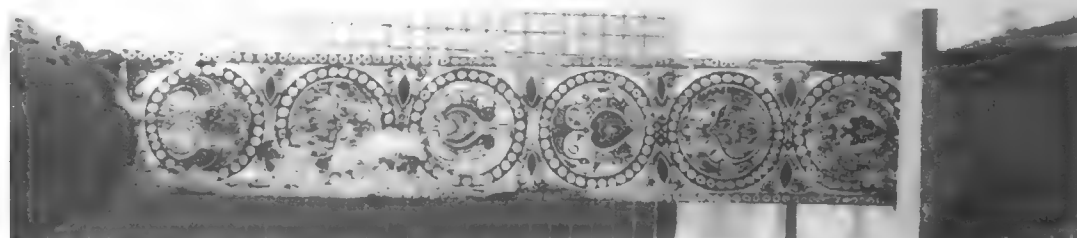
Pl. 14.17 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam G. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 5043)

much smaller than the number recorded by Hamilton, and no explanation is forthcoming for this discrepancy. On the other hand, he uses the sinister phrasing 'At the present time [1949] little more than a few splintered planks remain'.[108] It is hard to equate this dolorous statement with the beautiful condition of some of the planks reproduced in his book—and indeed a comparison of some of Hamilton's plates with photographs taken by Creswell prompts the thought that some of the Hamilton plates are photographs of reconstructed painted drawings rather than images of the original objects themselves, since some of their details disagree with the evidence of the Creswell plates.[109] A full set of beams was recovered for the arcades on either side of the central nave; they rested directly on the capitals crowning the columns.[110] In this way the central nave was given pre-eminence over the other aisles by virtue

of the decoration which framed it. It seems worthwhile to examine this material anew and above all to reproduce colour plates of what little remains (pls LXVI-LXVII and LXXX-LXXXI), and the archival photographs taken by Creswell, so that it can take its rightful place in the limited repertoire of medieval Muslim painted ceilings. This is all the more urgent given the rapid deterioration that some of these paintings have suffered in the last seventy years, and the apparent disappearance of most of the material recorded by Hamilton. The plates that follow adopt the numbering employed in Hamilton 1949.

Thanks to the scholarly work done over the last two generations, much more is now known of medieval Muslim painted ornament on ceilings and rafters,

Pl. 14.15 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam A from the South arcade (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, neg. C 1481)

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[*] Hamilton 1949, 75.

Compare pls 14.12 and 14.15 in this chapter, which reproduce Creswell's photographs, with Hamilton 1949, pls XLI E and A (pls 14.22 and 14.18). If one extends these findings to material for which there are no Creswell photographs to act as a control, it seems possible that another of Hamilton's plates that bears no trace at all of any ageing (i.e. pl. XLI F—pl. 14.23) also reproduces a coloured drawing or painting of this woodwork rather than the original plank itself. These suggestions are made with all due circumspection, but they may be warranted given the curious disparity between the two sets of photographs

Hamilton 1949, pl. XLIII
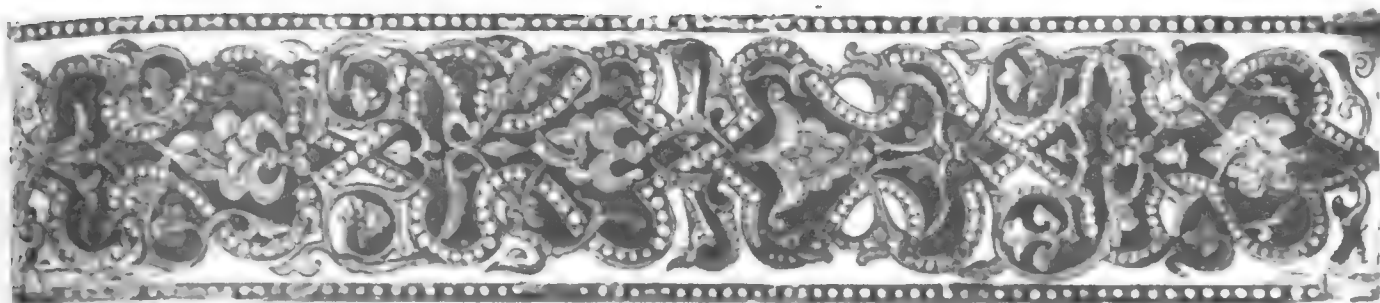
14.18 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam A from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI)
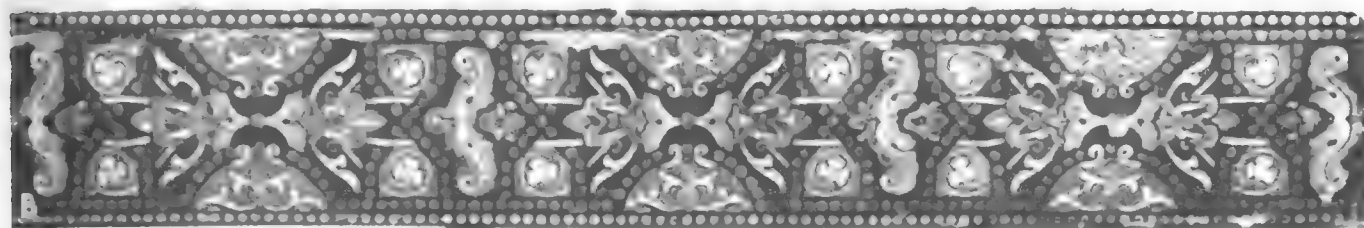
14.19 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam B from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI).
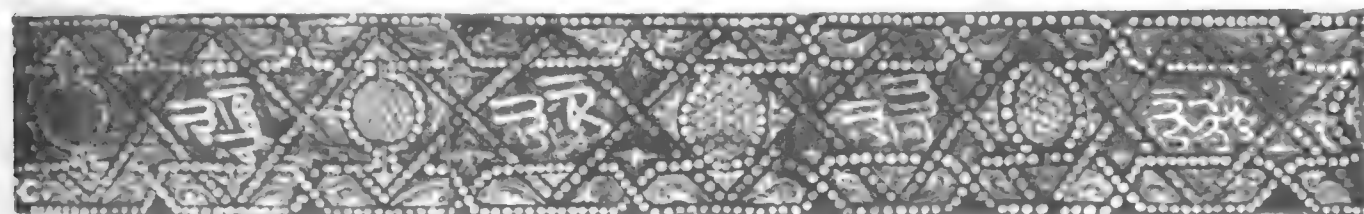
14.20 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam C from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI)
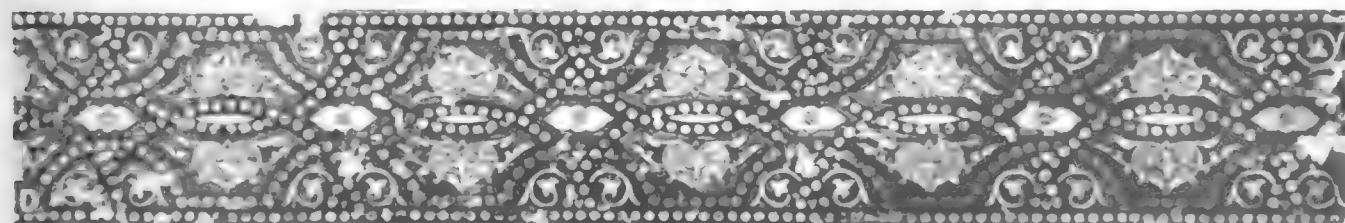
14.21 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam D from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI).
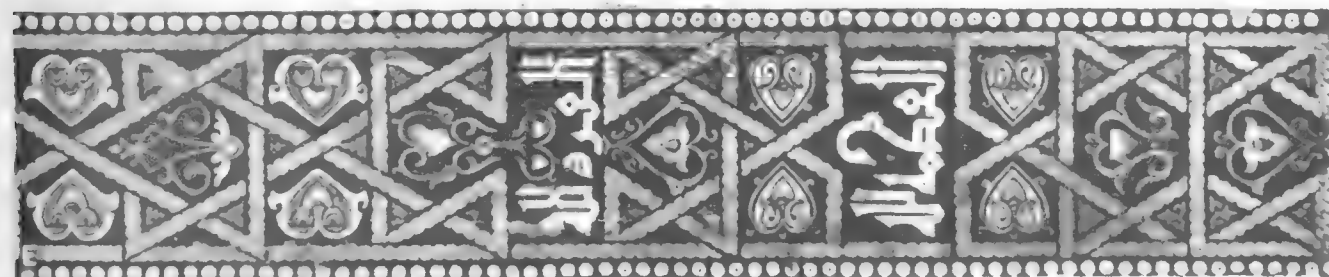
14.22 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI).
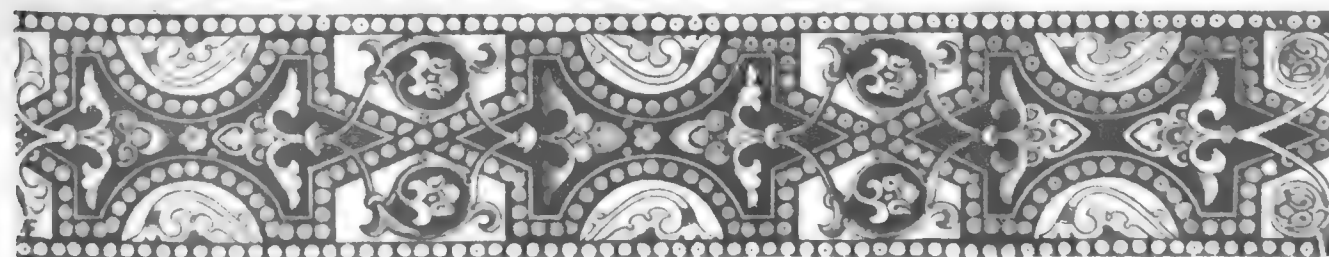
14.23 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam F from the South arcade (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI).

especially with the rich material that has gradually become available from Cairo[111] and from the Yemen.[112] Indeed, Yemen possesses the richest repository of such woodwork in the medieval Islamic world, with major masterpieces at al-ʿAbbas, near Asnaf,[113] the Great Mosques of Sanʿa'[114] and Shibam,[115] and finally Zafar Dhibin,[116] where painting is used not for isolated beams but for entire wooden ceilings. Many more Yemeni mosques—for example Dhu Ashraq, Jibla, Ibb, Dhibin[117] and Dhamar[118]—have painted medieval ceilings of high quality, preserved at least in part by the virtual isolation of the country for such a long period. Not surprisingly, then, the range of motifs and colours in Yemeni ceilings far outstrips the body of work at the Aqsa. The fact that this latter scheme has no infill grid to set off the longitudinal beams severely reduces its potential.

Nevertheless, the Aqsa beams represent a treasure trove of the vegetal and geometric decoration of the time, and their sheer energy is reflected in the seemingly endless variations that are teased out of quite simple themes. The craftsmen contrive to make us forget that the space at their disposal was limited and indeed constricting, in the sense that, while it permitted indefinite horizontal extension, this could occur only within a very narrow span. This cramped space does not suit the distinctive Ayyubid vegetal style, with its lithe, buoyant but tightly controlled scrolls—a style well illustrated in a capital that recently appeared on the London art market (pl. XXXVIII). Moreover, these beams bore decoration that was intended to be seen from the ground, and that excluded busy and complicated layouts, while privileging those that were at once simple and striking.

The colour range has faded considerably since Hamilton's photographs were taken, perhaps because in the interim they have been exposed to much more light. Their original setting, high up in a dimly lit mosque and far away from any direct light, would have kept the colours relatively pristine.[119] The colour scheme of several beams has much in common, as indeed does the vegetal repertoire, with the slightly earlier Zirid

painted ceilings of the Great Mosque of Qairawan,[120] where the principal tonality is red of various shades highlighted with black and white. The motifs here are, however, very repetitive in the square infill panels—indeed, they are virtually identical—and even the longitudinal beams have a much reduced range in comparison with those in the Aqsa. Similarly, the colour range in the Aqsa is significantly wider; Hamilton lists white, black, emerald green, crimson, grey, brown and ochre as the colours used in the best-preserved painted beam.[121] To this should be added the evidence of a painted plank not recorded by Hamilton (pl. LXVIII), which features a bold two-decker *naskhi* inscription. It uses quite high relief, is lavishly gilded with under-painting in red and white, has a background of dark blue, and features leaves executed in light and dark green. In its original condition it must have made a splendid sight. Some of the Yemeni ceilings, notably Zafar Dhibin, also display a technicolour palette, and even in the non-figural parts of the Cappella Palatina frescoes, notably those in the aisles, the vegetal designs display much more varied polychromy than does the Qairawan ceiling. But it is difficult to assess the value of these comparisons, which are necessitated by the extreme rarity of such painted ceilings in the medieval Islamic world.

The epigraphic theme is curiously muted given that in other media, such as architecture and metalwork, the Ayyubids used inscriptions extensively, and were fully alive to their beauty. Indeed, of the 23 beams published by Hamilton only four use writing, and these four differ very markedly. One (pl. 14.12) is dominated by triangular, octagonal and lozenge designs, and is constantly generating unusual geometrical figures, which do not develop as expected.[122] Thus its prime emphasis is geometric and its generically similar but non-repetitive motifs invite, indeed challenge, the viewer's skill in reading such patterns and completing them outside the frame of the design. The outer pair of irregular 10-sided figures within these geometric motifs—motifs that constantly threaten to form *khatam Sulaiman* designs, but never quite do so,[123] are filled with buds of various kinds. The inner pair, on the other hand, each has two words written on the vertical axis.[124] both in an elegant Kufic. They read *al-ʿazma li'llah* ('Might belongs to God') and the other *al-ʿizza li'llah* ('Glory belongs to God'). In the first, the *alif-lam* combination has an inner notch in each shaft; in the second, the two letters are knotted. Such invocations recur in the wall paintings of the Cappella Palatina.[125] The second example (pl. 14.20) is similar to the

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[111] Allan 1994, 16, fig. 10; 18, 20-22, 26-7 and figs 14-16, 30; Behrens-Abouseif 2007, 95, fig. 43 (Qaytbay's *sabil-maktab* at Saliba) and 195, figs 150-1 (*khanqah* of Shaykhu); Pauty 1932-33, 99-107; Meinecke 1992, II, Taf. 53b and c, 54b; and Meinecke-Berg 1991, 227-33.

[112] See Allan 1994, 3-25, 28-9 and 31

[113] Baker 2004, 68-83.

[114] See Finster 1978, 103-20 and Taf. 34-49; Finster and Schmidt 1979, 179-81; and Finster 1982, 197-210

[115] Finster 1979, 193-228.

[116] Finster 1982a, 256-8, 263-8 and Taf. 112-16.

[117] Finster 1982a, 228-31 and Taf. 87b, 88b and 89 (Dhu Ashraq); 239-40 and Taf. 96 (Jibla); 242-4 and Taf. 99 (Ibb), and 272-5 and Taf. 125 (Dhibin).

[118] Finster 1986, 121-5 and Taf. 34.

[119] Close examination of a much more important corpus of paintings, those in the main roof of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, reveals that the soot of centuries of smoking lamps has dulled most of the colours; but when the fittings from which these lamps were suspended are removed, the colours are as good as new, and very significantly brighter than elsewhere in the ceiling

[120] For a colour plate, see Sebag 1965, 50-1.

[121] Hamilton 1949, 75.

[122] For example, the linked pairs of double triangles flanking the inscription *al-ʿizza li'llah* (Hamilton 1949, pl. XLI, E).

[123] This is a good example of the tricks of perception that these compositions play.

[124] That is, at right angles to the horizontal beam.

[125] Monneret de Villard 1950, 32 and 66, n.140; he comments that some thirty words are constantly repeated. All of these are of good omen.

14.24 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam K (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLII).
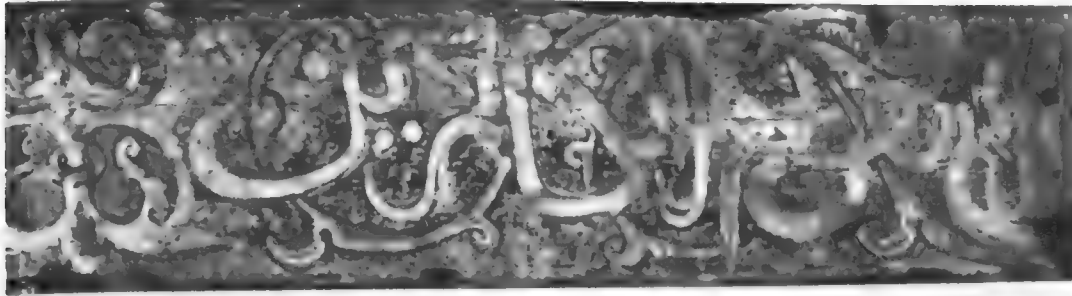
14.25 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam L (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XLII).
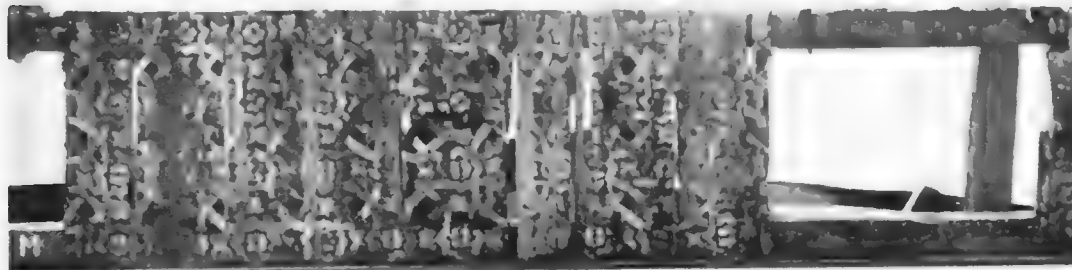
14.26 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam M (after Hamilton 1949, pl.XLII).
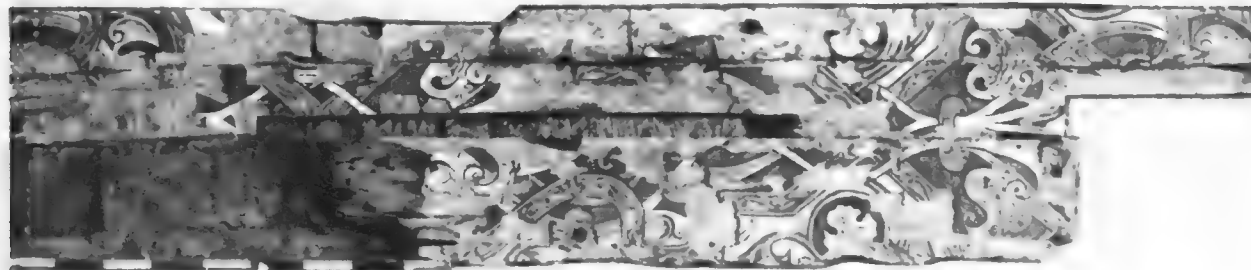
14.27 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam W1 from the nave (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XL).

14.28 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E4 from the nave (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XL).
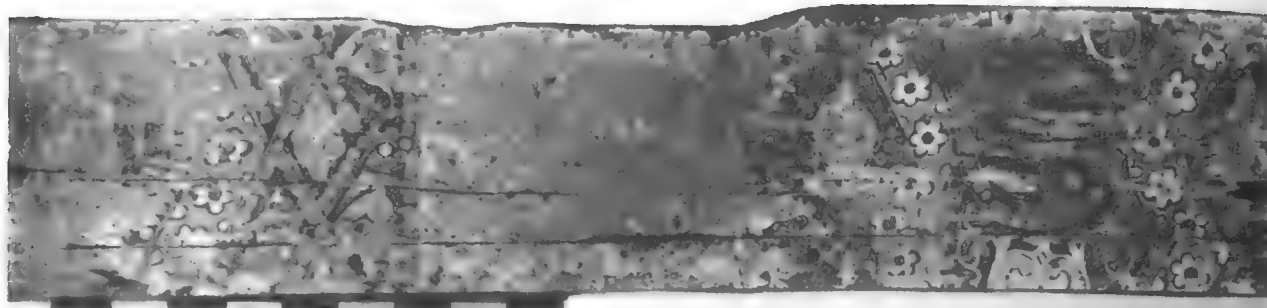
14.29 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E1 from the nave (after Hamilton 1949, pl. XL).
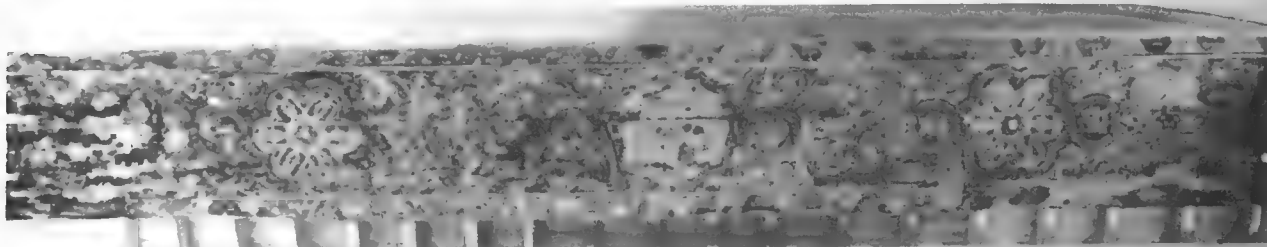
14.30 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam W3 from the nave (after Hamilton 1949, pl.XXXIX).
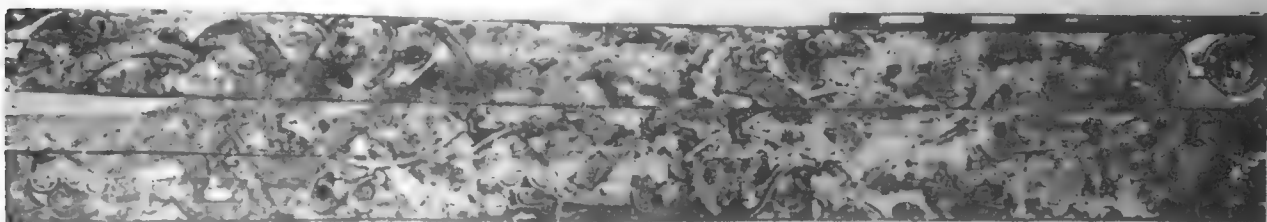
14.31 Aqsa Mosque, painted beam E3 from the nave (after Hamilton 1949, pl.XL).

first in that the inscriptions occupy polygonal compartments (notably uneven hexagons) created by the superposed and interlocking figures that constitute the principal design. The content of this *naskhi* epigraphy is again similar, consisting as it does of brief statements of divine attributes: *al-mulk li'llah* ('Power belongs to God'), *al-'azza li'llah* ('Glory belongs to God') and *al-'azma li'llah* ('Might belongs to God'). The third example, of which Hamilton published only a detail (pl. 14.25), had large, confidently sprawling cursive inscriptions taking up most of the available space, but unfortunately these are too damaged to give a clear idea of the layout.[126] The fourth example, E1 in Hamilton's numbering,[127] is damaged (pl. 14.29); but enough survives to recognise a typically rhythmic and buoyant version of Ayyubid *naskh*. A fifth example—and one where epigraphy is dominant—is the high-relief panel discussed in the previous paragraph (pl. LXVIII). Its original location is unknown.

What, then, are the principal characteristics of these beams, leaving out their borders (pls LXXVI and LXXVII), of which very little trace remains? Hamilton divided them into four groups, depicting respectively roundels; interlaced ribbons enclosing compartments; similar compartments interlaced

with floral designs; and cornucopiae in scroll form. He did not attempt to propose value judgments on the basis of their location, and indeed the relatively bad state of preservation of the nave planks as against the relatively good state of those from the arcades or in the Haram Museum at the time justifies his caution. But these categories, accurate as they are, do not give the measure of these paintings. They leave undiscussed the constant recourse to a palimpsest mode, which makes for a dramatic increase in the richness and intensity of certain designs;[128] the way that, for the sake of suggesting infinity, many of them do not finish but are cut off abruptly by the frame or by the plank coming to an end; the easy interplay of vegetal and geometric ornament; the use of annular motifs, which was something of an archaism at the time; the emphasis on the pearl roundel; and the preference for knotted motifs. It will be convenient to examine some of these in more detail in what follows.

The palimpsest mode often co-exists with the technique of suggesting the infinite extension of a pattern by ensuring that it does not achieve its complete form within the frame. This idea is found from the beginning of Islamic art; it can be seen, for example, in certain Umayyad window grilles in the Great Mosque of Damascus, Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbi and

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[126] Hamilton 1949, pl. XLII, L.

[127] Hamilton 1949, fig 36 and pl.XL. The drawing should be rotated; it does not agree with the plate.

[128] Hamilton 1949, 78, fig.37 and 82, fig. 41.

Khirbat al-Mafjar. It is a straightforward way of rendering a design very much more complex; and, by the simple device of breaking off short before certain connections are made between the components of the pattern, it can make the design practically unreadable. In later Islamic art craftsmen preferred to employ different colours for the separate levels of the design; but, as Persian carpets show,[129] even this was not enough to render readable a design which the craftsman wished to make as hard as possible to decipher. Perhaps the best example of this trend in the Aqsa painted woodwork is Hamilton's pl. XLII/M (pl. 14.26) a sinuously entangled interlace in different tones which defies ready analysis. Most of the planks deploy the interplay between no more than two levels (pls 14.19, 14.21 and 14.29),[130] but several use three levels with total assurance (pls 14.11, 14.13, 14.15, 14.23, 14.26 and 14.27).[131]

The easy interplay of geometric and vegetal ornament is a theme consistently found in this material (pls LXXX and LXXXI; pls 14.11, 14.12 and 14.30). By some trick of perception, organic and geometric forms seem to make constantly alternating bids for attention. No sooner does one of them occupy the forefront of the mind than it is replaced by the other, like a dance in which the partners step forward and back in turn. Geometric forms develop dramatic ballooning convexities and concavities which harbour vegetal motifs, and these motifs expand in the most natural way to fill these unlikely compartments (pls 14.11, 14.13, 14.23 and 14.31). The plant forms, for all their organic feel, do not run riot but are carefully disciplined to fit into the interstices of the geometric design.

Annular motifs, themselves often bearing supplementary ornament, mark the junctions of intersecting tendrils (pl. 14.18); or they are strategically located just before these tendrils bifurcate or before a blossom appears (pls 14.27, 14.28 and 14.31); or they mark the mid-point between two blossoms sprouting at opposite ends of a single stem (pl. 14.11). Given the lavish use of such annular motifs in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock, and in the Fatimid mosaics in the Aqsa mosque itself, coupled with the fact that they had long fallen out of the standard repertoire of Islamic ornament at this time, it is hard not to conclude that they represent a deliberately local archaism. The cornucopia theme (pl. 14.28) comes into the same category.

Another archaism, and one harder to account for, is the emphasis on the pearl roundel as a framing device for circular medallions (pls 14.16and 14.17), for borders (pls 14.11, 14.19-14.24) or as infill ornament for various geometric forms

(pl. 14.20). The traditional association of the pearl roundel had long been with sumptuous textiles,[132] and given the readiness of the Islamic world to use textiles as hangings and room dividers[133] it was a natural development to use their designs for ceiling decoration as well. Naturally, the fact that these planks were for use in a mosque of unusual sanctity excluded any recourse to the figural designs that were so often associated with medallions which had pearl roundel frames. Instead, the fertile imaginations of the painters created a surreal sequence of filler motifs for these medallions, motifs that had a distinctly biomorphic air to them and that went far beyond the bounds of terrestrial botany. Here again one must reckon with the impact of the Umayyad and Fatimid mosaics nearby, which made lavish use of such supernal organic forms.

It is only when one studies these planks as an entire group that the prevalence of knotted motifs or intersections in their designs fully manifests itself. Indeed, the ground theme of more than half of these planks is this idea of linking, though it has many expressions. Small circular loops join the larger lobed medallions (pl. 14.30) or frame a rectangular panel (pl. 14.19 and pl. LXXX); stellar or lozenge patterns, trilobed or hexagonal shapes, combinations of angular and curvilinear forms (pl. 14.24), or fanciful overlapping geometric forms with concavities scooped out of them—all of them are linked by knot or overlap, creating a constant forward movement punctuated by these intersections. These devices serve to control the extremely busy nature of many of these patterns.

All in all, then, these painted planks constitute a rich repertoire of Ayyubid design. They display an endless virtuosity in devising compositions that are colourful, complex and varied, and that challenge and tease the eye. Hence their reliance on palimpsest techniques and their knowing mix of geometrical and vegetal motifs. But they also evoke textiles, that key element of Islamic interior design, and they are replete with references to the great earlier mosaic schemes in the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa mosque itself. Thus they reveal some of the abiding concerns of Ayyubid art.

Conclusion

What general remarks can be ventured about the Ayyubid Aqsa on the basis of the preceding discussion? Both the structure and the decoration of the Aqsa mosque have too often been overshadowed by the instant glamour and the unfailing intensity of purpose and visual effect that characterise the Dome of the Rock. Yet the long-established Muslim habit of referring to the entire Haram as the Masjid al-Aqsa serves notice that things were not always so. The fact is that, in comparison with the travails undergone by the Aqsa over

[129] Ellis 1967, 3172-3183.
[130] Notably (to follow the sequence of Hamilton's photographs) W6, E3, W1, E4, A, C, D, and I (Hamilton 1949, pls XXXIX-XLII); these, with the exception of W6, are reproduced above as pls 14.31, 14.27, 14.28, 14.18, 14.20, 14.21 and 14.13 respectively.
[131] See B, E, F, J, K and M (Hamilton 1949, pls. XLI-XLII); these are reproduced above as pls 14.19, 14.22, 14.33, LXXXI, 14.24 and 14.26 respectively.

[132] For the origins of the motif, see Meister 1970.
[133] See Golombek 1988, 25-6, 30-2.

the centuries, the Dome of the Rock has survived not only with its original decorative scheme easily recognisable for the most part, but also with its essential structure miraculously well preserved. Visitors readily feel its immediate impact, and many of them respond to it enthusiastically. Of course this may have much to do with its form, which—at one level, at least—is dramatically simple and quickly apprehended; but it also has to do with the visually overpowering impression created by the green and gold mosaic that covers so much of its inner surface. The Aqsa cannot offer such an experience. It has suffered too many root-and-branch overhauls. Moreover, it hides its history rather than proclaiming it. To retrace its Umayyad, ʿAbbasid, Fatimid or Ayyubid form, even in general outline, requires detective work of a high order; and its embellishment in any one of these periods survives only in fragments.

The Aqsa, then, is today a ruined but impressive torso whose overall appearance under any one of the dynasties just mentioned continues to elude even the diligent observer. Its Ayyubid incarnation shines forth fitfully, but still impressively, in the portal, the mosaic of the *mihrab*, the painted beams, the photographic record of the incinerated *minbar* and—most palpably—in the marble elements clustered around the centre of the *qibla* wall and scattered further afield in the *dikka* and in the lesser *mihrabs*.

Chapter 15
EASTERN CHRISTIAN ART AND CULTURE IN THE AYYUBID AND EARLY MAMLUK PERIODS: CULTURAL CONVERGENCE BETWEEN JERUSALEM, GREATER SYRIA AND EGYPT

Lucy-Anne Hunt

Introduction

The Ayyubid period, between the late 12th to mid-13th centuries, saw a flowering of the art and culture of Eastern Christians—especially Syrians, Copts and Armenians—living under Islam in the Middle East.[1] However, while Cairo and Damascus flourished, the political and economic fortunes of Jerusalem were at their lowest ebb. The Ayyubid period in the Holy Land was ushered in by the violent retaking of Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 582/1187, with destruction continuing under its own Muslim rulers as part of a scorched earth policy. Cities can display a cyclical character, marked by the ebb and flow of their political and cultural significances.[2] Despite its decline and consequent marginal position politically, Jerusalem's universal spiritual and symbolic significance was retained. This significance was as relevant for Eastern and Latin Christians as it was for Muslims. Indeed it may be argued that Jerusalem as a city functioned as a site of 'spatial convergence', to appropriate a term from Benjamin Kedar.[3] This chapter assesses the influence of Jerusalem's role as a cultural centre and the position and artistic productivity of Eastern Christians within and beyond it, elsewhere in the Ayyubid empire.

My approach will be to examine case studies of cultural convergence in their historical context. First, the changed position of the various indigenous Christian communities in Jerusalem under the Latin Kingdom and under Ayyubid rule after the conquest by Saladin in 582/1187 needs to be outlined. Their position improved here and elsewhere, as a result of

the approach of the Ayyubids to the integration of minority cultures. Second, particular works of art will elucidate the issue of the broader cultural relationships between Jerusalem, Greater Syria and Egypt. It will be argued that Eastern Christian, especially Syrian Melkite, culture provided a cultural continuum as political control of the city swung back and forth between Latin Christian and Muslim rule between the late 12th and mid-13th centuries. This continuum was enriched by contacts and convergencies within the Holy Land but was also further developed elsewhere in the Ayyubid domains. The case studies chosen, comprising illustrated manuscripts, woodwork and icons, demonstrate the transmission of ideas and artefacts within and between communities. The third and final section addresses the uncertainty that took hold with the disintegration of the Ayyubid regime. Insecurity and the threat of violence was manifested in the art of those Eastern Christians who had once sought protection from Byzantine and Ayyubid rulers and who now felt vulnerable with their decline. The rise of the Mamluks took place as the Islamic polity threatened to collapse in the face of the rise of the Mongols from the east, with the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258. The alliance of Eastern Christians with the Mongols, with the potential promise of the liberation of Jerusalem, provides a brief interlude before Mamluk rule established itself and Jerusalem—and ultimately the rest of the mainland territory once held by the Latins—became fully integrated into the Islamic state.

Eastern Christian communities in Jerusalem

A diversity of Christian groups was to be found in Jerusalem under Latin jurisdiction towards the end of the Latin Kingdom, shortly

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[1] This chapter was delivered as a paper at the conference *Cultural Convergencies in the Medieval Mediterranean*, 11 September 11 2004, organised by Professor Cecily Hilsdale and the Department of the History of Art, University of Michigan, at the Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[2] The cultural vitality of a modern city, Detroit, in face of its economic decline and architectural decay, was explored in an exhibition *Detroit* curated by Trevor Schoonmaker, displayed at Urbis, Manchester, 20 May–18 July 2004.

[3] Kedar 2001, 59.

before Saladin retook the city. Each had their own churches and chapels and religious practices, as western pilgrimage accounts relate. John of Würzburg, writing in the early 1160s AD, noted that there were at least twenty-two groups of 'people of every race and tongue'.[4] This immediately demonstrates the difficulty in attributing works of art to artists of any one particular nationality. The number of main groupings, however, can be whittled down according to their religious affiliation. Discussing the practices of the various rites in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, the pilgrim Theodoric, writing probably in 564/1169, recounted the presence of five communities, or sects—the Latins, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, 'Jacobins', and Nubians *(Latini, Suriani, Armenii, Greci, Iacobini, Nubiani)*, each with their own cultural and religious practices.[5] These grouping can be broadly divided between those who, in line with the Byzantine Empire, subscribed to the conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon of 431—the Chalcedonians, Melkites, to use their Arabic name—and those 'separated' churches who had not (Miaphysites or 'Jacobites'. Theodoric's 'Jacobins'). The Syrians could be either, but in the Ayyubid period the Melkites were the strongest community in Jerusalem.[6] Eastern Christians made their mark on the physical shape of the city, with the Armenian church of St James on the southwest side, the Syrian church of St Mark's on the northeast and the focus of the Holy Sepulchre in the centre, with Coptic churches to the north of it and the Muslim Haram returned to Muslim control to the east.[7]

The period 582-658/1187-1260 saw a shift in power amongst the Eastern Christian communities in Jerusalem and, as Richard B Rose pointed out, this was by no means a return to the situation prior to the Latin conquest of 492/1099.[8] Before 492/1099 the majority Christian group, the Chalcedonian Melkites, had been the predominant group politically, with their bishops bearing the rank of patriarch. The Melkites had enjoyed the protection and patronage of the Byzantine emperor who negotiated on their behalf for the protection of the shrines, and for the predominant position of Greek clergy at those shrines, as well as the well-being of the city's Melkite residents and visitors on pilgrimage. However, the changed political circumstances of Byzantium after 600/1204, with the move of the empire's capital to Nicaea until 659/1261, meant that the emperor was no longer in such a favourable negotiating position. Indeed, Saladin allowed neither Latins nor Constantinopolitan Greeks to occupy the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[9] This left a power vacuum

which was instead gradually filled by the Georgian community, preferred by the Ayyubids to the Greeks, and which was the first non-indigenous community to be allowed back, in 588/ September 1192. They were permitted to repair their shrines and worship in the Holy Sepulchre after the reconquest, even if their offer to ransom the Holy Cross was declined by Saladin, most likely because it had been lost.[10] This situation, favourable to Georgians, was furthered by the Bagratid kingdom of Georgia and included exemption from taxes for pilgrims who were subjects of the kingdom.[11]

Let us look briefly at each community in turn. The Syrian Melkites, numerically the largest group, had welcomed Saladin into Jerusalem in 582/1187, when a Melkite even acted as Saladin's negotiator.[12] This won them the predominant place in the Holy Sepulchre. Their influence also spread well beyond Jerusalem. Between the late 1180s and 1262 the Melkite patriarchs of Jerusalem were Syrians, not Greeks, displaying independence from Constantinople both liturgically and in practical affairs.[13] This remained the case despite the fact that, since the mid-12th century, titular Byzantine patriarchs of Jerusalem were commemorated at St Catherine's monastery on Sinai and in Syrian Melkite monasteries elsewhere in Ayyubid territory.[14] The Melkites had little love for the Latins: hostility had continued from the time of the Latin Kingdom and, while Melkites did on occasion negotiate directly with Rome, they were not happy to do so with local Latins.[15] Hostility was exacerbated by the existence of a Syrian Melkite Christian hierarchy in Egypt under direct Ayyubid protection.[16]

At the same time the position of the non-Chalcedonian Copts, Syrians and Armenians also improved in Jerusalem. Although they had no powerful foreign sovereign to intercede on their behalf, the Syrians and Copts had both had a long association with Muslim rulers and also offered no threat to the Ayyubids.[17] This was the case despite the historic closer association of the Miaphysite Syrian Orthodox community—subject to the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch—with the Latins. In 1237 one patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius, negotiated in Jerusalem (then under Latin rule) to bring the Syrian Orthodox church under the umbrella of the papacy, even if this did not prove permanent in the long term.[18] But it was the Copts in

[4] Wilkinson 1988, 273; Cerulli 1943, 28-19.

[5] Huygens with Pryer 1994, 152, with comment on dating, 28; Wilkinson 1988, 282.

[6] Every 1947, 54, pointed out that modern scholars invariably but erroneously take the term 'Suriani' to refer to the non-Chalcedonian Miaphysites.

[7] Some of these monuments are located on the map reproduced by Rozenberg (ed.) 1999, 73.

[8] Rose 1992, 239-49.

[9] Every 1947, 49. The experience of western pilgrims visiting the Holy Sepulchre under Ayyubid rule was rather a sorry one, being shepherded in and out by the Muslim doorkeepers, at a cost. See De Sandoli 1986, 18-19.

[10] Every 1947, 49; Rose 1992, 15.

[11] This was especially the case under Queen Thamar (1194-1212); Rose 1992, 243-4, 248-9. Every (1947, 49) points out that the Georgians' predominant place in Golgotha must have been gained by 1220, after which their political influence declined.

[12] Every 1947, 47.

[13] Every 1947, 49-50.

[14] Every 1947, 48.

[15] Every 1947, 51. Athanasius negotiated directly with the Pope in 1247.

[16] Every 1947, 51.

[17] Rose 1992, 244.

[18] Runciman (1954 reprinted 1985, 232) points out this union with the Latins was brokered by mendicant friars. It scarcely outlived the death of Ignatius in 1252.

particular who came to enjoy an enhanced position in the shrines, including the Holy Sepulchre, and came to elect their own archbishop in 1236.[19] With the Copts came a new element, that of an Ethiopian community, present in Jerusalem from at least the beginning of the 13th century.[20]

Along with other Eastern Christians—Greeks, Georgians, Syrian Orthodox, as well as Maronites and members of the Church of the East (Nestorians)—several Copts were expelled in the early years of Saladin's rule, many to end up on Cyprus,'where each sect observed its own rites.'[21] Thereafter, however, things improved, and the Copts gained the right to visit the Holy City as pilgrims, something that had been difficult, if not impossible, under Crusader rule.[22] Saladin granted tax exemption for Eastern Christians visiting Jerusalem as pilgrims.[23] His brother, al-ʿAdil, re-opened the church of the Holy Sepulchre to Coptic pilgrims each year.[24] The issue of the opening up of Jerusalem to Coptic pilgrims was of paramount concern to the Coptic patriarch John VI (1189-1216)—a patriarch in a good position to negotiate on this, given that he was appointed with strong Muslim support.[25]

Great significance was attached to the pilgrimage to Jerusalem by Copts. Abu Ishaq al-Mu'taman ibn al-ʿAssal wrote a series of forty-eight discourses for all the Sundays of the year, organised by month, one of which encouraged his fellow Copts to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[26] For the writer, Jerusalem channelled the principles of the Christian faith. God is honoured and praised for his miracles and believers are exhorted to seek atonement with God's help and protection and to take heart. God built Jerusalem, in which Solomon constructed the Temple, while Bethlehem is associated with Christ's birth. God is praised again, with the further exhortation to go to Jerusalem, with its trees and fruit as imagery of Paradise. Almsgiving, piety and penance are prerequisites for the pilgrim, who is rewarded through the intercession of Christ and the Virgin. Both Jerusalem and Bethlehem remained focal points for Coptic veneration, as they did for other Eastern Christian pilgrims, and the ability to retain access to them was of crucial importance.

Among the places of worship retained by the Copts in Jerusalem in the early 13th century were the chapel of the Virgin in the Holy Sepulchre, and a church in Dair al-Sultan, a monastery located between the Coptic Patriarchate to the north and the Holy Sepulchre itself to the south.[27] At this time, links between Copts in Egypt and those in Jerusalem were

maintained through permanent monastic holdings, pilgrimage, and Copts living in Jerusalem. Their position, like that of the Syrian Orthodox, improved greatly in the Ayyubid period.

Relations between these two Miaphysite communities were not always harmonious, however. Rivalry between the Syrian Orthodox and the Copts prompted the Coptic patriarch, Cyril III Ibn Laqlaq (1235-43), to establish an independent Coptic diocese of Jerusalem in 1236 with jurisdiction over Coptic interests and churches in Jerusalem, the rest of Palestine, Syria and along the Euphrates.[28] He managed to regain the chapel in the Holy Sepulchre and the church in Dair al-Sultan which had, in the meantime, been appropriated by the Syrians.[29] Coptic churches in Jerusalem and throughout Syria were now directly dependent on the see of Alexandria. The Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch retaliated by excommunicating the newly appointed Coptic archbishop.[30] The patriarch of Antioch also consecrated an Ethiopian monk as archbishop of Abyssinia, a role previously undertaken by the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria.[31] Finally a compromise was reached whereby the patriarch of Antioch recognised the new metropolitan of Jerusalem but the latter's jurisdiction was not to extend beyond Gaza.[32] By the mid-13th century this archbishopric was well established and was maintained, along with monastic communities in Jerusalem, throughout the period that Jerusalem was back in Latin hands (626-42/1229-44).[33]

The position of Eastern Christians needs to be set against the backdrop of shifting relations between Latins and Ayyubids, which exposes Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period as something of a political pawn. Following Saladin's death in 589/1193 and the increasing disunity amongst his Ayyubid successors, the focus of power shifted from Jerusalem to Egypt and Syria, leaving Jerusalem vulnerable to Crusader attack. Furthermore, and ironically, the paucity of western pilgrims at this time further contributed to its economic decline.[34] Despite Jerusalem's acknowledged significance to Muslims, its secondary importance in the military and political spheres rendered it dispensable to the Ayyubids. This resulted first in the destruction of its defences in 616/1219, overseen by al-Muʿazzam, the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, and then its secession to the Latins under Frederick II in 626/1229 under a ten-year truce, with a brief further period before the destruction of the city by the Khwarazmian Turks in 642/1244.[35] During his period of rule, Frederick II respected the ongoing Muslim claim to the

[19] Rose 1992, 245.

[20] O'Mahony 1996, 5-7. For the sources for Saladin's alleged concessions to the Ethiopians, see Cerulli 1943, 31-3.

[21] Meinardus 1960, 16 with n. 30.

[22] Archbishop Basilios 1991a, 1324.

[23] Meinardus 1960, 16 with n. 29.

[24] Archbishop Basilios 1991, 1324.

[25] Labib in (ed.) Atiya 1991 IV, 1341 (article Labib, SY, John VI).

[26] Graf 1941, 51-9.

[27] Meinardus 1960, 16 with notes 31-32. For the latter church see 872 (article Archbishop Basilios, Dayr al-Sultan).

[28] Atiya 1991 IV, 1325.

[29] Meinardus 1960, 17 with no. 33.

[30] Meinardus 1960, 17.

[31] Meinardus 1960, 17 with n. 35; Atiya 1991 V 1613 (article Maher Ishaq, E, Metropolitan Sees). See below, note 165.

[32] Atiya 1991 V, 1613.

[33] Meinardus 1960, 17 with n. 39.

[34] Little 1989, 182.

[35] Little 1989, 182-5.

Haram. It was even reported that he struck a priest—presumably a Latin—who entered the Aqsa mosque with a Gospel book without having sought prior permission.[36]

Latins maintained what has been described as a 'religious presence' throughout the period 589–658/1193–1260, with mendicants predominating, following the restoration of Latin rule in 626–42/1229–44. This remained the case despite the fact that the Latin patriarch himself never returned to Jerusalem but remained in the Latin political centre of Acre.[37] Often they were tolerated on the coat-tails of Eastern Christians, as in 588/1192 when Saladin allowed Hubert Walter, the Bishop of Salisbury, to worship with the Syrians in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[38] Dialogue remained open: the Latins expressed interest in discussions with the Eastern Christian churches at this time, and also with the Ayyubid courts.[39] This ensured that lines of communication remained open and this is evident in the artistic sphere. It can be assumed that cultural production continued for necessities, if not the luxury manuscripts that were made in the Holy Land during times of greater security in the 12th to 13th centuries, of which the 12th century Latin San Daniele Bible of the 12th century and Latin Riccardiana Psalter of the 13th century are examples.[40] Service books were needed by these various communities and there is some evidence for the survival of these, including a liturgical Syriac Melkite manuscript, a *horologion*, made in Jerusalem in 1187, now in Berlin.[41]

The transfer of imagery and artefacts by Eastern Christians from the Holy Land

Artistic ideas developed in Jerusalem under Latin rule prior to 582/1187 were taken up and further developed by Eastern Christians elsewhere under the Ayyubids. This included work by Syrian Orthodox Miaphysites, who had had considerable contact with the Latins throughout the duration of the Latin Kingdom. Many left shortly after the events of 583/1187, including both the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of the day and his rival anti-patriarch; however, another appointment was made in 589/1193.[42] With the movement of people, manuscripts and other works of art left the city, transferred elsewhere within the Ayyubid domains. One such influential manuscript was the Psalter of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem.

The iconographic link between some of the scenes in the Melisende Psalter (London, BL Egerton 1139), datable to between 1131–43, and Eastern Christian manuscript illumination of the Ayyubid period, represents an example of the adoption and development of artistic ideas. I have suggested that the artists who illustrated the Psalter themselves included Syrians.[43] Given this existing tie with Syria it is not surprising to see the creative impetus of the Psalter sustained in Syria in the Ayyubid period in the illustration of a Syriac lectionary in Paris, BN Syr. 355, datable to the turn of the 13th century, as T S R Boase pointed out.[44] The illustration of the Ascension, one of the New Testament scenes clustered at the front of the Latin Psalter (pl. 15.1) is divided into two registers, the upper one with Christ in a mandorla supported by four angels and, below, the Virgin flanked by apostles in a paradisiac setting suggested by the trees projecting behind them.[45] The scene appears in a similar way in the Syriac lectionary in Paris (pl. 15.2), illustrated (although not written) in Melitene (Malatia) in Cappadocia (the birthplace of Melisende's mother), with comparable elongated figures of the Virgin and the apostles, and the inclusion of four angels supporting the mandorla above.[46] The illustration in this manuscript develops beyond mere iconographic dependence, however. It evolves its own aesthetic through its ornament and colour, with, in the Syrian lectionary in Paris (pl. 15.2), a highly decorative arch enclosing six-pointed stars in its spandrels. This ornament has itself been related to another Latin manuscript, a gospel book from Jerusalem of the third quarter of the 12th

[36] Gottschalk 1958, 159; Little 1989, 185 with n. 40.

[37] Rose 1992, 246.

[38] Every 1947, 48.

[39] Rose 1992, 247-8.

[40] The San Daniele Bible (Friuli. Biblioteca Guarneriana MS III) has recently been reattributed to Jerusalem, in the mid 12th century: see V Pace, 'La Bible "Byzantine" de San Daniele del Friuli. Le chef d'oeuvre d'un *scriptorium* der Crousées', *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa XXXVIII* (2007), 143-50. It had previously been variously attributed to Jerusalem, Antioch, and southern Italy in the late 12th century: see Folda 1995, 463-66 with 598 note 255 for a summary of these attributions. The Riccardiana Psalter (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MS 323), is usually dated to 1235-37 and believed to have been commissioned by Frederick II as a wedding present for the empress Isabel: see Buchthal 1957, 39-46. However, see now Folda 2005, 212-17 with Color Plate 2 and CD nos 22-37, who suggests that was produced a decade earlier, in 1225, perhaps in Acre, as a present for Frederick's earlier wife, Isabel of Brienne

[41] Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS or. oct. 1019, is dated 3 October 1187 in Jerusalem: see M Black, *A Christian Palestinian Syriac Horologion (Berlin MS or.oct. 1019)*, Cambridge, 1954; J Assfalg, *Syrische Handschriften: syrische, karšunische, christlich-palästinische, neusyrische und Mandäische Handschriften (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Bd 17)*, Wiesbaden, 1963, 183-84, no. 84 with Taf VIII Abb.8; Nasrallah 1983, 385

[42] Rose 1992, 244-5.

[43] Hunt, 1991 reprinted 2000, 39-40.

[44] Boase 1977, 126-7 considered the connection to be direct, with the Syriac lectionary following the Psalter.

[45] MS London BL Egerton 1139 fol. 11r: Buchthal 1957, 4 with pl. 11a; Folda 1995, 155 with pl. 6.8.

[46] Fol. 4v: Leroy 1964, 271 with pl. 69, 2. Only eight of the original cycle of twenty-four narrative scenes at the front of the manuscript survive.

Pl. 15.1 *Ascension*. MS London, B. Egerton 1139 fol. 11r. (Photograph: By permission of The British Library)

Pl. 15.2 *Ascension*. MS Paris, Bibl. Nat. Syr. 355 fol. 4v. (Photograph Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Pl. 15.3 *Incredulity of Thomas*. Bethlehem, Church of the Nativity, north transept, east wall. (Photograph: L-A Hunt)

Pl. 15.4 *Incredulity of Thomas*. MS Vat. Syr. 559 fol. 163v. (Photograph:
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [Vatican])

century, as well as to Armenian manuscript illumination, and to
Islamic architectural sculpture, including monuments in Mosul,
reflecting the cultural synthesis that was taking place at the turn
of the 13th century.[47]

A more restrained border, closer to the one in Queen
Melisende's Psalter, frames the Ascension scene in a lectionary
completed at the monastery of the Mother of God by the
scribe Bakos in Edessa in 1222 (formerly Jerusalem, St Mark's
Monastery MS 6).[48] Two years after it was made, this manuscript
was taken to the shrine of Sergiopolis, near the town of Rusafa,
in the region of Raqqa—Bakos' home territory—where it
presumably stayed until 1269 when the inhabitants fled in the
path of the Mongols.[49] The iconography in this manuscript is
simplified, with only two angels supporting Christ's mandorla.
This has the effect of placing more emphasis on the upper
register, a feature that is pushed further in the approximately
contemporary wall painting of the Ascension which formerly
occupied the conch at the west end of the nave of the monastery
church of the Virgin at Dair al-Suryan in the Wadi Natrun, Egypt;
here the figure of Christ in his mandorla overpowers the rest

of the scene.[50] The uncertainty as to whether the angels should
be present in the lower register is continued in the frontispiece
to Acts in the Copto–Arabic manuscript in Cairo, MS Cairo,
Coptic Museum Bibl. 94 written by Gabriel, a future Coptic
Patriarch, in Cairo in 1249-50. Here an angel heads the group
of apostles to the viewer's left only.[51] Finally, the upper register
becomes a separate scene altogether in an icon of Christ
enthroned, now at St Catherine's monastery, Mount Sinai,
which was probably painted by the same artist who executed
the frontispiece to Acts.[52] In this image, the blessing Christ alone
is seated. Despite the paring down of the iconography, the icon
retains a geometrically decorated border. The connection this
raises between manuscript illumination and icon painting is a
point that will be returned to below.

Imagery developed in Bethlehem in the 12th century
was also transferred and developed in Syria and beyond in
the Ayyubid period. The mosaic programme of the Church
of the Nativity in Bethlehem, one of the Holy Land's holiest
shrines, was particularly influential. Bilingual inscriptions in the
apse of the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem record the
collaboration of Amalric, King of Jerusalem, and the Byzantine
emperor, Manuel Comnenos, in 1169 in the installation of the
church's mosaic programme.[53] Given its purpose enhancing
ecumenical and political unity, the addition of the signature
of one of the mosaicists in both Syriac and Latin points up
the indigenous, Syrian Melkite element. The scene of the
Incredulity of Thomas (pl. 15.3), on the east wall of the
northern transept, shows Christ drawing Thomas' hand to his
wound in a gesture calculated to emphasise Christ's fallible
mortality. This imagery also had particular resonance within
Syrian Orthodox theology, as Lamia Doumato has shown,
with its association of Christ with the gate into Paradise and
the afterlife.[54] With the historical Incredulity sited in St Mark's
upper room in Jerusalem, part of the monastery of St Mark,
the scene echoes the depiction stamped on early Christian
ampullae, the small flasks taken home by pilgrims as a tangible
memorial of their visit.[55] It has also been suggested that the
Bethlehem mosaic of the Incredulity itself stimulated a revival
of the scene on new pilgrim flasks fashioned in the Holy

[47] Leroy 1964, 278-9. The Jerusalemite MS is the Gospel book Vat. lat. 5974.

[48] Fol. 150r Leroy 1964, 316 with pl 100, 4; Boase 1977, 127 The manuscript
is now in the Syrian Orthodox Patriarchate Library in Damascus, 12/3.

[49] Leroy 1964, 319

[50] Leroy 1982, 62 with pl. 125. Hunt 1985, reprinted 1998, 219-20, 237-39
with fig 1

[51] Leroy 1974, 176-7, pl. 95; Hunt 1985, reprinted 1998, 276-7 with fig. 16
A later hand has added the wing to the first apostle on the right side in an
attempt to balance the scene.

[52] Nelson 1983, 201-18; Hunt 1985 reprinted 1998, 141. Evans (ed) 2004, 360
no 218

[53] For the mosaics at Bethlehem see Hunt 1991b; Folda 1995, 347-64

[54] Doumato 2000, 147, 149

[55] Doumato 2000, 151-2, with fig. 4. St Mark's was a site contested amongst
the various communities in the Middle Ages see J Pahlitzsch 'St Maria
Magdalena, St Thomas and St Markus Tradition und Geschichte dreier
syrisch-orthodoxer Kirchen in Jerusalem', *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997),
100-106, esp. 106; Christoforaki 2000, 73 with fig 4 reproduces the same
ampulla from Monza, also mentioning a gold medallion from 6th- or 7th
century Palestine.

Pl. 15.5 *Cross* with Arabic inscription. North panel, Narthex Doors. Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem. (Photograph: Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

Pl. 15.6 *Cross* with Armenian inscription. South panel, Narthex Doors. Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem. (Photograph: Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority)

Land in the Crusader period.[56] This is comparable to the way that scenes of the Crucifixion and Anastasis (the Descent into Hell), shown on either side of a pilgrim flask, were probably derived from images in mosaic in the Holy Sepulchre, as Gary Vikan has pointed out, in his proposal that icons replaced relics during the period.[57] An ampulla found in Egypt and now in the British Museum, with a similar Incredulity scene paired with a further one of the Resurrection—the Women at the Tomb—has been dated between the 11th and 13th century, with a preference for the latter end of that spectrum.[58]

In the 13th century, this particular image of the Incredulity appears in the Syriac lectionary in Paris already referred to (Paris, BN Syr. 355), as well as in other Syriac lectionaries, including one now in the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Mardin, Turkey. This was written in 1250 by Dioscorus Theodorus, Bishop of Hisn Zaid (present day Kharput, in Turkey). It also appears in two related Syriac lectionaries in London (BL Add. 7170) and the Vatican (Vat. Syr. 559) (pl. 15.4).[59] The colophon of the latter manuscript, written by the scribe Mubarak at the monastery of Mar Mattaï near Mosul, has recently been re-read to date to 1260 and will be returned to below.[60]

Bethlehem's Incredulity image was also taken up in Eastern Christian art elsewhere, including the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, between the later 12th and later 13th centuries. One example is its depiction in Queen Keran's Gospels of 1272.[61] Its appearance at the Cypriot church of the Holy Cross at Pelendri in the third quarter of the 14th century has been attributed either to these contacts with Cilician Armenia or the dissemination of pilgrim objects, and the influx of refugees, after the fall of Jerusalem in 583/1187 and Acre in 690/1291.[62] There are also Coptic and Arabic examples which attest to further dissemination of this iconography.[63] The appearance of the imagery in Venice in the west vault of the central dome, dating to the end of the 12th century (1180s or 1190s) also attests to the mutual contacts between Italy and the Levant, including the Holy Land and Syria.[64]

Under Ayyubid protection: the development of imagery in, and relating to, the Holy Land

The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem also offers an instance in this period of a work of art with a bilingual inscription, which demonstrates the common engagement of

[56] Christoforaki 2000, 76.

[57] Vikan 1998, 260 with fig. 8.39a and b. See also Folda 1995, 296 with pl. 8 B.9.

[58] Buckton 1994, 188–89, no. 203 with plate (both scenes); Christoforaki 2000, 76–7 with n. 47 and fig. 10 (*Incredulity* only), also discusses two censers, in Florence and Berlin, from Syria but made in Palestine in the 11th to 12th centuries.

[59] Doumato 2000, 149–50 with figs. 2, XVI, XVIII, XIX. Christoforaki 2000, 77.

[60] Fiey 1975a, 59–62 for this dating, confirmed by recent study of the manuscript's colophon (fol. 250v). I am grateful to Professor S P Brock for this information and reference. It replaces the previously accepted date of 1219-20, for which see Leroy 1964, 301-2.

[61] MS Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate 2563 fol. 368r, Der Nersessian 1993 Vol. 2, pl. 356; Cristoforaki 2000, 77–8, fig. 19.

[62] Christoforaki 2000, 71–3, 81–3.

[63] Cited by Christoforaki 2000, 77 to which can be added MS Paris, BN Copte 13 of 1178-80 reproduced in Leroy 1974, 143–4, pl. 74, 2.

[64] Most recently Howard 2000, 207, 209 with figs. 262 and 263.
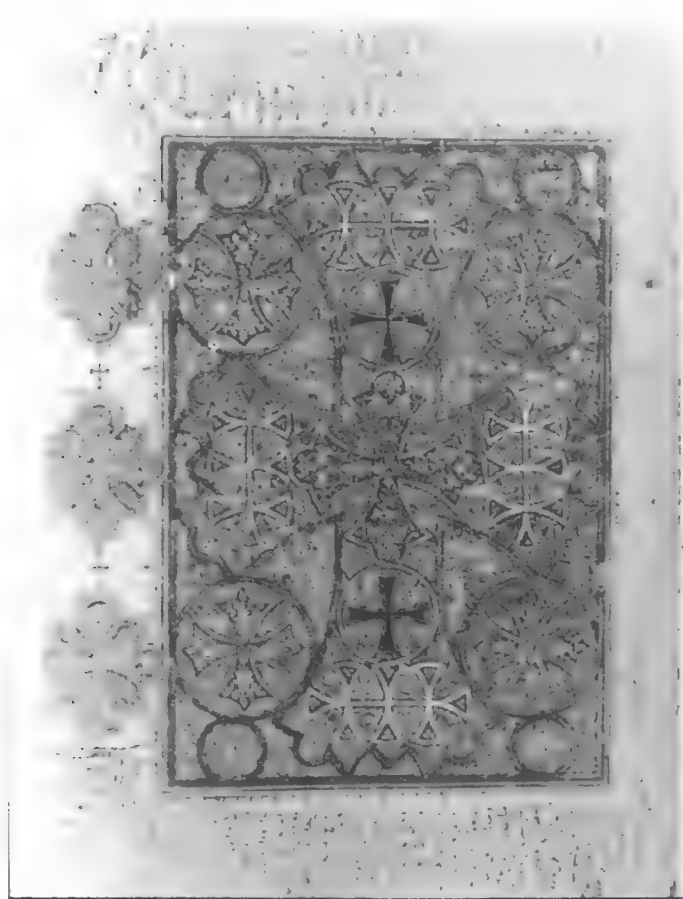
Pl. 15.7 *Cross Frontispiece*. MS Vat. Copto 9 fol. 1v. (Photograph: ©
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [Vatican])

Pl. 15.8 *Icon of standing saints*. Monastery of St Catherine's, Mt Sinai.
(Photograph: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-
Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

Eastern Christians with the ruling authority, in this case the
Ayyubid sultan.

These are the pair of valves from the wooden entrance
doors into the nave of the church. Although now in a bad
state of deterioration, attached to wooden planks above the
doorway from the narthex into the nave and thus largely
obscured by the scaffolding supporting the narthex vault,
elements can still be seen. Details of the doors can be studied
through photographs taken in the 1930s.[65] Two upper panels are
inscribed in Arabic (pl. 15.5) on the left, and in Armenian (pl.
15.6) on the right; both are accompanied by carved crosses and
floral panels and both give dates corresponding to 1227. The
Arabic inscription gives the name of the ruling Ayyubid sultan
of Damascus (Saladin's nephew) and the date according to the
Muslim calendar: 'This door was finished with the help of God,
be He exalted, in the days of our Lord the Sultan al-Malik
al-Mu'azzam in the month of Muharram in the year 624'.
The Armenian inscription, on the other hand, is concerned
with the makers in the context of Cilician Armenia under its
king Hetoum I (1224-69), then in the third year of his rule.

It records that 'The door of the Blessed Mother of God was
made in the year 676 by the hands of Father Abraham and
Father Arakel in the time of Hetoum son of Constantine, king
of Armenia. God have mercy on their souls'.[66] Accompanying
carved crosses represent Christ's crucifix at Golgotha, in
continuity with the jewelled cross in mosaic set amongst the
church councils on the north wall of the nave.[67] In her study of
the carving of these doors, Zehava Jacoby rightly pointed out
that, while the crosses are reminiscent of the carving of large
stone crosses *(khatchk'ars)* sculpted in the makers' homeland
of Armenia, the ornamental panels can be attributed to an
Islamic aesthetic.[68] Some of the ornament in the panels below
the crosses, for example, has been compared to that on the
near-contemporary wooden tie beams painted in the Aqsa

[65] Hamilton 1947, 29, 48-9 with fig. 6 (Armenian inscription with crosses)
and fig. 7 (Arabic inscription with crosses); Hintlian 1976, 42-3 with fig. 2;
Jacoby n.d: 126-34 with figs. 12-30, *tav.* CXXII-CXXVII

[66] See Jacoby 1990, reconstruction fig. 13 for the layout.
[67] Jacoby 1990, 130 n. 32
[68] Jacoby 1990, 127-31 with figs 13-30. There are twenty-two *khatchk'ars* set
into the walls of the courtyard of the Armenian cathedral of St James in
Jerusalem: Hintlian 1976, 51.

mosque in Jerusalem in the years following 583/1187.[69] The crosses also imitate liturgical crosses in precious metal. Jacoby has suggested that silver once banded the 'Arabic' cross, as a counterweight to the carved beading around the 'Armenian' one. Confirmation of her suggestion can be found in the cross frontispiece to a bilingual Coptic-Arabic Gospel book now in the Vatican Library (Vat. Copto 9; pl. 15.7), dated to 1204/5.[70] Here the cross is outlined in silver, with the smaller crosses in the arms picked out in white. This procedure, together with the practice of including inscriptions in Kufic, is in keeping with the ornamentation of Qur'an manuscripts.[71] But it is precisely the crosses and inscriptions which 'Christianise' the Gospel book, as on the doors. Inscriptions in capitals at top and bottom of the manuscript page state that 'Jesus Christ has vanquished' with a reference to the cross itself in the vertical inscription on either side of the upper arm as the 'tree of life'. The Crucifixion is here represented in an aniconic form acceptable and comprehensible to viewers more familiar with a linguistic rather than a figural form. It is also personalised: the name 'George' appears below the arms of the main cross, asking for God's mercy and giving the date.[72] I would argue that a specifically Christian Arabic language that integrates the Christian communities is being identified here, one which respects identities and the awareness of origins, and emphasises a common Arabic culture, which is not exclusively 'Islamic' in a strictly religious sense, but offers a shared cultural understanding and respect.

The balance of Islamic and Armenian detailing in the doors has been described as reflecting a 'mutual tolerance'.[73] The Church of the Nativity was a holy site revered by both Christians and Muslims.[74] But it also reflects the politics of necessity. The commemoration at the holy sites of Christ's suffering and death, too, provided a reality, a proof against contemporary fluctuations. As things turned out, it was only two years before Jerusalem was again, even if temporarily, returned to Latin rule. This raises the issue of security and protection, craved by the Eastern Christians, which they had hoped to find with the return to Islamic rule in 583/1187. Looking forward to the mid-century, Hetoum was one who, for this very reason, was eventually moved to seek protection in his vassalage from the Mongol Hülegü Khan when Ayyubid rule crumbled and the Mamluks took over power in Egypt, as will be seen below. For Eastern Christians during the period, it also introduces the reiteration of the cross as a symbol of Jerusalem.

Icon painting associated with the Holy Land

Turning now to icon painting, those with Jerusalemite connections, either through their imagery or their association with sacred sites or individuals, will be considered in order to determine the role of Eastern Christians in the production and dissemination of such imagery to monasteries across the Ayyubid domains. The importance of the Holy Land as a 'context' for the production of icons in the 12th-century Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem has been well recognised.[75] However, the Ayyubid period has been less discussed in this respect. While it is unlikely that Jerusalem was a major centre of icon production during periods of direct conflict and destruction, we need to look afresh at evidence relating to icons made in the city or transferred from there. What can be shown is that Holy Land imagery in the 13th century was harnessed as a force to galvanise policies and actions in Greater Syria, with Eastern Christians as prime movers in this process.

The figure of St James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, stands in a Christ-like pose in the most prominent position—in the centre top of an icon of standing saints, which is now at St Catherine's monastery, Mount Sinai (pl. 15.8).[76] The icon is attributed to Jerusalem on the basis that both St James and St Stephen, standing to his left, were martyred in Jerusalem, with St Paul (on his right) implicated before his own conversion in Stephen's death.[77] As the first bishop of Jerusalem, James stands as Christ's representative. Below are western saints—St Martin of Tours in the centre, flanked by Lawrence to his right and, on his left, St Leonard of Limoges, founder abbot of Noblac in France. The latter's position as the patron saint of prisoners is symbolised by the manacles hanging from his left arm and he is shown in the dress of an eastern martyr, although in point of fact he spent his life in France.[78] St Martin of Tours, positioned directly below Christ, was revered in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and is commemorated in the calendar of Queen Melisende's Psalter.[79] Perhaps St Martin's own ill-treatment at the hands of heretics gave his life continuing contemporary resonance by those fighting Islam.[80] The icon has been attributed to a western or Frankish patron. However, while the Latin inscriptions might indicate the involvement of a Latin patron and/or artist, this need

[69] Jacoby described the arabesque as containing the 'sepal chalice' and 'forked leaf', Jacoby 1990, 128, 131 with figs 13-15 and 20, with n. 43 referring to Hamilton 1949, 74-82 with pls XLI, XLII.

[70] Fol. 1v. Cramer 1964, 28 with Abb. 19-20 and V in colour; Leroy 1974, 148-9 with colour pl. A. The frontispiece is added to the book.

[71] See the comments of Leroy 1974, 65.

[72] Cramer 1964, 28; Leroy 1974, 149.

[73] Hamilton 1947, 50.

[74] Harvey 1935 v, xi.

[75] For icons in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem see the comments of Weyl Carr 1986, 353-4.

[76] Weitzmann 1982, 328-30 with fig. 8; Evans 2008, 378 no. 233. Weitzmann (328 with n. 13) identified the central saint as St James Major through the inscription S IAC[OBVS] M[AGN]VS. Today this St James, the brother of Christ and first bishop of Jerusalem, is generally known as St James the Lesser. See the discussion of this icon in Hunt 2006, 196.

[77] Evans (ed.) 2004, 378 (B Drake Boehm).

[78] Weitzmann 1966, reprinted 1982, 329.

[79] Folda 1995, 154-55; Evans (ed.) 2004, 378.

[80] St Martin, the 4th-century saint, was badly treated by Arians by order of their leader Bishop Auxentius of Milan: see the entry on the saint in the Catholic Encyclopedia: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09732b.htm.

not necessarily be limited to the period before 583/1187, given that some Latins continued to visit and live in the city during the Ayyubid period. In particular it need not restrict the artist to a Latin nationality.

The Jerusalemite context opens up various possibilities. The icon could have been made for a westerner or a Frank as a thank-offering for his release from captivity, or in supplication for the release of another. The business of prisoner exchange and release represented a significant medium of contact between the warring sides; in the 12th century the exchange of prisoners was a major contributory element to the success of peace negotiations, as Hadia Dajani-Shakeel has pointed out.[81] Such exchanges relied in part on Eastern Christians, including Armenians, who certainly played a significant diplomatic role as ambassadors to the Franks under the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This was because of their linguistic abilities before bilingual acculturated Franks were themselves able to undertake the role later in the century.[82] The icon could have been dedicated to a shrine in Jerusalem, that of St James being the most likely. The Cathedral of St James, the seat of the Armenian patriarchate, was one of the five principal pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem. Its main renown amongst pilgrims was as the burial site of the head of St James the Apostle, as attested by pilgrim accounts, but it was also the site of the tomb of St James, first bishop of Jerusalem.[83] The southernmost chapel in the parvis of the Holy Sepulchre was also dedicated to St James the Apostle, and this was held by the Syrian Orthodox, possibly from the late 1160s.[84]

As already mentioned, the icon is invariably attributed to the period before 583/1187.[85] However, consideration should be given to a possible Ayyubid date. For one thing the icon has been compared stylistically to Byzantine-inspired painting of the 1190s.[86] It is not known when the icon was brought to Sinai, but its manufacture is assumed to predate 13th-century examples made at Sinai itself, with Sinaitic

connexions.[87] However the icon has certain features in common with 13th-century examples at Sinai. The line-up of three frontal figures, as well as the appearance of the gilded foliate hemlines, is also found in a small (34.4cm x 25.5cm) icon depicting Sts George, Theodore and Demetrius, which is also at Sinai.[88] Also, the white dots on the dress of St Martin are reminiscent of the white-dotted patterning on the dress of St Nicholas from the outside left wing of a triptych at Sinai.[89] The foliate gilded hem of the robes of Sts Stephen and Leonard re-appear, decorating those of the military saints on this icon, attributed by Kurt Weitzmann to a southern Italian working at Sinai, but who could equally well have been a Syrian.[90] As will be seen, Italian elements were well integrated into the art of Syrian Christians during the Ayyubid period. Its small size (33.3cm x 23.7cm) makes it easily portable and it is likely it was made for a private patron.

Jaroslav Folda suggested that the painter of the icon was a Frankish-born painter of Italian origin.[91] One of Folda's arguments was that the artist did not follow the conventions of Byzantine icon painting. But an Eastern Christian—Syrian Melkite or, more likely given the suggested link with the Cathedral of St James, Armenian—artist would not feel obliged to follow these conventions to the full, and could adapt models freely. Small portable objects brought into Jerusalem might have provided a format. The alignment of the saints in two rows is closer to metalwork or ivory carving.[92] It may be suggested, then, that the icon was commissioned from an Eastern Christian artist in the Ayyubid period by a visiting westerner or a settled Frank. It was probably indeed made in Jerusalem itself, or, if not, at Sinai for the purposes of donation in Jerusalem. As Weitzmann observed, 'probably communications between Jerusalem and Sinai improved greatly during the 13th century'.[93] The relevance of the icon to prisoners means that its imagery was especially appropriate to the contemporary situation; as already suggested, it was most likely made for an individual as a thank-offering for their release, or by someone praying for the release of another.

[81] See her interesting discussion on prisoners of war, 1995, 205-7.

[82] Dajani-Shakeel 1995, 199, cites the activity of Hugh of Caesarea in 1171 as an example.

[83] Hintlian 1976, 51-2 with extracts from pilgrim accounts, 54-6. For references to the Church of St James in Jerusalem as being the property of Miaphysites, see Meinardus 1960, 17. See also Gulbenkian 1995 I, 184. For the medieval pilgrimage by Armenians to the shrine of Santiago da Compostella, housing the body of St James the Apostle (the first apostle martyr, son of Zebedee and brother of John and now generally known now as St James the Great), see Gulbenkian 1995 I, 187, 189, 191-2. Gulbenkian (191) does not give credence to the story that the head of the Apostle was also moved to Santiago da Compostella in the 12th century.

[84] Hunt 1995, 275 with n. 71.

[85] Weitzmann 1966, reprinted 1982, 329-30; Folda 1995, 462; Evans (ed.) 2004, 378. Soteriou 1956, 1958 I, fig. 202 and II, 182-3 proposed a 13th-century date.

[86] Weitzmann 1966, reprinted 1982, 329; notably the highlights of the apostles, and the face of St Paul, in the wall painting of the Last Judgment at the church of St Demetrius, Vladimir, dated 1194; Lazarev 1967, 82, pl. 60. This was accepted by Folda 1995, 462.

[87] Weitzmann 1966, reprinted 1982, 330; Evans (ed.) 2004, 378.

[88] Weitzmann *et al.* 1982, reprinted 1987, 206, reproduced, 234.

[89] Weitzmann *et al.* 1982, reprinted 1987, 206, reproduced 233, attributed this triptych to the mid-13th century. The three-dot patterning on the St Nicholas panel has been recently identified with the design termed 'çintamani' by J. Folda 2007, 154-66 esp. 161, with Fig. 11 for the St Nicholas icon. For this design see also below, note 157.

[90] Weitzmann *et al.* 1987, 206, attributed this icon to a Greco-Italian artist from Apulia. The gilded collar is comparable to one worn by St Catherine in a related icon of Sts Catherine and Marina (reproduced, 235) which I believe belongs within the milieu of Syrian Melkite painting; Hunt 1991, reprinted 2000, 123 with fig. 6.

[91] Folda 1995, 462.

[92] An example is an ivory triptych with the Deisis and saints from 10th-century Constantinople in which the saints glance sideways in a similar way. It is also comparable in scale (24cm x 14.5cm); Weitzmann *et al.* 1987, 32-3.

[93] Weitzmann 1987, 330.

Eastern Christian manuscript, icon and wallpainting in Greater Syria, Sinai and Egypt in the 13th century

A miniature of the Virgin and Child Glykophilousa, framed up and in imitation of an icon frame, includes of Agnes of had added to the front of a Syriac Psalter pl.15.9 written at the monastery of the Mother of God near Edessa in 1214-5 London BL Add. 7174.⁹⁵ It has elements of the famous icon given by Isaac Comnenos to the Kykko monastery on Cyprus and shows the Virgin restraining the sucking Child.⁹⁶ But its early date and the elements of animosity between Mother and Child suggest it was derived directly from a Byzantine prototype.⁹⁷ So, with the development of icons in Cyprus in the 13th century has been recognised, so too icon and manuscript painting were developing in Greater Syria. The influx of refugees from Jerusalem to Cyprus after Saladin retook Jerusalem ensured that these links continued.

An icon of the Crucifixion at the monastery of the Syrians (Dair al-Suryan) in the Wadi Natrun, Egypt, which is datable to the third quarter of the 13th century, is attributable to a Syrian Melkite working in an Italianate style.⁹⁸ It has features which reflect the memory of, and longing for, Jerusalem. Its iconography make reference to the walls of Jerusalem, to the Melkite belief in the blood of Christ flowing from his body onto the skull at Golgotha, as well as to the resurrection of mankind through the presence of figures climbing out of their tombs, which was a western feature. These elements refer to the Holy Fire ceremony in Jerusalem on Easter Saturday, at which candles are lit from miraculous light within the Tomb of Christ. The icon can be associated with the re-enactment of the ceremony in a monastery in Syria to invoke the sacred site itself.

Jerusalem acted as a conduit for icons transferred to Syria. A famous example in the Ayyubid period was the icon of the Virgin at Saidnaya, near Damascus, which was—as a now-illegible version still is—kept in the care of Melkite nuns.⁹⁹ Now thought to have been the Byzantine *Eleousa* (the Merciful) type of the Virgin and Child, the icon's powers attracted not only the Templars, through whom the icon's fame spread to the west, but also Eastern Christians and Muslims. Originating in Constantinople, probably in the 9th century, it was brought to Jerusalem by a Greek Orthodox patriarch and from there given to an abbess of Saidnaya where it was seen by a western writer in the mid-1170s.⁹⁹ Although the cult of this

Pl. 15.9 *Virgin Glykophilousa.* MS London, Add. 7174 fol. 1v. (Photograph: by permission of The British Library)

icon of the Virgin, whose breasts spilled holy oil, had become established by the mid-11th century, it was during the late 12th and 13th centuries that it reached its height, resulting in what Benjamin Kedar has termed 'spatial convergence', where Eastern Christian, Muslims and Frankish pilgrims converged on a mutually-revered site.¹⁰⁰ One of the miracles generated here involved a Frank languishing in prison in Damascus,¹⁰¹ adding credence to the suggestion that the Sinai icon was made for the release of just such a prisoner.

The imagery depicted on certain icons reflects a fearful, militarised society seeking protection at a time of heightened insecurity brought about by the crumbling of the Ayyubid rule. Military saints were invoked, including St Sergios. An icon at Mount Sinai shows a kneeling woman in supplication before the mounted military saint. While arguments have been made associating the icons in turn with Cyprus, Sinai and Syria during the 13th century, links with wall paintings in churches suggest the painter was a Syrian Melkite originally from the area of, or trained in the tradition of, Tripoli

⁹⁴ Leroy 1964, 259-61 with pl. 58 (2). For what follows see Hunt 1991, reprinted 2000, 121-3 with pls 19-20 (reversed).

⁹⁵ For the traditions of this icon on Cyprus see Weyl Carr 2002, 215-27.

⁹⁶ Hunt 1991a, reprinted 2000, 122.

⁹⁷ Hunt 1993, reprinted 2000, 127-52 with plates. Hunt 2006, 198-200 with Abb. 110 [in colour].

⁹⁸ Hamilton 2000, 207-15 with references.

⁹⁹ Burchard of Strasbourg: see Hamilton 2000, 207.

¹⁰⁰ Kedar 2001, 63-9.

¹⁰¹ Hunt 1991a, reprinted 2000, 120 n. 74.

Pl. 15.10 *Constantine and Helena.* Midyat, Syrian Orthodox Bishopric. Gospel Book, fol. 302r. (Photograph: Syrian Orthodox Church Calendar)

and Qalamoun.[102] Sts Sergios and Bacchos appear on the reverse side of a related bilateral icon at Sinai with the Virgin *Hodegetria* on the front face: two recent discussions of this panel introduce yet other issues. Folda attributed both icons to a workshop he terms the 'Workshop of the Soldier Saints' at Acre or Mount Sinai.[103] The other discussion picks up on the Eastern Christian attribution. Yuri Piatnitsky considers the artist was 'an Armenian icon-painter from Cilicia commissioned by a knight of the kingdom of Antioch around (AD)1260-70'.[104] St Sergios was certainly venerated by the Armenians.[105] However, given the veneration of St Sergios in Syria, especially at the saint's cult centre of Sergiopolis (Rusafa), a Syrian Melkite painter

Pl. 15.11 *Constantine and Helena.* MS Vat. Syr. 559 fol. 223v. (Photograph. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [Vatican])

can be suggested for this icon.[106] Donations of precious objects were made to this shrine, as was the case of the manuscript from Edessa (formerly Jerusalem, St Mark's 6) in 1224, already mentioned. Icons could have been amongst these donations, later to be removed from the path of the Mongols and taken to Sinai for safe-keeping.

In both of the icons just considered, St Sergios carries a quiver which, it has been suggested, was a type borrowed from the Mongols, in conjunction with the Crusader cross banner.[107] This introduces yet another convergence. These Eastern Christian saints are fighting for Christianity with the might of, and employing the weapons of, the Mongols. If the panel was commissioned by a Crusader military order, it might have been the Teutonic Military Order which, with Bohemond of Antioch, sided with the Mongols together with his Armenian father-in-law Hetoum.[108]

Eastern Christians adapted existing imagery, indicative of Jerusalem, for the purpose of the protection of, and fight for, the survival of Christianity. The iconography of Constantine, the first Christian emperor, and his mother Helena, the finder

Hunt 1991, reprinted 2000, 78-126. For the imagery of military saints in Lebanese churches, see now Dodd 2004, 70-5. For recent work on icon and wallpainting in the Tripoli area see M. Immerzeel (with N Hélou), 'Icon Painting in the County of Tripoli of the Thirteenth Century', in Hourihane (ed) 2007, 67-83. For military saints see M Immerzeel, 'Holy Horsemen and Crusader Banners. Equestrian Saints in Wall Paintings in Lebanon and Syria', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 29-60.

Folda, in Evans (ed.) 2004, 375. See now Folda 2005, 338-42 with Figs. 197-99, where (342) he terms the style used by the painters as a 'distinctive Veneto-Byzantine Crusader style'. The icon has been recently exhibited: R S Nelson and KM Collins (eds.), *Holy Image + Hallowed Ground. Icons from Sinai*, Catalogue of the exhibition, The Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Nov. 14 2006-March 4 2007 (Los Angeles 2006), 251-53, no 50 (R W Corrie) [with colour plates].

Piatnitsky *et al* (eds) 2000, 254 Piatnitsky did, however, acknowledge the special veneration to St Sergios in Syria. Weitzmann 1982, 59 speculated on the implications of the marriage of Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch, to Sibylla, the daughter of the Armenian king Hetoum in the 1260s, for which see Runciman 1954 (reprinted 1995, 278) and the implications of such intermarriage for the interrelations of Latin and Cilician art. The artist T'oros Roslin was himself probably a product of an Armenian-Latin marriage: Der Nersessian 1993, 51.

Grigor of Akanc', (ed. and transl.) Blake and Frye 1949, 347 with 389 n. 55 describes how, when the Armenian Sadun, son of Amir, was summoned by Hulegü to fight a Mongol strongman at Manku Sadun, he went beforehand to a monastery to pray to St Sergios.

[106] Folda, in Evans (ed.) 2004, 374 acknowledged the importance of this shrine

[107] Piatnitsky *et al* 2000, 254; Folda 2005, 340-41 identifies the saints as turcopoles, serving in both the Byzantine and Crusader armies, on behalf of the religious orders.

[108] Frey 1975, 26.

of the True Cross in Jerusalem, is a particular case of a 13th-century adaptation to reflect contemporary circumstances. The image of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in the Syriac Gospels now at the Syrian Orthodox bishopric at Mardin, dated 1226 and made in the Tur ʿAbdin, shows the couple crowned and wearing Byzantine imperial dress, holding the cross between them (pl. 15.10).[109] This type of cross, with two added lateral bars, the upper shorter than the lower, was associated with Calvary and was specifically the shape employed for reliquaries of the True Cross (the *crux gemmata*).[110] This book, the Midyat Gospels, were made at the monastery of Mar Yaʿqub and Mar Saba for the church of St Sabas at the town of Hah [Khakh], the seat of the bishops of the Tur ʿAbdin. The colophon of the manuscript states that it was made during the time of Ignatius, 'patriarch of Syria and Egypt' and Athanasius, bishop of Tur ʿAbdin.[111] But the scene takes on a new association in two related Syriac lectionaries, now in London and the Vatican, in which Constantine and Helena are given Mongol facial features and dress. The portrait of Constantine and Helena in the Syriac lectionary in the British Library in London (BL Add. 7170), shows the pair dressed in Mongol costume with Constantine's crown bearing the double-barred cross. The manuscript contains an inscription which dates it to 1216-1220.[112] This imagery surely signals the hope—however deluded—of Eastern Christians that the Mongols would offer them protection, recapture the Holy Land and convert to Christianity. This scene in the London manuscript represents a very early example of the Syrian Christian recognition of the religious toleration of the Mongols to other faiths, promulgated in 1218, and subsequently repeated.[113] Given the brutality of the Mongol advances, however, it was predominantly only after Hetoum's submission to the Mongols in 641/1244 that Eastern Christians subscribed to the vision of an enlarged Christian state led by converted Mongols.[114] It has been convincingly argued that the original story of the finding of the True Cross by Helena was Jerusalemite in origin, written in Greek in the 4th century contemporaneously with the construction of Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[115] Significantly, relics of the Holy Cross were

in the hands of the Syrians in the 12th century.[116] An element of this original story was that the nails with which Christ was crucified were also found and used to make a bridle for Constantine's horse, with others incorporated into his helmet, fulfilling the prophecy of Zachariah 14:20.[117] Another version of the Helena story itself became appropriated into Syriac and Armenian tradition.[118] Scenes of Constantine and Helena, and the Finding of the True Cross are also illustrated elsewhere in Syriac manuscript illumination of the Ayyubid period.[119]

Constantine and Helena are similarly represented in the related Syriac lectionary in the Vatican Library (Vat. Syr. 559), with Mongol facial features and dress (pl. 15.11).[120] In correcting the reading the date of the colophon of this manuscript to 1260 from 1219-20, Father J M Fiey proposed that identification was being made with the Mongol Ilkhan prince Hülegü (ruled 1256-65), brother of the Great Khan Mongka, and his principal wife Doquz Khatun, a Kerait princess and a member of the Eastern Christian Church of the East ('Nestorian') in Persia.[121] It was an Armenian chronicler, Stephen Orbelian, bishop of Siunik (1287-1304), in his *History of Siunik*, who explicitly described Hülegü and Doquz Khatun as the 'new Constantine and Helena', although the idea was

[116] Meinardus 1960, 15.

[117] Drijvers and Drijvers 1997, 13-14.

[118] The Protonike version, which replaces Helena with the fictitious empress Protonike, survives only in Syriac and Armenian versions. It does not, however, include a reference to the helmet with the nails; see Drijvers and Drijvers 1997, 14-16. The third version, the Judas Kyriakos legend, which emphasises the conversion of the Jew who found the cross for Helena, was most likely written in Greek in Jerusalem in the 5th century and was soon translated into Syriac, probably in Edessa, and into Latin. See Drijvers and Drijvers 1997 *passim*, esp. 20-7. Of the eight preserved Syriac manuscripts of the Kyriakos legend, one is dated 1176-77, another 1196 (p. 30).

[119] MS Berlin Preuss. Bibl. Sachau 220, a Syrian Orthodox book of Sermons, fol. 43v (at the beginning of a homily of Severus of Antioch on the Cross); Leroy 1964, 344 with pl. 116,4 (Constantine and Helena, not shown as Mongols). For images of the Finding of the True Cross, see MS Berlin, Preuss. Bibl. Sachau 304 (Lectionary of the Church of the East) fols 162v-163r, Leroy 1964, 368 with pls 126, 4; MS London BL Add. 7169 (Lectionary) fol.13v, Leroy 1964, 355, 360-1, with pl. 124, 2. There is even a Syrian Christian legend that Helena found the True Cross in the Tur ʿAbdin and a plateau near the village of Beth Qustan is named after her: http://turabdin.beth-kustan. com/english/html/beth_qustan.html. The crown as an attribute of power and authority would have carried its own meaning for the Mongols, as for every other medieval state. An example of this is the occasion when Hetoum I, king of Cilician Armenia, decided to submit to Mongol rule with his brother, the general Smbat, acting as ambassador. As well as achieving freedom of religious practices and tax exemption, Smbat, on being received as a vassal, was honoured with 'a golden tablet and a Tartar queen with a crown'; Grigor of Akancʿ (ed. and transl.) Blake and Frye 1949, 315.

[120] Fol. 223v, Leroy 1964, 297 with pl. 99, 2.

[121] Leroy 1964, 301-2 accepted the dating of the Vatican manuscript to 1219-20. For the arguments for the re-dating (1571 A. Gr/1260 AD), see Fiey 1975a, 59-60 and note 60 above. For Doquz Khatun's family connections and mission to protect Christians, see Fiey 1975, 19-20. Fiey (1975a, 62 with n. 13) points out that Mongol facial features already appear in miniature painting in northern Iraq before 1260. For other Northern Mesopotamian examples see now B Snelders and M. Immerzeel, 'The Thirteenth-Century Flabellum from Deir al-Surian in the Musée Royal de Mariemont (Morlanwelz, Begium)', *Eastern Christian Art* 1 (2004), 130.

[109] Fol. 302r Leroy 1964, 329 with pl. 104, 2.

[110] Frolow 1965; recently, Rozenberg in Rozenberg (ed.) 1999, 117 with n. 2 (article on 'Metalwork and Crosses'). The association of the imagery with Jerusalem is reinforced on a 12th-century reliquary of the True Cross now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Here Constantine and Helena flank the cross, at the foot of which the Holy Sepulchre is represented by a structure topped by a cross which encloses a hanging lamp above the sepulchre with three round holes in its side. This is reproduced by Folda 1995, 293, pl. 8B5a.

[111] Leroy 1964, 329-30.

[112] Fol. 244r: Leroy 1964, 310, with pl. 99,1 referring to the dated inscription inserted into the manuscript after Easter; Fiey 1975a, 63.

[113] Fiey 1975, 3. Jackson 2003, 204-5 points out that this was a general policy which did not specifically privilege Christians.

[114] Fiey 1975, 7, 17.

[115] Drijvers and Drijvers 1997, 17-19 summarises the arguments.
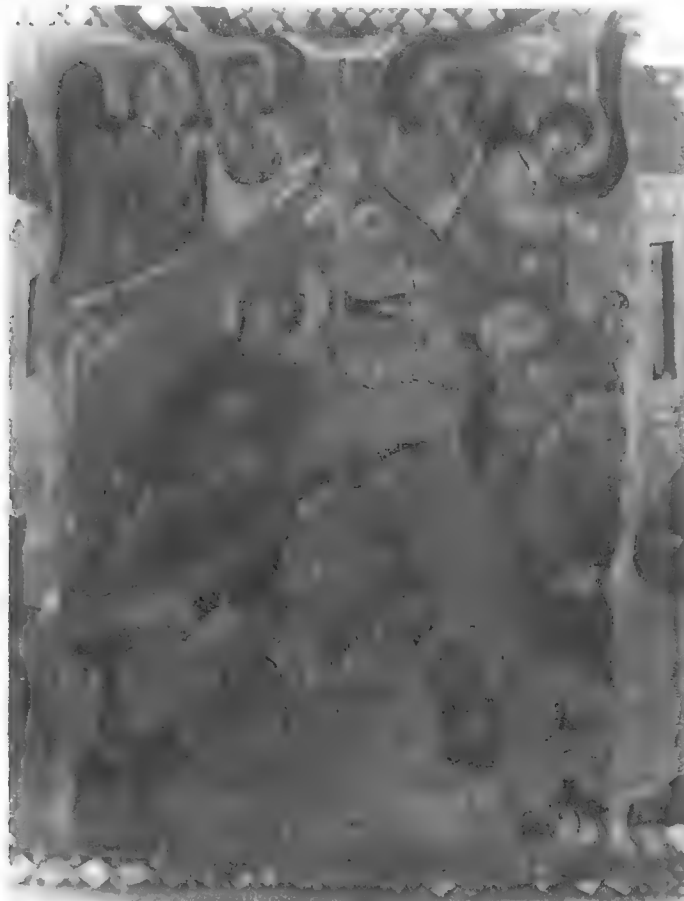
Pl. 15.12 *Nativity.* Detail of iconostasis beam, Monastery of St Catherine, Mt Sinai.(Photograph: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

current earlier: the Syrian Orthodox Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286) had praised the couple for their support of Christianity, noting Doquz Khatun's piety in particular, and had compared Hülegü's Christian mother Sorqaqtani with Helena.[122] In the imagery of the lectionaries the Mongol *khan* has replaced the Byzantine emperor as the perceived protector of Christians. And yet, in the Vatican manuscript of 1260, Constantine's crown no longer bears a cross. Rather it is Helena/Doquz Khatun as the Christian who has small starred crosses on the sash across her body and left arm, as well as the foliate hem which is also evident in icon painting (pl. 15.8). Given the common Mongol theme between the images of Constantine and Helena in the two Syriac lectionaries, it is possible that they were both made at the same place, the monastery of Mar Mattaï near Mosul, for the Vatican manuscript is known to have been made there. However, the attribution of the London manuscript to the monastery of Mar Hanania (Dayr al-Za'pharan) at Mardin in the Tur 'Abdin, as J Leroy suggested,

is still a possible explanation. In this case the manuscript would then have been brought to Mar Mattaï, the seat of the Maphrian. But given the contacts between the Syrian Orthodox monasteries, a feasibe scenario is that the London manuscript was made at Mar Mattaï and painted there by an artist who had been trained in the Tur 'Abdin.

The appointment of Bar Hebraeus as Maphrian, with a new Patriarch, in Sis in Cilicia in 1264, gave further impetus to the Syrian Orthodox church. New ecclesiastical appointments followed. Having received confirmation as Maphrian from Hülegü, Bar Hebraeus travelled, in 1265, from Mar Mattaï to Baghdad to consecrate new deacons and bishops.

Contacts between the monastery of Mar Mattaï and Dair al-Zapharan, the seat of the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch in the 13th century, were maintained, with monks and ecclesiastics travelling, with their books between the two. One of those appointed by Bar Hebraeus in 1265, the monk Isho', was from Dair al-Za'pharan, for example. Ignoring modern boundaries between Turkey and Iraq, Mar Mattaï is also not far from where the Midyat Gospels were made.[123] But while the influence of Byzantine art persisted in the area of Tur 'Abdin, in the more Islamicised area of Mosul there was greater emphasis on contemporary political realities, in which the Mongols were being represented as the protectors of Christianity by Eastern Christian painters.

Doquz Khatun was one of several Christians who married Mongol princes and practised their faith at the Mongol court.[124] Her lineage was impeccable, traceable back to no lesser ancestors than the magi.[125] She practised her religion at the Mongol court, served by Armenian and Syrian priests. Grigor of Akanc' records that 'her tent was a church, and a sounder (who beat a wooden board to summon Christians at the time of prayer) travelled with her, and many Armenian and Syrian priests.'[126] Her church, the Church of the East, also maintained its favourable position under the Mongols, retaining strong links with the Syrian Orthodox church, with which it shared historical and theological ties. Finally, to the disappointment of the Christians,

[122] Runciman 1954, reprinted 1975, 304 n. 2; Fiey 1975, 23. Jackson 2003, 199. For comparison between Hulegü's mother and Helena, as well Bar Hebraeus' acknowledgment of Hülegü and Doquz Khatun's efforts to make the Christian faith triumph, see H Takahashi, 'Simeon of Qal'a Rumaita, Patriarch Philoxenus Nemrod and Bar 'Ebroyo', *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 4 (1) (Jan, 2001), paragraph 45 [http://syrcom.edu/Hugoye/Vol4No1/HV4N/Takahashi.html] paragraph 45 with note 100.

[123] J Leroy (Leroy 1964, 311-13) was reluctant to consider that the London and Vatican lectionaries could both have been made in the same monastery. He rightly noted differences as well as the close similarities between the two manuscripts, describing them as 'cousins', citing G de Jerphanions' theory that the two were based on a common earlier manuscript H Buchthal, 'The Painting of the Syrian Jacobites in its relation to Byzantine and Islamic Art, *Syria* 20 (1939), 137 considered that both lectionaries could have been made at Mar Mattai and pointed (146) to the stylistic feature of the 'scroll folds' in both as having its origin in the Mosul area. For Bar Hebraeus' election as Maphrian and his consecration of deacons and bishops, see E A Wallis Budge, 'The Life of Bar Hebraeus', Introduction to Budge 1932 [http://sor.cua.edu/Personage/BarEbroyo Budge.html], Lane 1999, paragraphs 22-23 For the geographical point see Leroy 1964, 330.

[124] Gulbenkian 1995, 103 n. 224.

[125] Fiey 1975a, 63

[126] Grigor of Akanc' (ed. and tranl.), Blake and Frye 1949, 341 with 389 n. 51. In his camp Hulegü had an oratory in which Armenians, Georgians and Syrians celebrated holy office; Gulbenkian 1995, Vol 1, 103.

the khan of the day, Ilkhan Ghazan, chose to convert to Islam in 694/1295. William of Rubruck, Louis IX of France's Dominican ambassador to Möngke's court at Karakorum in 651-652/1254, described the large number and diversity of Christians there.[127] One of those he met was an Armenian monk from Jerusalem who had brought with him a silver cross.[128] Christians served as soldiers for the Mongols, with the subjugated Armenian and Georgian forces being particularly favoured for their bravery.[129] Support for the Mongols by the Syrian Orthodox Church is also made manifest by Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286), who noted the protection and stability his church enjoyed under Mongol rule.[130] Syrians served as doctors and, particularly, ambassadors for the Mongols.[131]

The Mongol court became the centre of intense political activity by westerners following Hülegü's conquest of Baghdad in 656/1258, and by his subsequent conquest of the Jazira in 657/1259 and Syrian campaign of 658/1260, cut short by the Mamluk victory of ʿAin Jalut. It had been Hülegü's express aim, according to one Armenian chronicler, to liberate the Holy Land and hand it over to the Eastern Christians.[132] But the Mongols only ever entered Jerusalem for a short time in 1260. Even so, some Eastern Christians were prepared to play this up. Grigor of Akancʿ exaggeratedly reported that Hülegü himself secretly followed his forces, led by his general Kitbugha, during their victories in Aleppo and Damascus, and on taking Jerusalem, prostrated himself in the Holy Sepulchre.[133]

One of the magi was depicted as a Mongol in a Nativity scene, one of thirteen feast scenes on an iconostasis beam at Sinai (pl. 15.12), which Weitzmann considered had been painted by a Venetian artist and which surmounted an iconostasis in a Latin chapel adopting eastern ritual.[134] He further suggested that the beam was painted during the time when Louis IX of France was negotiating with the Great Khan for his support against the Muslims, and that this magus was to be identified with Kitbugha, Hülegü's Eastern Christian general. Khitbugha was a member of the Church of the East. He was also, according to Hayton (Hetoum), the Armenian chronicler and nephew of King Hetoum I of Cilician Armenia, a descendant of the magi.[135] This, in Weitzmann's view, would date the panel to between 653/1256, the time of the Mongol invasion of Persia and Syria, and Kitbugha's death after the battle of ʿAin Jalut in 658/1260.[136] The specific identification of the icon's Mongol magus with Kitbugha has since been disputed on the grounds that the Latins considered members of this church to be heretics.[137] But this latter supposition still presumes that the painter was a westerner, when an Eastern Christian seems more likely. The identification of the Mongol magus with Kitbugha is indeed possible, as the figure does not wear a crown and so is unlikely in the context to represent Hülegü himself. A general reference to the Mongol race might be implied but for the connection with the magi. A clue to the identity lies in his relationship to the other two magi. The central one, wearing a fur hat (suggested to be a westerner), is in a pivotal position, turning backwards to look intently at the Mongol magus in a pose that was introduced in western scenes in the 13th century.[138] His own gift is not visible and he does not progress towards the Christ Child. His position is to introduce the Mongol figure, towards whom he turns, to Christ. He is thereby drawing the Mongol into the Christian triumvirate. The Italian features of the icon are perfectly compatible with the work of an Eastern Christian artist working at Sinai, as has been seen, and are consistent with the prevalence of Venetian influence in the Latin kingdom at Acre, as well as Antioch and Tripoli at the time. The suggestion here that the icon was painted by an Eastern Christian artist at Sinai for Sinai offers a different perspective to that recently proposed by Jaroslav Folda, that the icon was originally commissioned for a Latin-rite church in Damascus.[139] In the iconostasis beam panel the three magi are cast as emissaries, paying homage to Christ at Bethlehem. This represents a coalition of allies, made

[127] Dawson 1955, 179.

[128] Dawson 1955, 166.

[129] Grigor of Akancʿ (ed. and transl.) Blake and Frye 1949, 343.

[130] Bar Hebraeus 1932, 437 recounts how 'the Church acquired stability and protection in every place' under Hülegü; Lane 1999, paragraph 44.

[131] Fiey 1975a, 25-6, giving the example of the Syrian Orthodox priest who was crucified in 1258 when sent to the Muslim ruler of Mayyafariqin.

[132] The Armenian chronicler Hayton (Hetoum) records in *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* that, after taking Aleppo and Damascus and other territory, Hülegü 'entendoit entrer au roiaume de Jerusalem por delivrer la Terre Sainte e render cele as Cretiens'; Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 1906, 172. Jackson 2003, 196-213, has pointed out the extent to which Eastern Christians were deluded in their belief in the apparent favouring of Christians by Hülegü which the chroniclers of the Church of the East and the Armenians in particular expounded. He proposes that in actuality the Mongols put their imperial ambitions before religious interests and used diplomacy to play one religious group off against another. Jackson refers (208) to 'the mindset of eastern Christian authors writing around the turn of the century.'

[133] Grigor of Akancʿ, in (ed. and transl.) Blake and Frye 1949, 349. For the brief episode of the entry of Mongol troops into Jerusalem in 1260 see Amitai 1987, 237-38.

[134] For the icon as a whole see Weitzmann 1966, reprinted 1987, 336-68 with figs 22-4; Weitzmann 1987, 204 with colour plates of the Nativity with details, 222-4; Evans (ed.) 2004, 362-3, no. 220, fully reproduced in colour (entry by J Cotsonis).

[135] For Kitbugha's magi ancestry see Hayton (Hetoum), *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d'Orient* in (ed.) *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 1906, 174, who states 'il estoit del lignaige de les trois rois qui vindrent a[d]jorer en Belleem la nativité Nostre Seignor.' For this author as nephew to King Hetoum, see the introduction, xxv. For Kitbugha's ancestry, see also Runciman 1954 reprinted 1985, 300 n.1.

[136] Weitzmann 1966, 63-4 (reprinted 1987, 337-38); Weitzmann 1987, 204.

[137] Der Nersessian 1993, 60, n. 64.

[138] For the identification of this magus as a westerner, see Weitzmann 1966 reprinted 1987, 337. Kehrer 1904, 50 discusses this pose.

[139] Runciman 1954 reprinted 1985, 307 for Venetian influence in Acre and 230-31 for the influence of Bohemond V's Venetian wife, Lucienne, in Antioch and Tripoli. For Jaroslav Folda's recent discussions of the icon beam see J. Folda, "The Figural Arts in Crusader Syria and Palestine, 1187-1291: Some New Realities," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 58 (2004), 323-29 with Fig. 10; Folda, 2007, 149-50 with Fig. 1. See also Hunt 2006, 201; Hunt 2007, 59.

Pl. 15.13 *Nativity and Crucifixion.* Icon from St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai.(Photograph: Reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

up of an Eastern Christian, a westerner and the Mongol from the Church of the East.

2 March 1260 saw the success of just this coalition in action, with an Armenian and a Latin accompanying the third Christian ally, Hülegü's general Kitbugha, in his entry into Damascus. The Eastern Christian was Hetoum, king of Armenia, with his Latin son-in-law Bohemond VI, prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli.[140]This places the icon in the same year, 658/1260, as the Constantine and Helena/Hülegü and Doquz Khatun image in MS Vat. 559, now dated 1 May 1260. This was the 'zenith' year of the Hülegü-Constantine idea, which ended violently and suddenly with the defeat of Hülegü at the hands of the Mamluks at 'Ain Jalut on 3 September.[141] Hülegü's own position as the 'second Constantine' would have been particularly pertinent at this juncture. It is likely, then, that the icon itself was painted at this optimistic time between 2 March and 3 September 1260.

In addition, Kitbugha had required BohemondVI to replace the Latin patriarch at Antioch with the Greek one. [142] These factors explain the presence of this scene at the Greek Orthodox monastery at Sinai, as one of celebration on both political and ecclesiastical counts. It also suggests that the beam would have been erected in a chapel used by Eastern Christians rather than one used exclusively by Latins. The artist could have been Armenian, or more likely Syrian Melkite, as I have previously argued in discussing the relationship of the beam painting with the Nativity panel from the doors from al-Mu'allaqa church in Old Cairo now in the British Museum, which also displays a Mongol magus.[143] The similarity of elements of the panel with the Nativity scene on another iconostasis beam at Sinai suggests affiliation with other work at Sinai undertaken by Melkite artists.[144] As has been seen earlier, Syrian Melkites were the predominant group in Jerusalem, dominating the Greek Orthodox patriarchate until 1262. Not only did Hülegü recognise the significance of the Greeks of Antioch, but he was also on good terms with the Byzantine empire in exile at Nicaea.[145]

The propagandist aspect of the iconostasis beam, as well as its liturgical function, is not without precedent. Feast scenes had been used in this way previously. According to John of Joinville, biographer of Louis IX, feast scenes, including the Nativity, were included on a scarlet embroidered tent-chapel commissioned by the French king, and sent to the Mongol court in 1258-9 with Dominican envoys, who left from Antioch. This was in response to a letter received by Louis, during his stay on Cyprus, from envoys who were members of the Church of the East; they came from the Mongol court of Güyük Khan, who led Louis to believe both that the Mongol khan had recently converted to Christianity, and that he would help Louis to regain Jerusalem. The purpose of the tent was both political and didactic: to teach the main tenets of the Christian faith. Books and chalices to be used in the conduct of the mass accompanied the mendicant Dominican friars who had been sent as envoys.[146]

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[142] Runciman 1954 reprinted 1985, 306-7 pointed out that Bohemond was excommunicated by the Pope for his alliance with Hülegü. The Franks in general preferred Muslims to Mongols, and even allowed Qutuz's army passage through Frankish territory prior to the Battle of 'Ain Jalut (p 311)

[143] Hunt (1989 reprinted 1998, 305-6) with Figs. 4 and 15. My later dating of the iconostasis beam there needs to be corrected in the light of the redating of MS Vat. Syr. 559 to 1260.

[144] The fleshy faces of the angels, their arrangement, the shaft of light onto the child, as well as the emphasis on the oversized apocryphal beasts who are licking the Christ child, the groupings of the shepherds and the midwives, are all paralleled in the scene of the Nativity also from an iconostasis at Sinai, for which see Mouriki 1990, 119 with references and fig. 68 but with a different attribution. The magi are not present in this panel.

[145] Runciman 1954 reprinted 1985, 306-7.

[146] Hague and de Wailly 1955, 144; Soucek 1998, 120-1 with references According to Joinville, the scenes represented were the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, the whole of the Passion, Ascension and Pentecost

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[140] Also present was al-Sa'id of Banyas. Runciman 1954, reprinted 1985, 307. Humphreys 1977, 353 gives the date as 17 Rabi I/2 March 1260.

[141] Frey 1975, 60, 63 with n. 15.

LV Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya (Grammar School). General view from roof of Dome of the Rock. (Photo © Michael H Burgoyne)

LVI Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya, rear façade.

LVII Al-Madrasa al-Nahawiyya: Crusader knotted column.

LVIII Qubbat al-Miʿraj: general view.

LIX Qubbat al-Mi'raj: detail of capitals.
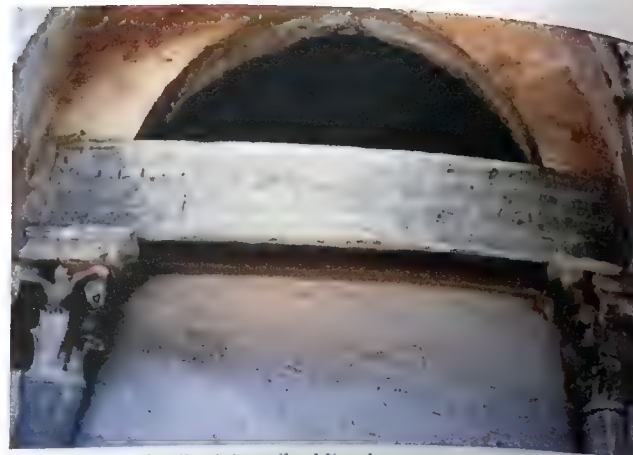
LX Qubbat al-Mi'raj: inscribed lintel.

LXI Qubbat al-Mi'raj: marble detail.
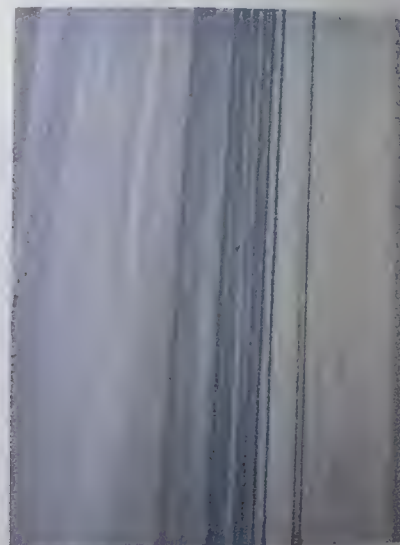
LXII Qubbat al-Mi'raj: detail of marble.
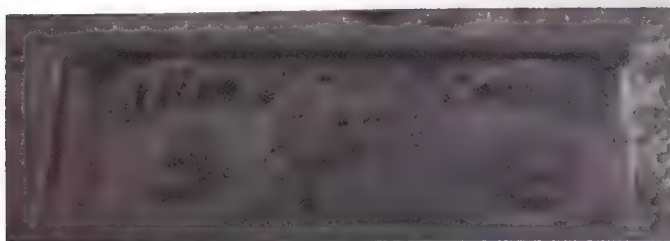
LXIII Dome of the Rock: Crusader *spolium*.

LXIV Dome of the Rock: Crusader *spolium*.

LXV Dome of the Rock, Cave of the Spirits: *mihrab* containing Crusader *spolia*.

LXVI Dome of the Rock, Cave of the Spirits: Crusader work in *mihrab*.

LXVII Dome of the Rock: Crusader arcade.

LXVIII Al-Aqsa Mosque: painted woodwork.
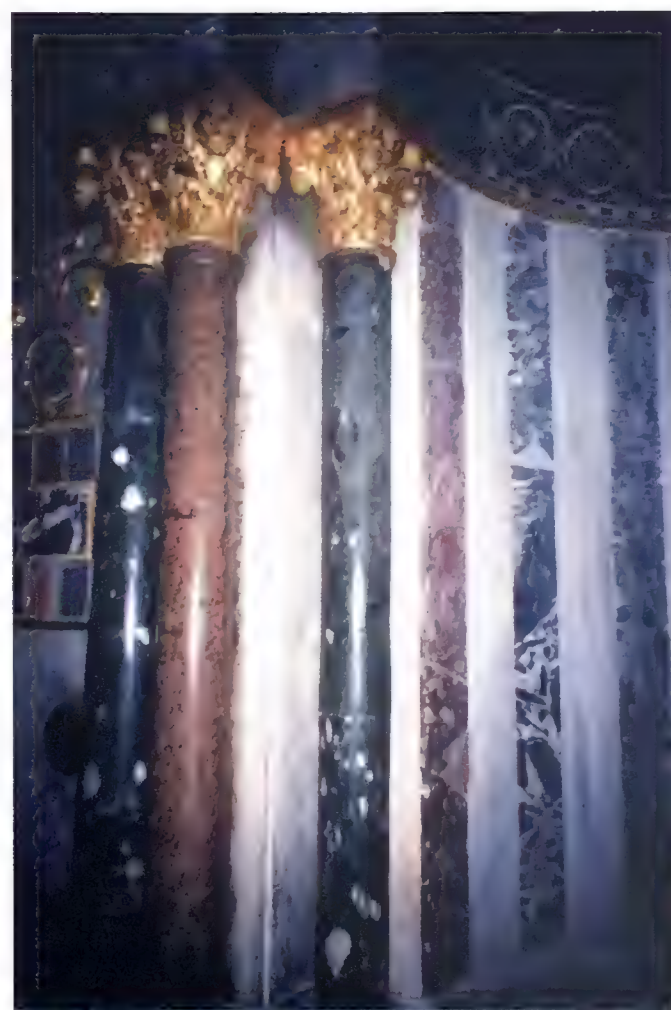
LXIX Al-Aqsa Mosque: *mushahhar* work in the main *mihrab*.

LXX Al-Aqsa Mosque: niche to east of main *mihrab*.

LXXI Al-Aqsa Mosque: niche to west of main *mihrab*.

LXXII Al-Aqsa Mosque: base of main *mihrab*.

LXXIII Al-Aqsa Mosque: *mihrab* of Zakariyya.

LXXIV Al-Aqsa Mosque: main *mihrab*

LXXV Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*: capitals.
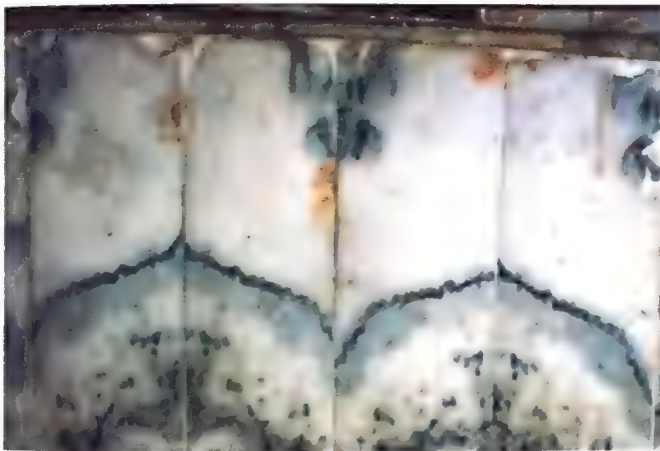
LXXVIII Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*: marble graining.

LXXIX Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*: marble graining

LXXVI Al-Aqsa Mosque: painted wooden panel (now in Haram Museum).

LXXVII Al-Aqsa Mosque: painted wooden panel (now in Haram Museum).

LXXX Al-Aqsa Mosque: painted wooden panel (now in Haram Museum).

LXXXI Al-Aqsa Mosque: painted wooden panel (now in Haram Museum).

LXXXII Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab* hood, mosaic work.

LXXXIII Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab* hood, mosaic work.

LXXXIV Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*. Kufic inscription.

LXXXV Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*. Kufic inscription.

LXXXVI Al-Aqsa Mosque, main *mihrab*: detail of hood, mosaic

LXXXVII Dome of the Rock. Crusader arcade

LXXXVIII Folio 2a from a Qur'an in black *muhaqqaq* script, possibly late Ayyubid or early Mamluk: Damascus, National Museum, acq. no. 13,615. The Qur'an was endowed to an unnamed mosque by a descendant of the Mamluk governor of Damascus, al-Saifi Manjak, after 750/751/1350, but does not have an exact parallel among 14th-century Mamluk manuscripts. Manuscripts were frequently re-endowed at later periods

LXXXIX Jerusalem in the map from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ca. 1260). After Dan Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 100.

XC Jerusalem in the Hague Map. After Bahat, *The Illustrated Atlas of Jerusalem* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990), 103.

XCI Sacramentary from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre, 1128–30 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 49), fol. 7r.

XCII Stonepaste bowl with colourless glaze and blue and black underpainting. Syria, first half of the thirteenth century. Reitlinger Gift, EA1978.2183. By permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

XCIII Figure 4. Stonepaste bowl with lustre painted over a transparent glaze and blue underpainting. Probably Raqqa, Syria, late 12th or early 13th century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1908.148.

XCIV Astrolabe of al-Sahl al-Nisaburi, Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, no. W1 20.

The depiction of the Mongol magus in the Nativity scene on the iconostasis beam at Sinai accentuates contemporary awareness of ethnic differentiation at a time when the Mamluks, with their Turkish ethnic origins, were becoming increasingly significant both militarily and politically.[147] What is taking place here is an 'updating' of early Christian and Byzantine imagery (in which one of the magi is often shown as a Persian) to fit the contemporary situation.[148] The Adoration of the Magi had been depicted in mosaic on the exterior of the 6th-century church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, even though there is no evidence that this was still visible in the Crusader period. According to a synodical letter from the Council of Jerusalem in 836, this particular mosaic was spared when the Persians under Chosroes invaded the town in the 7th century, as they recognised their own depiction.[149]

Another Sinai icon with the Nativity shown below the Crucifixion, datable between the late 13th-early 14th centuries, shows two magi accompanied by a black figure (pl. 15.13). It has been suggested that this figure is the black servant of the magi, who makes an appearance in western art in the 13th century.[150] But this can be disputed. The figure is merged with, and has become identified with, the third magus, as in the case of the Mongol magus in the iconostasis beam panel, thus increasing his status from servant to magus.[151] This figure arguably represents an Ethiopian. The presence of the by-now substantial Ethiopian community in Jerusalem, which had become established during the Ayyubid period, had an impact on perceptions of indigenous Christianity in the Holy Land. The eastern origin of the magi was of significance to Arab Christians.[152] Furthermore, in the second half of the 13th century, Christian Ethiopia was emerging as a political force and was being courted by the west as an ally against Islam.[153] The legend of Prester John as a ruler from Asia bent on defeating Islam had seized the European imagination since the appearance of the Mongols in *ca.* 1220, although it was not until shortly before the mid-14th century that Ethiopia was identified as the definite location of his origin.[154] Correspondence between Christian Ethiopia and the Papacy exists from the mid-13th century onwards.[155]

The three kings from Persia, crowned and bearing gifts to the newborn Christ, were celebrated in Syriac popular literature. Drawn by the brightly-lit star from their homeland, the magi acted as witnesses to the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophesy of the birth of the king of kings who would bring light to the world.[156] The two foremost magi wear crowns which are raised at the front and bejewelled, and are similar to the crown worn by Doquz Khatun as Helena in the Vatican Syriac lectionary (pl. 15.11). The kings' costumes, as well as those of the centurion, one of the midwives and the flute-playing shepherd, are dotted with stars not unlike the cross-starred sash wrapped around Doquz Khatun's lower arm in the portrait.[157] Both the crowns and the triple dots reappear on the Old Testament kings placed to the left of Christ in an icon of the Descent into Hell in a bilateral icon at Sinai, which I believe to have been painted by an eastern Christian (Cilician Armenian) artist.[158] The bright orange spiky surround to the star, and the gold starry backgrounds, are also comparable.

In support of Doula Mouriki's attribution of the Nativity/Crucifixion icon to an Armenian artist, Annemarie Weyl Carr has drawn attention to the similarities between the icon and painting from Armenian Cilicia, specifically a miniature by Sargis Pitzak in an Armenian Gospel book of 1336, now in Erevan (MS Matenadaran 5786).[159] This was on the grounds of its attention to detail and 'surface pattern'.[160] Armenian hopes and aspirations for the liberation of Jerusalem were continuing at the end of the 13th century, as was the identification of Armenian rulers with Holy Land sites. This is attested by an inscription of 1300, formerly at the Armenian altar at the Tomb of the Virgin at Gethsemane. The inscription commemorated the visit of King Hetoum II following his participation in the victory over the Mamluk army near Homs in 1299 by a coalition led by the Mongol Ilkhan, now Sultan, Ghazan. The coalition included Armenian and Georgian contingents. It read: 'Jesus Christ is God; Hetoum II, by the mercy of God king of the Armenians, after having conquered the sultan of the Egyptians by the help of the Lord Jesus, I

[147] See Humphreys 1977, 304, 317 on the issue of balancing ethnic groupings in Egyptian and Syrian armies.

[148] For the early Christian and Byzantine image, see Kehrer 1904, 39–41.

[149] Harvey *et al* 1910, 19; Harvey 1935, v.

[150] Carved for the first time on the pulpit of Siena cathedral by Nicola Pisano: Kaplan 1985, 7 with figs 2-3. Mouriki 1990, 120 with 387 n. 105. See also Evans, H (ed.) 2004, 370 no. 226 (HC Evans) with colour plate.

[151] The first surviving instance of the 'upgrading' of the black figure from attendant to magus in western art is in Central Europe in 1360, according to Kaplan 1985, 71. However, the black magus appears earlier in literary references, while the attendant does not; Kaplan 1985, 17.

[152] Monneret de Villard 1952.

[153] Kaplan 1985, 51 points out the significance of the establishment of the Christian dynasty by Yekuno Amlak in *ca* 1270.

[154] Kaplan 1985, 48.

[155] Kaplan 1985, 50.

[156] Budge 1899, I (Syriac text) with English translation, II, 34–9; Kehrer 1904, 119–21. Kehrer (108) speculates on the possible influence of Syriac legends on western liturgical drama and processions.

[157] The triple dots on the costumes of the magi (and flute-playing shepherd) have been connected with Islamic court dress by S Redford: see Evans (ed.) 2004, 370. See above, note 89.

[158] Weitzmann 1963 reprinted 1982, 297–8, fig. 6; Weitzmann 1982 reprinted 1987, 204–5 for the attribution to a Venetian artist in the third quarter of the 13th century. See Hunt 1989 reprinted 1998, 310–11 for an Eastern Christian (Cilician Armenian) attribution later in the 13th century.

[159] Mouriki 1990, 120 first attributed the panel to an Armenian artist but also pointed to the pairing of the Nativity and the Crucifixion in Ethiopian art; Weyl Carr 1998, 74, 77 with figs 1, 3 supported the attribution to Armenia by comparison with the Nativity scene in MS Erevan 5786. This is further supported by H C Evans in Evans (ed.) 2004, 370, who also endorses the western elements in the icon.

[160] Weyl Carr 1998, 77.
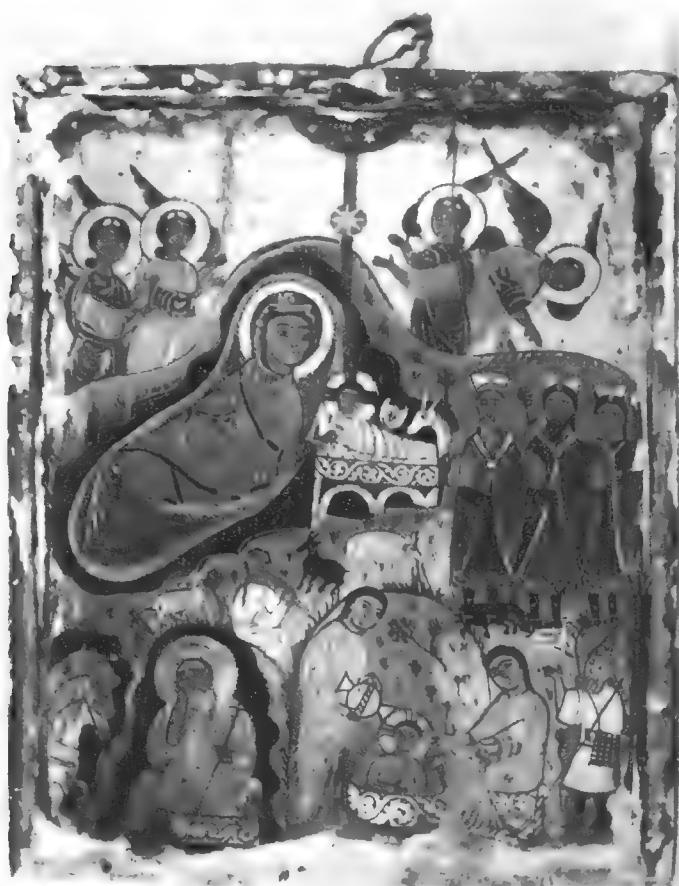
Pl. 15.14 *Nativity*. Icon from St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai. (Photograph: Published through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

arrived at Jerusalem, built this altar which is adjoined to the wall of the sacred tomb of the Armenian nation. In the year of the Lord, the 3rd of July, 1300.'[161]

I would now like to draw attention to other Eastern Christian works of art that have a bearing on some of the iconographical features of this icon. These include the magi as 'Others' and the importance of Holy Land pilgrimage sites, articulating the yearning for the Holy Land itself.

The same 'busyness' can be found in the wooden panel dating to *ca.* 1300 from the doors (now in the British Museum) from the Coptic church of al-Muᶜallaqa in Old Cairo. These would originally have been painted, and they display several Melkite features.[162] The magi in this wooden panel also have elaborate headgear—the third magus has a broad-rimmed hat not unlike the one worn by the Mongol magus—and the

leading man is kneeling, an image also found in 13th-century art in the west.[163] It also appears in Armenian art, in Queen Keran's Gospel of 1272.[164]

Identifying the third magus in the icon (pl. 15.13) as Ethiopian raises the issue of the increased profile and awareness of Ethiopians at the time, mentioned above. As Miaphysite Christians, the Ethiopians had most in common with the Coptic and Syrian Orthodox churches. Indeed, an Ethiopian monk, Thomas, caused a dispute between these two churches—exacerbating the existing rivalry caused by the creation of the Coptic bishopric in Jerusalem—when he arrived in Jerusalem in 1237, wishing to be ordained Metropolitan of Ethiopia. It became necessary for the Copts to call in the Dominicans to act as go-betweens.[165] In 1335 Jacopo da Verona referred to an altar belonging to the Ethiopians near the entry to the grotto in the north apse of the basilica of the Nativity in Bethlehem.[166] According to popular belief, it was here that the star, which had guided the magi, came to a stop.[167] Ethiopian-Coptic links were formalised in the later 13th century. In 1270, under the monk and politician Thecla Haymanot, the Coptic monastic governance over the Ethiopian church was regulated. Thecla Haymanot was political advisor to Yekuno Amlak (1270-85) with whom the Copts sided in overcoming the old Zagwe Ethiopian dynasty. The Copts introduced the legend that the rightful kings of Ethiopia were descended from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and in this way legitimised their origins from the House of David and Solomon, kings of Israel.[168]

Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, an important part of Ethiopian spiritual life, cemented the relationship between the Ethiopic and Coptic churches. Cairo was a stopping point for Ethiopians on their way to the Holy City. One such Ethiopian mission, sent from the Emperor Yagbe'a Seyon in 1290, carried gifts to Ethiopians in Jerusalem—candles to be lit in the churches there, and a letter requesting tax exemption for Ethiopian pilgrims.[169]

The strong shaft of light in the Nativity scene, displayed on the icon below the Crucifixion (pl. 15.13), can be associated with the star of Bethlehem. It is amplified in the wall painting of the Nativity in the chapel of St Thecla Haymanot at al-Muᶜallaqa church in Old Cairo, datable to the

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[161] The inscription was copied onto a zinc plate after the original was lost in the flood of 1948. This translation, by Mons. J Gansaragan, is cited by B Bagatti in Bagatti, Piccirillo and Prodromo 1975 reprinted 2004, 39. For comment on the account by the Armenian chronicler Hayton (Hetoum) and Ghazan's projected new campaign for the conquest of the Holy Land, with the king of Armenia and other Christian allies, see the remarks of Ch. Kohler in Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 1906, introduction, xxxii. For the Mongol military activity in Syria and Palestine in 1299-1300 see Amitai 1987, 243-47; Runciman 1954 reprinted 1985, 439.

[162] Hunt 1989 reprinted 1998, 305-6.

[163] Kehrer 1904, 50, 104, points out that in western art the elderly front magus usually bends on one knee.

[164] Mouriki 1990, 120, citing Queen Keran's Gospel and the second Gospel of Vasak, datable to the 1280s.

[165] Kaplan 1985, 50; O'Mahony 1996, 6. See above, note 31.

[166] This was at the north-east angle of the northern entrance down to the crypt, beside an altar belonging to the Nubians; Cerulli 1943, 112-13; Kaplan 1985, 50.

[167] And where, nearby, a marble table was to be seen at which the Virgin shared a meal with the magi; Cerulli 1943, 113.

[168] Isaac 1972, 246-47, 249-51. It was after this time that Thecla Haymanot was canonised

[169] This is recounted by a biographer of Sultan al-Mansur Qala'un, see O'Mahony 1996, 7 with n. 38.

Pl. 15.15 *Nativity.* Wallpainting from Chapel of St Thecla Haymanot, Church of al-Mu'allaqa, Old Cairo. (Photograph: L-A Hunt)

late 13th century (pl. 15.15).[170] In the wall painting the star is enclosed within a mandorla shape, labelled in Coptic, and protected by two angels, head to head. Small stars are scattered in the background, as in the Nativity/Crucifixion icon. The star stands as a metaphor for Christ as Light. The prophet Isaiah stands to the left of the scene, his scroll inscribed with the prophecy of the Virgin birth (Isaiah VII: 14). References to light elsewhere in the Book of Isaiah reinforce this image as a theophany, the culmination of the prophesy of the Incarnation, as Katarzyna Urbaniak-Walczak has pointed out.[171] In the Nativity/Crucifixion icon the manger is red, the colour of the stone of unction in Jerusalem where Christ's body was laid after the Crucifixion, accentuating the linkage between Christ's birth and death.[172] Syriac manuscript illumination too, for example the Nativity scene in the Midyat Gospels of 1226,

shows the manger similarly brightly coloured.[173] Small arches mark the base of the high-built, square masonry manger, an altar-like structure with eucharistic overtones that alludes to Christ's death. The manger with openings appears elsewhere in Eastern Christian Miaphysite art, including Africa. It is found in the Nativity scene painted in the central church of 'Abdallah Nirqi in Nubia dated as early as *ca.* 980.[174] These openings provided a tangible means of making sanctity visible in a way experienced by pilgrims visiting holy sites.

The extent to which the shroud is rooted in Holy Land imagery is attested by its presence in pilgrimage art, including a bottle now in the British Museum, dating to the 12th to 13th centuries; this probably once held oil from a lamp in the Holy Sepulchre.[175] It shows soldier saints on one

[170] Urbaniak-Walczak 1993 *passim*, dates the painting to between the late 13th and early 14th centuries (486-7). See Hunt 2007, 63-64 with Fig. 14.

[171] Urbaniak-Walczak 1993, 481-6 explains the theological basis for this, citing the references in Isaiah 9:1; 58:10; 60:1, 3. Although the magi are not shown in this image, the text of Isaiah 60:3 is especially pertinent: 'And the nations shall come to the brightness of your rising.'

[172] Evans (ed.) 2004, 370.

[173] For the Midyat Gospels see above, note 111. This scene (fol. 26r), illustrated in colour in a calendar of the Syrian Orthodox church, knowledge of which I owe to Professor S P Brock, has red surrounding the Virgin. It is reproduced in black and white by Leroy 1964, 104, 2.

[174] Van Moorsel 1970, 105, 107, with Abb. 48, p. 110. See also Urbaniak-Walczak 1993, 480 with n. 39.

[175] Buckton 1994, 187 no. 202, pointing to other representations of the shroud. It also appears in the Holy Women at the Sepulchre in an initial D in a Missal produced in the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium between 1135-1140 (Paris, B.N. lat. 12056 fol. 121v; RS Rozenberg, 'From the Scriptoria of Jerusalem and Acre' in Rozenberg 1999, 223 [in colour]). Further

side and the Holy Sepulchre on the other, incorporating the shroud in the scene of the Women at the Tomb. Christ's birth and death are juxtaposed, as they are more explicitly in the Nativity/Crucifixion icon (pl. 15.13). In the painting in the St Thecla Haymanot chapel (pl. 15.15), while Isaiah points to the Christ child and the star of light, the reclining Virgin points from below on a level with the crib, in recognition of the implication of the shroud. Here again Jerusalem is the link between these works, which reinterpret familiar imagery according to contemporary circumstances.

The arrangement of the angels, stars, crowned magi and the concentration of light from a single focused light source can be paralleled in an unpublished icon at Sinai (pl. 15.14). Arguably, this can be considered a Copto-Syrian work of the second half of the 13th century. The rounded faces of the angels in particular are reminiscent of Coptic art, while the iconography and use of colour is more in tune with Syrian Christian painting. The angel at the centre right of the icon, with hands raised to the star, has the same rounded face and exaggerated eyebrows as the angel supporting the mandorla to the left in the St Thecla Haymanot chapel painting (pl. 15.15). The arches at the base of the manger give it the same tomb-like associations as the chapel painting. But there are also associations with Syrian Christian art. One example is the inclusion of the horses of the magi, a western feature which occurs in Syrian Melkite manuscript illumination of the third quarter of the 13th century.[176] The blackness of the cave occupied by the Virgin and Child, as well as the gloom around Joseph and the openings of the manger, are scattered with tiny five-dotted stars representing a highly decorative way of signifying sanctity. The Virgin's robe is likewise dotted with five-pointed stars and striated with yellow to imitate gold. The ligatures on the icon in white are deliberately written, suggesting that Greek was not the native language of the artist. This feature also occurs on the Nativity/Crucifixion icon (pl. 15.13) which might suggest that both panels were made at Sinai, exemplifying the cultural convergence between different communities at the monastery.[177] Alternatively, since a similar convergence also existed in Cairo, and given the linkage with the wallpainting in Old Cairo, it is just as likely that the Nativity icon (pl. 15.14) was painted there.

A final icon of the Nativity at Sinai can be drawn into this orbit of Eastern Christian art in the second half of the 13th century. This is the central panel of a triptych which Weitzmann attributed to a 'Palestinian' school in the 8th-9th centuries.[178] It shows the Virgin reclining next to an altar-like, red masonry crib, with an opening in the side like the crib in the St Thecla Haymanot chapel painting. In the panel, the patterning of the brickwork is extended to provide a backdrop for the whole centre area of the scene. The midwives wash the Child below, while Joseph is seated on a stool, a contemporary secular feature. The shepherds point upwards to the segment of light associated with Christ. The icon displays features similar to the other Nativity icons under discussion (pls 15.13, 15.14). These include the white dots on the Virgin's garments to be seen in the Nativity/Crucifixion panel in pl. 15.13 on the magi, a flute-playing shepherd, and the greater involvement of the animals in the scene, especially the exaggeratedly large ox and ass, and the sheep below the shepherds. The way that the Virgin's garments, including her left sleeve, are represented in patterned shapes rather than naturalistically is stylistically close to the St Thecla Haymanot chapel wall painting and the icon at Sinai just discussed (pl. 15.14). Given the similarity, it too can be attributed to an Eastern Christian artist. This may have been a Copt working under Syrian Christian influence at Sinai or just as likely in Cairo itself, in the later 13th century.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined, through case studies of Eastern Christian art, instances of cultural convergence between Jerusalem and other areas under Ayyubid rule. Imagery from the Melisende Psalter, together with the Incredulity of Thomas from the mosaic programme at the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, illustrates the transfer of iconography from the Holy Land to Syria after the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin. The wooden doors at Bethlehem demonstrate the development of a new aesthetic language, Christian Arabic, at one of the holiest sites, through the convergence of cultures. Examples of icons, arguably painted by Eastern Christian artists, especially Syrians but also Armenians and Copts, demonstrate the convergence of traditions to meet new requirements through iconographic invention and the transfer of works of art. The adaptation of Holy Land imagery is illustrated by a shift in the depiction of Constantine and Helena and the associated imagery of the True Cross. The new emphasis on the eastern origin of the magi can also be shown to have served to heighten awareness

examples are to be found in the Gospel book Paris, BN Copte 13; Leroy 1974, 138, pl 67, 2 (fol. 215v, the Resurrection) and 143, pl. 74, 1 fol. 276v (the open tomb)

A miniature datable to the third quarter of the 13th century shows the horses of the magi accompanied by their dark-skinned groom at the base of the page, with the text of the Adoration of the Magi, which is re-used in an Arabic Gospel book dated 1331 for Melkite usage (now in Leiden, Universitetsbibliotheek Or. 1571 [Arab. 2377]). This Gospel book was arguably made at Sinai: Hunt 1997-1998 reprinted 2000, 185 with fig 9 (fol. 2v). In both the icon and the miniature, each horse is painted a different colour.

Mouriki 1990, 129 noted the ligatures in the Nativity/Crucifixion icon.

Weitzmann 1976, 68-9 no. B.41 with pls. XXVII and XCV, comparing the altar-manger with the scene on the painted lid of the Sancta Sanctorum in Rome. This is followed by Mouriki 1990, 95 with 140, fig. 6.

of ethnic difference, and was drawn upon to serve the political aspirations of Eastern Christians. These people occupied a pivotal position at the time, a factor recognised by the Mongols. Jerusalem itself, with its multiplicity of groups, served as a site of cultural convergence. As the cluster of icons discussed here shows, cultural convergence also occurred at other locations, including the monastery of St Catherine's on Mount Sinai.

Several factors of cultural exchange can be drawn from this discussion. One is the role of language as the medium, or currency, of cultural exchange. Eastern Christians acted as negotiators, ambassadors, translators, as well as doctors and civil servants. These skills enabled them to pass between Christian and Muslim, and Mongol, communities. Another

is the adoption and adaptation of imagery and attributes, including codes of dress. Theological and political discourses also played their part, in the negotiation of alliances, peace treaties, embassies and prisoner exchange. The past, through historical memory and its manipulation, served present purposes through the spatial convergence which took place at mutually-revered sites. Finally, individuals, whether prisoners, hostages, travellers or artists and others, helped to accelerate cultural exchange. The unique position of Eastern Christians as cultural intermediaries assisted in the mobilisation of these factors. Despite the decline in its political fortunes, then, Jerusalem acted as a focus for cultural convergence in the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods.

Chapter 16
QUR'ANS AND CALLIGRAPHERS
OF THE AYYUBIDS AND ZANGIDS

David James

In the year 1171, al-Nasir Salah al-Din (Saladin) put an end to the Fatimid caliphate and Egypt returned to the fold of orthodox believers, acknowledging the suzerainty of the ʿAbbasid caliph of Baghdad. The famous library of the Fatimid rulers, on which much time and money had been lavished by the princes of the defunct dynasty, was redistributed. A hundred thousand volumes were sent to the new Sunni theological college *(madrasa)*, and the remainder of the original library holdings, said by the Shiʿite historian Ibn Abi Tayyiʿ (died *ca* 630/1233), to have numbered over a million volumes, were sold off.[1] Any copies of the Qur'an must have gone to the *madrasa*. Any, that is, which had replaced those looted in 1068-69 when the palace was sacked by the unpaid soldiery of the caliph al-Mustansir. Among the palace manuscripts carried off on that occasion were 2,400 boxed copies of the Qur'an, in 'proportioned scripts' by which the source, quoted by al-Maqrizi,[2] probably meant Qur'ans in scripts that are now known by a variety of names such as 'New Style', 'broken cursive', and formerly 'Eastern Kufic', as well as copies in cursive book hands.

No copies of the Qur'an appear to have survived from Fatimid times (910-1171), which is unfortunate as this was a crucial period for the development of Qur'anic and secular hands. Indeed, only two manuscripts from the Fatimid royal library are known, identifiable as such, thanks to the corroborative inscriptions which they bear.

However, there are some Qur'anic codices, copied in the new scripts, from areas in the Mediterranean which bordered Fatimid territory. Part of a Qur'an copied in Muslim Palermo in 372/982-83, during the period of the Kalbid Emirate (948-1052), was discovered quite recently by Déroche,[3] while the famous 'Qur'an of the Nurse' *(Mushaf al-Hadinah)* from Zirid Tunis, which was endowed to the Mosque of Kairouan in 410/1042, has been known for many years.[4]

If—or when—any Fatimid manuscripts do emerge, we should not be surprised to find them copied in traditional Kufic script, like that of the 'Blue Qur'an' in Tunis, for which Bloom has in fact proposed a Fatimid origin;[5] or in one of the New Style scripts like the Palermo manuscript; or—equally possible—in one of the cursive book hands like *naskh* or *rayhan*, which had been used to copy out the Qur'anic text in the East from at least the first decade of the 11th century.

By the time that Saladin was invested as ruler of Egypt by the ʿAbbasid caliph in 1175, it seems probable that any copies of the Qur'an made in Egypt and Syria would have been executed in one of the cursive book hands. But we cannot be absolutely certain: there is at least one Qur'an copied in a form of the New Style scripts which is dated 573/1177-8.[6] However, this was probably copied in eastern Iran or Afghanistan where the (by now anachronistic) 'New Style' seems to have endured longer than elsewhere.[7] No Qur'an copied in any form of the New Style scripts from North Africa is known after the mid-11th century.

We can be sure that Ayyubid Qur'an manuscripts were copied on paper, in vertical format using a 5, 7, 9 or 11

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1. Bloom 2001, 122.

2. Bloom 2001, 122. If that were not enough, there was also the fire that destroyed the library built in 626/1229 by al-Kamil Muhammad II (615-35/1218-38) at the Citadel. Al-Kamil had confiscated a huge number of manuscripts from al-Ashraf Bahaʾ al-Din Ahmad which had been collected by his father, al-Qadi al-Fadil, and placed them in the library. Many of these were of Fatimid origin. But in 691/1292 the library was destroyed: Zaki 1981, 44-5.

3. Déroche 1992, 134 and 146-151. The Kalbids were nominees of the Fatimids after al-Mansur bi-Amrillah appointed al-Hasan ibn ʿAli al-Kalbi governor of Sicily in 348/948.

4. Marçais et Poinssot 1948, 61, 310-11, fig. 16.

5. 1989, 95-99.

6. Topkapı Sarai, EH 42; Lings 1976, no. 19.

The Qur'an copied in one of the New Style scripts dated 620/1223 in the Astan-i Quds Library, Mashhad, which is considered the latest example, has had the date altered to make it appear a hundred years later than it is: Lings and Safadi 1976, 35, cat. no. 52.

line format and employing the vocalisation system attributed to al-Khalil ibn Ahmad al-Farahidi—in short, the method of presenting the text which we see fully developed in the Ibn al-Bawwab Qur'an of 391/1001. This continued in use throughout the Zangid, Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Egypt and Syria and changed only after the Ottoman conquest of 1516.[8]

Before looking at possible Ayyubid Qur'ans, as well as at contemporary manuscripts made for the Zangids, let us see what the literary sources tell us about calligraphy and calligraphers in this period.

As historical chronicles deal with matters of political and dynastic significance, references to Qur'ans—or manuscripts of any kind— occur only when directly related to contemporary events. An intriguing incident, for example, is related by al-Maqqari concerning the siege of Acre of 1187, when the unnamed author of a book on siegecraft presented Saladin with a copy, which, we are told, contained numerous illustrations.[9] The great warrior was rather dismissive of the gift. Ibn al-Athir says that when the Franks besieged Damascus in 1148 the vizier Mu'in al-Din Unur tried to rally the terrified inhabitants by displaying the 'Qur'an of 'Uthman'. He also relates that in 1218 al-Kamil Muhammad II surprised a group of conspirators in the act of swearing fealty to his brother al-Fa'iz, on a copy of the Qur'an.[10]

The 'Vasaris' of Islamic literature survive only from the 15th century onwards, and write mainly about the calligraphers and painters of Iran, India, and the Ottoman empire, though mention is made of the legendary masters of the past to whom are accredited the foundations of the *aqlam al-sitta*, the six basic hands: Ibn Muqla (died 328/939-40), Ibn al-Bawwab (died 413/1022) and Yaqut al-Musta'simi (died 697/1298). Some writers on the history of calligraphy refer to other masters who lived before 1300, taking their information from the biographical works of scholars like Ibn Khallikan and al-Safadi. Much of this information refers to Baghdad and Iraq, because that is where the classic forms of Arabic script developed, and where the great practitioners of the art of calligraphy lived. However, the 18th-century Ottoman writer, Sa'deddin Efendi Mustakimzade, conducted an extensive search through the works of earlier Arabic writers when compiling his history of calligraphers, so his *Tuhfe-yi Hattatin* is not confined to Ottoman practitioners, but includes the biographies of many earlier scribes, including those of the Ayyubid period.[11] Such

biographical references are by no means exhaustive: a simple scribe—no matter how competent—was always less likely to be mentioned than a poet or *qadi* who also happened to be a talented penman. There are thousands of magnificently copied manuscripts signed by people about whom we know nothing. Then there are the venerated names with whom not a single genuine example can be associated. Ibn Muqla is a case in point.

Although Arabic works on calligraphic practice exist from before the 15th century, these rarely include the biographical information that we find in Qadi Ahmad's 16th-century Persian treatise on painters and calligraphers[12] and the *Tuhfe-yi Hattatin*. They give advice to scribes on practical matters: which reed makes the best pen, recipes for ink and the principles of letter forms. An exception is the chapter on calligraphers in Murtada al-Zabidi's work on penmanship, the *Hikmat al-Ishraq ila Kuttab al-Afaq*.[13]

The history of calligraphy in the Ayyubid period meant essentially the continuation of the school of Ibn al-Bawwab through the activities of his pupils, and the growing influence of Yaqut al-Musta'simi, who still had half a century of work before him when the Ayyubid dynasty came to an end in 1250. The overwhelming influence was that of the former. It is his name which is mentioned time and again—'he worked in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab'—in the biographical entries of scribes from the Ayyubid and Zangid periods.[14]

The Qur'anic codex copied by Ibn al-Bawwab in 391/1001 is a beacon for Islamic codicological history.[15] It has just about everything the scholar wants to know when examining a manuscript: scribe, date and place. The only thing missing is the name of a patron. It was copied by 'Ali ibn Hilal (Ibn al-Bawwab) in Madinat al-Salam (Baghdad) in the year 391/1001. It is quite different from anything earlier and is the earliest copy of the Qur'anic text in a cursive hand—though of course it cannot be the earliest, only the earliest to have survived. The text is entirely legible, being written in *rayhan*,[16] one of the three main Qur'anic hands, with the *sura* headings written in gold *tawqi'*. All surviving Qur'ans prior to this date are in traditional Kufic or New Style Kufic. Ibn al-Bawwab must have been familiar with the latter form(s), which were, after all, the quintessential Qur'anic scripts, when he took up calligraphy in the second half of the 10th century. Unlike earlier manuscripts, Ibn al-Bawwab used Kufic only for marginalia, to mark each fifth and tenth verse, and for ritual prostration points in the text. Another difference was the form of the *basmala* at the head of each *sura*. The ligature between *sin*

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[8] Ottoman Qur'an scribes devised a new method of presenting the sacred text, whereby each page of text ends with one complete verse while the following page commences with the next verse.

[9] Al-Basha 1966, 82; al-Maqarri 1968 2, 296.

[10] Baldwin 1969, 508-9; Wolff 1969, 408.

[11] Mustakimzade 1928. Although the author is normally consulted for information on Ottoman calligraphers, his great work contains much information on earlier scribes—Fatimid, Ayyubid, Zangid, Andalusi and North African.

[12] Qadi Ahmad 1959.

[13] Al-Zabidi 1954.

[14] See the appendix of calligraphers.

[15] Rice 1955.

[16] *Naskh* according to Rice, but identified as *rayhan* by Mohamed Zakariya. See Safwat 1996, 231-2 for an illustration.

and *mim* is artificially lengthened so that the combination of the first three letters is equal to the length of all other letters in the phrase; the practice was to become the norm with Qur'anic scribes but had not been seen in earlier copies of the sacred text. Ibn al-Bawwab was not the inventor of this composition, as it occurs in earlier books and documents,[17] but his use of this composition is one of the first examples to occur in a copy of the Qur'an.

The script forms at which Ibn al-Bawwab was adept and which became largely associated with him were the major Qur'anic hands *muhaqqaq* and *rayhan*, the book hand *naskh*, also used for copying Qur'ans, and the diplomatic and decorative hands, *thulth*, *tawqi* and *riqa*.[18] These were not the only hands in use, nor were they the only ones associated with the Baghdadi master. Al-Tibi's compendium of scripts in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab, the *Jami' Mahasin Kitabat al-Kuttab*, gives examples of many others.[19]

The versions of these script forms according to Ibn al-Bawwab, the *Tariqat Ibn al-Bawwab*, were transmitted after the master's death by his pupils, who in turn had their own pupils. According to Al-Zabidi's *Hikmat al-Ishraq*:

> The canon of excellence ... passed from (Ibn al-Bawwab) to his pupil Muhammad ibn Mansur ibn ʿAbd al-Malik and from him to the Shaikha, calligrapher and traditionist, Zainab, also called Fatima bint Shaikh Abi'l-Faraj, called Shuhda bint al-Ibari. Among those who became an accomplished calligrapher at her hands was Shaikh Abu'l-Durr Amin al-Din Yaqut ibn ʿAbdallah al-Mausili al-Katib, called al-Nuri, al-Maliki and al-Sharafi ... of those who followed the method of Ibn al-Bawwab, no one could write *naskh* like him with such inborn excellence ... his death occurred at Mosul in 618/1221. Concerning Yaqut al-Rumi, also called al-Hamawi, his death occurred at Aleppo in 626/1228-29 when he was more than 52 years old. Among those who studied under Yaqut (al-Mausili) was Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Zangi called al-Wali al-ʿAjami. However, I have read ... that al-Wali al-ʿAjami was taught by Shuhda without recourse to Yaqut. Afterwards the canon of excellence passed to Shaikh ʿAfif al-Din Muhammad al-Halabi, also known as al-Shirazi.[20]

Although the author died in 1780, he is one of the few scholars to give sequential information on the pupils of Ibn al-Bawwab. Some of it is not found elsewhere. Muhammad ibn Mansur is unknown but Shuhda, his pupil, was a famous woman scholar and calligrapher of Baghdad, Zainab bint Abi Nasr ibn al-Faraj ibn ʿUmar al-Ibari al-Dinawari, who died in Baghdad in 574/1178 around ninety years old.[21] Amin al-Din Abu'l-Durr Yaqut al-Mausili al-Katib, also called al-Nuri, al-Maliki, and al-Sharafi, died in Mosul in 618/1221 and is not to be confused (though he often was) with Jamal al-Din Abu'l-Majd Yaqut ibn ʿAbdallah al-Mustaʿsimi, who died in 698/1298.[22] Yaqut al-Mausili is said to have been the scribe of the Saljuq ruler Malikshah—hence, presumably, his *nisba* 'al-Maliki'. If this is correct, it must have been the Saljuq ruler Malikshah III (547-48/1152-53) who died in 1160 after being deposed, although Huart identifies him as Malikshah II (497-98/1104-05).[23] There were, however, several Zangid princes called Malikshah for whom Yaqut al-Mausili could equally well have worked.

Abu'l-Durr Yaqut ibn ʿAbdallah al-Rumi al-Hamawi was born in Asia Minor in 575/1179; he was captured there and came to Baghdad as the slave of ʿAskar ibn Ibrahim al-Hamawi. In Baghdad he learnt calligraphy and made his living for a time as a scribe. He was the author of the great geographical work, *Muʿjam al-Buldan*, and another with a similarly titled work on men of letters, *Muʿjam al-Udaba'*; he died in 626/1228.[24] Islamic authors on calligraphy often mistakenly identify him as two separate people: one a scribe, the other the famous author.

Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Zangi, called al-Wali al-ʿAjami, is said by al-Zabidi to have been taught by Yaqut al-Mausili, though according to al-Sakhawi—also quoted by al-Zabidi—he was taught by Shuhda without recourse to Yaqut.[25] However, if al-Wali al-ʿAjami died in 700/1301,[26] as some authors state, and was the teacher of the Mamluk master Ibn al-ʿAfif who died in 736/1335-36, he cannot have been a pupil of the

[17] It occurs in the earliest known Arabic manuscript on paper dated 273/886. See Bloom 1999, 33, fig. 3.

[18] *Rayhan* is actually only a smaller version of *muhaqqaq*. See Gacek 1987, 126. The same is true of *riqa* and *tawqi*.

[19] Al-Tibi 1962.

[20] Al-Zabidi 1954, 86. For al-Zabidi, see C Brockelmann *s.v.* 'Muhammad Murtada', *EI²* Vol. VII, 444-45. Huart 1908, 80-4, gives a longer list based on an examination of the entries in the *Tuhfe-yi Hattatin*: Muhammad ibn Musa ibn ʿAli al-Shafiʾi, called Ibn Basis or Ibn al-Basis, who wrote a commentary

on Ibn al-Bawwab's ode to calligraphy, the *Ra'iyya fi'l-Khatt*: Mihyar ibn Marzuya Dailami, a direct pupil (died 428/1036-37); Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn Kazim (Huart has Khazin) (d. 518/1124); Zainab bint Abi Nasr ibn al-Faraj ibn ʿUmar al-Ibari al-Dinawari, called Shuhda; Yaqut ibn ʿAbdallah al-Mausili al-Maliki; ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad al-Bakri (died 597/1201); Muhadhdhib al-Din Yaqut ibn ʿAbdallah al-Rumi (died 622/1225); Ahmad ibn Fadlallah ibn Muhammad (died 624/1227); ʿAbd al-Mu'min b. Safi al-Din al-Isfahani (died 646/1248); Abu'l-Maʾali ʿIzz al-Din ʿAbd al-Wahhab ibn Ibrahim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab al-Zanjani (died 662/1263), who also studied under Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi; Sayyid ʿAbdallah Shirazi (died 667/1268-69). Also mentioned are Khwaja Abu'l-ʿAl, al-Wali al-ʿAjami and Ahmad ibn Fahd ibn Husain, who studied with Shuhda (died 627/1229-30).

[21] Ibn Khallikan 1968 5, 359-63.

[22] S R Canby, s.v. 'Yakut al-Muʿtasimi', *EI²* Vol. XI, 263-4.

[23] Safadi 28, 39-42; Mustakimzade 1928, 576-7. Huart 1908, 83.

[24] C Gilliot, s.v. 'Yakut al-Rumi', *EI²* Vol. XI, 264-66.

[25] Al-Zabidi 1954, 86.

[26] Mustakimzade 1928, 573.

famous woman calligrapher, who died in 1178.[27] In fact it seems unlikely, though not impossible, that he could have been the pupil of Yaqut al-Mausili given that the latter died in 1221. The confusion may have arisen due to the mistaken identity of Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Zangi as al-Wali.[28] If, as his name and the dates of his career, *ca* 1150–1250, suggest, ʿAli ibn Zangi was a descendant of the ruler of Mosul and Aleppo, the Atabeg Abu'l-Muzaffar ʿImad al-Din Zangi (480-541/1087-8-1146), he could have been a contemporary of both Shuhda (died 1178) and Yaqut al-Mausili (died 1221), and a pupil of either or both.

Several contemporaries and associates of ʿImad al-Din Zangi were well known calligraphers. One of the most distinguished was al-Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Ibrahim al-Juwaini, called Fakhr al-Kuttab—'The Pride of the Scribes'; he was from Baghdad and became an intimate of both Zangi and then his son Nur al-Din Mahmud at Damascus (541-69/1146-74). He wrote in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab and his hand was greatly praised. He was flatteringly described as 'Hilal son of Hilal' and 'Muqla son of Muqla', in reference to his illustrious predecessors Ibn al-Bawwab and Ibn Muqla. He went on to live in Cairo where he spent the rest of his life. 'He is unrivalled in Cairo as a calligrapher in our time,' wrote Ibn Khalikan, '… examples of his hand fetch high prices among the public.'[29] He lived in Cairo until the early years of Ayyubid rule and died in 584/1188, or 586/1190. It should not thus surprise us if a son of the Atabeg Zangi were interested in calligraphy: his son and successor Nur al-Din Mahmud certainly was. He wrote in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab and was considered without equal as a calligrapher among monarchs who were his contemporaries.[30] An interest in calligraphy was not unusual among the Zangid and Ayyubid ruling families. Saladin's son, ʿAli (died 622/1225) was considered a calligrapher without peer in his day.[31] We also have the interesting example of the later Ayyubid 'minor royal' Shadhi ibn Muhammad (681/1282-83 to 743/1341-42). He was a professional calligrapher active in Mamluk times who copied a Qur'an for Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad in 713/1313 in Cairo. Shadhi was the great-grandson of the Ayyubid ruler

of Damascus and Karak, al-Nasir Da'ud (died 656/1258) of the house of al-ʿAdil. Al-Nasir Da'ud was a master of *insha'*, chancery epistolary style, and the author of the *Fawa'id al-Jaliyya*, a posthumous selection of his correspondence. In 720/1320 Shadhi ibn Muhammad made a fine copy of his great-grandfather's work. The recipient, 'Sultan ʿImad', was a distant cousin, the latter-day Ayyubid ruler and historian Abu'l-Fida' (672-732/1277-1331).[32]

Alternatively, Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Zangi may have been related to the ruler of Nisibin and Sinjar, Qutb al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi ibn Maudud (595-616/1199-1219), whose father Zangi was the grandson of ʿImad al-Din Zangi.[33] If so he could have been a pupil of both Shuhda and Yaqut al-Mausili.

Qutb al-Din Muhammad commissioned a superb multi-part Qur'an in a non-Qur'anic hand, gold *tawqiʿ* in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab (pl. 16.1). The manuscript is copied in thirty parts *(ajza')* but with each volume numbered as two sixtieths *(ahzab)* of the text. It was probably destined for use in the Hanafi *madrasa* founded by Qutb al-Din in Sinjar. He is said by Ibn Khallikan to have been fanatically devoted to the Hanafis. Even the sweepers in the *madrasa* had to belong to that rite.[34] The *tawqiʿ* hand is identical to that used in the famous seven-part Qur'an copied by the Syrian calligrapher Ibn al-Wahid between 704 and 705/1304-6.[35] Ibn Iyas, who saw this manuscript, calls the script *ashʿar*, a script between *thulth* and *muhaqqaq*. Al-Safadi calls it *thulth-ashʿar*. It has more recently been identified as *tawqiʿ*.[36] It is the same hand as that used by Ibn al-Bawwab in the Qur'an of 391/1001 to write the *sura* headings. The Zangid and Mamluk examples are the only known instances of this script as a Qur'anic hand. The *sura* headings are written in a form of gold New Style Kufic outlined in red.[37] A slightly different New Style hand, in gold outlined in black, is used for marginalia and *ajza'* inscriptions.

Only four parts of Qutb al-Din's Qur'an survive and none gives the name of the outstanding calligrapher responsible for this masterpiece.[38] However, we do know the name—and

[27] The full name of ʿImad al-Din ibn al-ʿAfif was Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al-Hasan al-Shaikh ʿImad al-Din al-Ansari al-Shafiʿi. He was originally from Central Asia *(ma wara' al-nahr)* but worked in Egypt and Syria. He was one of the leading calligraphers of his day, though no example of his hand is known. He was the *shaikh* of the *khanqah* of Aqbugha in Cairo, according to al-Safadi, and was buried in the cemetery of al-Qarafah. He died in 737/1335 aged 80: Safadi 1, 238. It is possible that his father, who was also his teacher, was the pupil of al-Wali al-ʿAjami. His brother, Nur al-Din, was also a calligrapher and a pupil of his father: Mustakimzade 1928, 343, 571; al-ʿAzzawi 1982, 288.

[28] ʿAli ibn Zangi appears to be unmentioned in other Islamic works on calligraphy. Information on al-Wali al-ʿAjami is sparse, but only in al-Zabidi's *Hikmat al-Ishraq* is he identified as Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Zangi. For al-Wali, see Mustakimzade 1928, 573.

[29] Ibn Khallikan 1968, 2, 131-32.

[30] Ibn Khallikan 1968, 5, 184-89.

[31] Ibn Khallikan 1968, 3, 419-21.

[32] James 1999, 68.

[33] ʿImad al-Din Zangi had four sons, and there were other descendants who were also called Zangi: Zambaur 1927, 226-7.

[34] Ibn Khallikan 1968 2, 331.

[35] James 1999, 38.

[36] By Mohamed Zakariya; see Safwat 1995, 231 for an illustration. This identification is supported by Gacek 1987, 128, n. 22, but not by the writer of the entry in the Paris *L'Orient de Saladin* exhibition catalogue of 2001, who describes it as *thulth*; cat. no. 216.

[37] According to Déroche's identification system, this is NS1, based on the hand of ms. arabe 342b, in the Bibliothèque Nationale: Déroche 1992, 132-3, table VII. The identical type is used for the *sura* headings of a Qur'an in the Nour Collection, Mss. 1431: James 1992, 24-7, cat. no. 1.

[38] The others are: Bursa, Archaeological Museum, K. 19, part 1; ex-Kuwait, Homayzi Collection, ms. I/442; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library and Gallery of Oriental Art, ms. 1448, part 12; Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. arabe 5949. The part in the Chester Beatty Library was bought by Beatty from F R Martin, who probably acquired it in Turkey. See Arberry 1967, cat.no.53; Martin 1912, 237.

work—of at least one Zangid Qur'an scribe. He was the copyist of another multi-part Qur'an which was endowed, and we may presume commissioned, by Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zangi in 562/1166-67 for his *madrasa* in Damascus, which he had built in Dhu'l-Hijja 562/November 1166.[39] It was endowed to the Madrasa Hanafiyya in the same year and the endowment notice *(waqqafahu ... 'ala'l-madrasa al-hanafiyya allati ansha'aha bi-dimashq)*, which appears at the beginning of each volume, was copied out by the same scribe.[40] His name is given as ʿAli ibn Jaʿfar ibn Asad al-Katib, but he is otherwise unknown. He was, however, the copyist of a Qur'anic commentary, now in Cairo, which was endowed to the same *madrasa*.[41]

The Qur'an of Nur al-Din was copied in sixty volumes, three of which survive, all with their original covers.[42] The script is a magnificent *naskh*, five lines to the page, with *ayas* marked by gold rosettes placed above a blank space separating each *aya*. *Sura* headings are in gold *riqaʿ* without illumination. The opening folios are fully illuminated, with the section numbers written in panels above the initial lines of text, two on each folio, surrounded by bands of gold interlace. The *naskh* of the main text is a full-bodied script with deep sub-linear letter forms, not very far removed from the *naskh* of Shadhi ibn Muhammad and other Qur'an scribes of the early Mamluk period, though chronologically they are 150 years apart.[43] As a form it differs considerably from the *naskh* of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. If an example of the celebrated *naskh* of Yaqut al-Mausili were ever to appear ('no one could write *naskh* like him') we would probably find that it is, stylistically, the same hand.[44]

There is another Zangid Qur'an which is known only by the reproduction in Moritz's *Arabic Palaeography*. The single illuminated page shown has the text of the opening *sura* written in a large and very cursive *naskh*. The manuscript, which in Moritz's day was part of the Khedival Library in Cairo, is dated 599/1203 and is described as 'Qur'an of al-Muzaffar ibn Zengi', possibly Qutb al-Din Abu'l-Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Zangi of Sinjar.[45]

No Qur'ans of unquestionable Ayyubid origin are known at present. But there are two for which an Ayyubid Syrian provenance can at least be suggested.

The Tafsir manuscript in Cairo copied by ʿAli ibn Jaʿfar has a distinctive frontispiece, which may have been painted by the scribe. This has never been reproduced, but it is the same as that of a Qur'an formerly in the Krauss Collection.[46] Each half of the frontispiece consists of two interlocking trefoils forming a central lozenge. Above and below are irregular panels with a tile-pattern of hexagons and Y-shapes. The trefoils have arabesque scrolls repeated in a central quatrefoil bearing the words *Qur'an Karim* in New Style Kufic. There are polychrome palmettes above and below. On either side are circles with gold flowers. In the margins are circles with gold lotus blossoms.

The same design was used for the frontispiece of a large and unusual Qur'an copied for a sultan whose name has been erased, though the title '... (al-Malik) al-Nasir, Nasir al-Dunya wa'l-Din ...' remains. This has been discussed elsewhere, and its provenance remains problematic.[47] The patron may have been the Mamluk al-Nasir Muhammad who ruled three times between 693/1294 and 741/1340, though the manuscript is unlike other Qur'ans made after 1300. As yet, no Mamluk Qur'ans are known from before 701/1302.

However, we have to consider the possibility that the patron may have been either al-Nasir Salah al-Din II Yusuf (634-58/1237-60) or al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29), both of whom ruled in Damascus. The argument against this involves the format of the text page, because the text on each page is divided into three lines of gold *muhaqqaq* with two intervening areas of *naskh*, each containing fourteen lines. Pages so divided are entirely unknown in Syrian and Egyptian Qur'ans before the mid-15th century. Nevertheless, the format did exist elsewhere in the 12th century, as a Qur'an completed in 582/1186 for a Persian-speaking ruler shows. As Saljuq rule had previously extended to Syria, Qur'ans copied in the format of this manuscript may have been known to scribes there, so an Ayyubid provenance for this Qur'an has at least to be contemplated.[48]

[39] Lings; Safadi 1976, 46, cat. no. 55. The *waqfiyyah* of this manuscript says that it was endowed by Mahmud ibn Zangi ibn Aqsunqur, i.e. Sultan Nur al-Din Mahmud, not as a the British Library exhibition catalogue says—Muhammad ibn Zangi.

[40] Paris 2001, cat. no. 217.

[41] Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, ms. Tafsir 507. Another fragmentary Qur'an with an endowment notice of Nur al-Din Mahmud is in Istanbul, Turkish Islamic Museum, ms. 76.

[42] Ham, United Kingdom, Keir Collection, ms. VII, 3-4; Damascus, Mathaf al-Khatt al-ʿArabi, ms. 2627. Robinson *et al.* 1976, 287-88; Lings and Safadi 1976, 46, cat. no. 55; 89, cat. no. 157; Paris 2001, cat. no. 217.

[43] James 1999, cat. nos 3, 4, 5, 6.

[44] We do not know for certain the rulers for whom Yaqut worked, namely those referred to by his *nisbas* al-Maliki and al-Sharafi. But al-Nuri must be Nur al-Din Arslanshah ibn Masʿud ibn Maudud (589-607/ 1193-1211), the Zangid ruler of Mosul, where Yaqut lived. A particularly fine manuscript appeared recently in London which was made for Arslanshah. Although this manuscript, the Kitab Sirr al-Asrar of Psuedo-Aristotle, is not signed, it is copied in a cursive *naskh* and it is tempting to think that the scribe may have been Yaqut al-Mausili. See Fendall 2003, 56-59, cat. no. 25 and Lings and Safadi 1976, 44-5.

[45] This manuscript is otherwise unknown. There is no record of its being studied or seen, since its reproduction in Moritz 1905, pl. 86. No manuscript number is given by Moritz.

[46] Grube 1972, 45-6, cat. nos 15-16. The Cairo frontispiece was seen by me in 1978. It does not occur on any of the sections of the Qur'an endowed by Nur al-Din in 562/1166-67.

[47] Chester Beatty ms. 1455; James 1992, 109-10, fig 73, cat. no. 73.

[48] Chester Beatty ms. 1438 was copied by ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Abi Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Katib al-Maliki, called Zarrin-Qalam, indicating that he was Iranian, or at least the scribe of a Persian-speaking ruler. For the date on which the Qur'an was completed (582/1186) there are several possible rulers to choose from, in an area stretching from Anatolia to eastern Iran. See James 1980, 35, cat. no. 20.

The second manuscript is one which has been fairly well known since 1976 when it was shown in the World of Islam Festival exhibition of Islamic art in the Hayward Gallery, London. It is a Qur'an in two volumes, the first of which is in the National Museum of Syria. The second has been sold piecemeal over the last decade at auction. In 2003 and 2004 a large segment, including the final pages, was sold in London.[49]

This manuscript has always been something of a mystery. Although initially described as 'Mamluk' and dated to the reign of the governor of Damascus Saif al-Din Manjak in 751/1350, it resembles no other Mamluk manuscript of that date. The illumination and script look more archaic than is normal in Egyptian or Syrian Qur'ans of that period.[50] Stanley has pointed out that the endowment certificate *(wuqfiyya)* on the manuscript mentions that the Qur'an was endowed by a descendant of Manjak, Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Saifi Manjak.[51] Thus it is not specifically associated with Manjak himself, and could have been made before he governed Damascus for some months in 1350. There is no colophon on either volume, so a dating must be based on other criteria.

The final pages of illumination, unseen until recently, are designed exactly like the illuminated opening and closing pages of illumination in Mamluk and Ilkhanid Qur'ans of Baghdad and Cairo, *ca* 1301-10. The frame of the border on the surviving right-hand half of the finispiece extends all around the composition. In virtually all later manuscripts the pages have a border on the three outer sides only, with the two compositions meeting in the central gutter of the folios, forming one overall composition in two parts. As far as we know there is only one later example of this method, namely in a Mamluk Qur'an dated 774/1372, where a frame surrounds the colophon page.[52] The frontispiece conforms to later Mamluk artistic convention. Thus we can be fairly confident that the 'Damascus' Qur'an can be dated at least to the first decade of the 14th century.

However, in 1976 another two-volume manuscript was shown in the British Library exhibition, *The Qur'an*, during The World of Islam Festival. This appears to have been copied by the same anonymous scribe of the 'Damascus' manuscript. The script looks identical, the same peculiarities occur, for example the frequent omission of the stroke on the letter *kaf*. The verse markers are the same, and are written above the text. The folio size is quite close, though not identical. The

Cairo page measures 43.5 x 29.5cm; the Damascus one is 47 x 33cm. Each has seven lines of *muhaqqaq* script. According to the authors of the catalogue, this manuscript is from 'early 7th/13th century Egypt', that is Ayyubid.[53] The evidence for an Ayyubid origin is by no means conclusive, but it deserves consideration, and would explain why the Damascus manuscript seems out of place among Mamluk Qur'ans.

This manuscript has several features as yet unseen in Mamluk illumination. For example, the vegetal fillers within the geometric trellis frameworks are not miniature self-contained compositions, as is normal in 14th-century manuscript illumination: they link up with each other across the trellis.[54] The central marginal ornaments on the opening and final pages consist of triangular hasps in the outer margins (pl. LXXXVIII). Ornaments of the latter type feature prominently in some of the illustrated folios of the *Kitab al-Tiryaq* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a manuscript dated 595/1199 and normally attributed to northern Iraq or Syria, and presumably Ayyubid or Zangid.[55]

As yet no copies of the Qur'an can be ascribed with certainty to an Ayyubid monarch, mosque or *madrasa*. The Damascus manuscript with its copious multi-coloured notes and comments, added before the illumination was applied, was intended for study purposes. In conclusion, we may call attention to a rare description in 531/1137 of a collection of Syrian Qur'ans. It was written by no less a person than the famous Syrian knight Usama ibn Munqidh, somewhat before the ascent of Saladin to the throne, but is nevertheless not without interest to a study of Qur'ans under the Ayyubids and Zangids. Usama mentions that his father, like many educated Muslims, wrote a beautiful hand and spent much time copying the Qur'an. He counted these copies and they numbered forty-three with appendices and commentaries. He continues: 'There was a large copy *(khatma)* written in gold with a commentary; with its variant readings, its peculiarities, its language, its abrogating and abrogated verses, its explanation, the reason for its revelation, its law, in black, red and blue inks. The commentary was called the Great Commentary. There was another copy in gold without a commentary. For the rest of the copies, ink had been used for the text but with gold to indicate each fifth and tenth verse, verse endings, *sura* headings and the beginning of each *juz'*.'[56]

[49] London 1976, cat. no. 539; National Museum, Damascus, inv. no. 13,615, al-Ush *et al.*, n.d. [1969], 211; Christie's 2004, lot 7 for a listing of pages sold at earlier auctions. A recent monograph by Marcus Fraser gives a full description and analysis of the manuscript, in which a strong case is made for attributing its illumination to Muhammad ibn Mubadir, a Cairo artist of c. 697-710/1298-1310; Fraser 2005.

[50] Geneva 1988, cat. no. 10.

[51] Stanley n.d., 117.

[52] National Library, Cairo, ms. 10; James 1999, 198, fig. 139.

[53] Lings and Safadi 1976, 49 cat. nos 62-63.

[54] Fraser 2005, 27 ill. K1.

[55] Ms arabe 2964; Farès 1953 plsVII, XVIII.

[56] *Wa-minha khatma kabira bi'l-dhahab wa-kataba fiha 'ulum al-qur'an, qira'atuhu wa-gharibuhu wa-'arabiyyatuhu wa-nasikhuhu wa-mansukhuhu wa-tafsiruhu wa-sabab nuzulihi wa-fiqhuhu bi'l-hibr wa'l-humra wa'l-zurqa. Wa-ساyam*nuha bi'l-tafsir al-kabir. Wa-kataba khatma ukhra bi'l-dhahab mujarrada min al-tafsir. Wa-baqi al-khatamat bi'l-hibr madhahabbat al-akhar wa'l-akhmas wa'l-ayat wa-ru'us al-suwar wa-ru'us al-ajza'*. Usama 1930, 53; Potter 1929, 69-70. Potter's translation seems to suggest that the first work referred to is Qur'anic commentary, the *Tafsir Kabir*, but the word *khatma* normally means a copy of the Qur'an, in which case the commentary, in coloured inks, would have been written alongside the text, as in the Damascus Qur'an. The text of the

Appendix
Ayyubid and Zangid calligraphers

Ages at death—if known—are given for those who lived into the Mamluk period. Those whose details appear in the main text of this chapter are not included here. The listing is chronological.

ʿAdnan ibn Nasr ibn Mansur. Muwaffaq al-Din Abu Nasr ibn al-ʿAyn Zarbi. He studied astronomy in Baghdad and calligraphy with pupils of Ibn al-Bawwab. He was a master of 'proportioned script'. Died in 548/1153. Safadi 19, 526-27.

ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad. Abu'l-Mukarim Majd al-Din ibn al-Wazir Abu'l-Maʿali. He was from Cairo and was known as a fine calligrapher. He was the scribe of the Ayyubid ruler of Hama, Taqi al-Din ʿUmar ibn Shahanshah (574-87/1178-1191). Died in 561/1165-66. Safadi 22, 135-36.

ʿAli ibn Hasan ibn ʿAli ibn Abi'l-Hasan al-Rumaili al-Shafiʿi al-Nahawi. He was from Palestine and a calligrapher in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in 569/1173. Mustakimzade, 314.

Hashim ibn Ahmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahid al-Hanafi, Shaikh Abu Tahir. He was from Raqqa and lived in Aleppo where he was *khatib* of the Umayyad Mosque. He worked in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in 577/1181. Safadi 27, 213-14.

Shakir ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Abi'l-Majd, known as Abu'l-Yasr. He was from Maʿarra and a descendant of the poet Abu'l-ʿAla' al-Maʿarri. He became *Katib al-Insha'* under Nur al-Din ibn Zangi and an intimate of the sultan. He died in 581/1185-6. Safadi 16, 85-6.

Muwaffaq al-Din Asad ibn Ilyas ibn al-Matran al-Salihi. He was a Christian, a physician, vizier and author. He wrote in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in 585/1189. Mustakimzade, 114.

ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAli al-Baisani al-Lakhmi. He was from Cairo and famed for his fine hand. He was the son of al-Ashraf Baha' al-Din and the grandson of al-Qadi al-Fadil. He was the librarian of his grandfather's *madrasa* in Cairo. See note 2. Died in Cairo in 596/1200. Safadi 18, 198.

Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Banan al-Katib. Abu'l-Tahir ibn Abi'l-Fadl. He was from Cairo, a calligrapher, scribe and secretary. He went to Iraq as the envoy of Saif al-Islam Tughtagin, brother of Saladin, and spent some time there. Died in 596/1199-1200 aged 90. Safadi 1, 281-82.

ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Rustam. He was from Damascus but of Khurasani origin and was known as Ibn al-Saʿati because his father was time-keeper at the Umayyad Mosque under Nur al-Din ibn Zangi. Died in Cairo in 604/1207-8. Mustakimzade, 323-24.

Amir Majd al-Mulk Jaʿfar ibn Muhammad ibn Mukhtar, known as Abu'l-Fadl Shams al-Khilafa. He was from Cairo and served Saladin and his successor, al-ʿAziz. He was a poet and calligrapher renowned for his mastery of *thulth* and *naskh*. Died in 622/1225. Safadi 11, 143-46.

Jaʿfar ibn Abu'l-Hasan ibn Ibrahim. Ibn ʿAli al-Damiri. He was a calligrapher and Sufi of Cairo. Died in 623/1226. Mustakimzade, 148.

ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn ʿAli ibn Husain ibn Shith al-Qurashi, known as al-Qadi Jamal al-Din al-Ra'is al-Qusi. He was from Qus and lived in Alexandria and Jerusalem. He became *Katib al-Sirr* for al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Din ʿIsa of Karak (592-624/1196-1227). According to al-Dhahabi, he also worked for Sahib Misr, probably to be identified as al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38). He was the author of a work on penmanship, *Maʿalim al-Kitaba wa-Maghanim al-Isaba*. Died in Damascus in 625/1227. Dhahabi 22, 301 and Gacek 1987, 129.

ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn ʿAli ibn Hamid al-Dakhwar al-Tabib. He was an author, a physician in the Nuriyya Bimaristan, and a calligrapher who wrote in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. He copied more than one hundred works on medicine. Died in 628/1230. Safadi 18, 383-86.

Muhammad ibn Hibatallah ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Jarada Abu Ghanim al-Hanafi. He was from Aleppo and worked in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Every Ramadan he copied a Qur'an. Died in 628/1230-31 aged 82. Mustakimzade, 464.

ʿUmar ibn Muzaffar ibn Saʿid, known as al-Qadi Rashid al-Din Abu Hafs al-Fihri. He was from Cairo, a calligrapher in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Died in 638/1240-41. Mustakimzade, 348.

Al-Wazir ʿAbdallah ibn Wahib ibn ʿAbdallah, but also known as ʿAbd al-Rahman Zaki al-Din al-Qusi. He was from Hama and became vizier of al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din I (574-87/1178-91), ruler of Hama. He wrote in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in 640/1242-43. Mustakimzade, 287.

Damascus Qur'an is followed by a two-page appendix on the various ways of counting the numbers of verses, according to different authorities: *Bab dhikr ikhtilaf ahl al-ansar fi ʿadad ayat al-suwar*. Each page is surrounded by a band of gold interlace with pointed medallions in the outer margins.

Sharaf al-ʿAla' al-Amidi al-Katib. He was from Amid and worked in the chancery of al-Malik al-Zahir of Aleppo (582-613/1186-1213). He returned to Amid where he worked for al-Malik al-Masʿud, Artuqid ruler of Amid in 629/1223. He went to Cairo after the Ayyubid conquest of Amid, where he died in 642/1244-45. Safadi 27, 214.

ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Sulaiman Abu'l-Qasim al-Wahid al-Hanafi. He was from Qus, a poet, scholar and calligrapher in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in Cairo in 642/1245. Safadi 18, 259.

ʿAli ibn Yahya ibn Bitriq Abu'l-Hasan Najm al-Din al-Hilli al-Katib. He came from Iraq to Cairo, and worked as secretary to al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38). Died in Baghdad in 642/1244-45. Safadi 22, 309-11.

ʿAbd al-Muhsin ibn Hamud ibn ʿAbd al-Muhsin ibn ʿAli Amin al-Din al-Tanukhi al-Halabi al-Katib. He was from Aleppo, and was secretary and vizier of ʿIzz al-Din Aibak. He wrote in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Died in 643/1245-46. Safadi 19, 138-40.

Muhammad ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Muflih ibn Hibatallah ibn Numair Shams al-Din al-Salihi al-Hanbali al-Katib. He was from Jerusalem and worked for al-Salih Ismaʿil (637-43/1239-45) and al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29). Died in 650/1252-53. Dhahabi 23, 249.

Nasrallah ibn Hibatallah ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Baqi Fakhr al-Qudda Abu'l-Fath ibn Busaqa. He was from Qus, a poet and calligrapher, and intimate of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa (592-6624/1196-1227) and al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29). He studied calligraphy in Baghdad. Died in Damascus in 650/1252-53 aged 77. Safadi 27, 41-9.

Zuhair ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli Yahya al-Sahib Baha' al-Din al-Makki al-Azdi al-Muhallabi. He was from Makka but lived in Qus. He was a renowned poet and *Katib al-Insha'* under al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (636-43/1239-45). Al-Safadi saw examples of his hand and praised it. Died in Cairo in 656/1258. Safadi 14, 231-44.

Shaikh Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab ibn ʿAli ibn Ahmad Abu'l-Maʿali Muhiyy al-Salami. He was from Baalbek and was *khatib* of its Great Mosque. He was a calligrapher in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Died in 658/1260. Mustakimzade, 420.

Yahya ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAli ibn Mufrij Rashid al-Din al-Qurashi Abu'l-Hasan al-Umawi al-Nabulsi al-Maliki al-ʿAttar. He was from Cairo, and was a fine calligrapher. Died in 662/1263-64. Safadi 28, 239-41.

ʿUmar ibn Ahmad ibn Hibatallah ibn Muhammad ibn Hibatallah ibn Ahmad Kamal al-Din al-Sahib ibn al-ʿAdim al-ʿUqaili. He came from a long line of *qadis* of Aleppo. He was a calligrapher in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab, and was expert in *naskh* and *hawashi* scripts. According to al-Safadi, he wrote a work on all aspects of calligraphy, and many calligraphers asked his advice, including the son-in-law *(sihr)* of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, called Yaqut al-ʿAlim. He came to Cairo after the Mongol invasion of the Near East. Died in 666/1268 aged 88. Safadi 22, 421-26.

Al-Ra'is Kamal al-Din Abu Yusuf Ahmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn al-Hasan ibn ʿAbdallah al-Halabi, known as Ibn al-ʿAjami. He was a master of calligraphy and *insha'*, the chancery epistolary style. Died in 666/1268 aged 46. ʿAzzawi 1982, 287.

Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Hanna al-Sahib Fakhr al-Din ibn Baha' al-Din. He was from Cairo, and was a scribe and vizier of Baibars I (658-76/1260-77). Died 668/1270 aged 46. Safadi 4, 185-86.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Da'im al-Maqdisi al-Funduqi al-Hanbali al-Nasikh. He was a fine and rapid calligrapher as he left the letters unpointed and unvocalised. When copying, he only needed to read the page through once before writing it out. He could complete nine quires *(kararis)* in a day, and a *juz'* of the Qur'an in a night. His career lasted 50 years and he copied out several thousand works. Died in 668/1270. Al-Kurdi, 311.

Ismaʿil ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi'l-Yasr Shakir Masnad al-Sham Taqi al-Din al-Tanukhi al-Maʿarri. He was from Damascus, and was a scholar and calligrapher. He was secretary to al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29) and his grandfather Shakir was secretary to Nur al-Din ibn Zangi. See above. Died in 672/1273-74. Safadi 9, 71-74.

ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Ra'is Muwaffaq al-Din al-Amidi al-Katib. He came to Syria from Amid with his brother in the time of al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38). He was in charge of the chancery at Karak and al-Shaubak. Died in 674/1275-6. Safadi 22, 96.

Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Haffaz Badr al-Din Abu ʿAbdallah al-Salami al-Hanafi, Ibn al-Fuwaira. He was from Damascus and taught at the Salihiyya Madrasa. He was an outstanding calligrapher. Died in 675/1276. Safadi 3, 235-6.

ʿAli ibn Mahmud ibn Hasan ʿAla' al-Din Abu'l-Hasan al-Yashkuri al-Rabaʿi. He was from Cairo, and was an astronomer, poet and calligrapher. Died in 680/1281 aged 85. Safadi 22, 185-6.

ʿImad al-Din Abu ʿAbdallah, Abu'l-Fadl Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Hibatallah al-Shirazi al-Dimashqi al-Katib. He was a well-known master originally from Shiraz, famous for his *muhaqqaq* and *naskh* hands, which, according to some, he wrote better than Ibn al-Bawwab. He worked in Cairo and Damascus and was buried in the latter city in 682/1283-4. Safadi 1, 201-2.

Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn Muhammad ibn Shihab al-Din al-Khiyami al-Shaʿir. He was from Cairo, a poet and calligrapher. Died 685/1286 aged 82. Safadi 4, 50-61.

ʿUmar ibn Ismaʿil ibn Masʿud ibn Saʿd ibn Saʿid ibn Abi'l-Kata'ib. Rashid al-Din Abu Hafs al-Shafiʿi al-Rabaʿi al-Fariqi. He was from Mayyafariqin, a scholar, poet, and calligrapher in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. He worked for one of the rulers of Mayyafariqin and then for al-Nasir Salah al-Din II (Aleppo 634/1237; Damascus 648-58/1248-1260). He was an expert in, and teacher of, 'proportioned' script according to al-Safadi. He taught in the Nasiriyya and Zahiriyya Madrasas, and was *Katib al-Insha'* in Damascus. He was robbed and murdered in the Zahiriyya in 687/1288, aged 89. Safadi 22, 421-26.

Ismaʿil ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahid ibn Abi'l-Yumn Fakhr al-Din ibn ʿIzz al-Qudda. He was from Aleppo and went to Cairo after the Mongol invasion, but was buried in Damascus. A scholar, scribe, poet and calligrapher who copied the works of Ibn al-ʿArabi. Died in 689/1290. Safadi 9, 166-68.

Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Tarkhan, ʿIzz al-Din Abu Ishaq ibn al-Suwaidi. Originally from the Yemen, he was a physician

at the Nuriyya Bimaristan in Damascus, a fine calligrapher who wrote *naskh* and *thulth* in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab and was a prolific copyist. He copied the vast medical encyclopaedia, the *Qanun* of Ibn Sina', three times. Died in Damascus in 690/1291 aged 90. Safadi 6, 123-25.

Muhammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Ahmad ibn Hibatallah Abu Ghadir. He was from Aleppo and studied calligraphy and *hadith* in Baghdad. He became chief *qadi* of Hama. Died in 694/1294-95 aged 62 or 72. Mustakimzade, 435.

ʿAli ibn Nasr ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Shushi al-Hanafi. He was from Cairo and was known as a good calligrapher. Died in 695/1296. Mustakimzade, 330.

Al-Imam Abu ʿAbdallah Muhammad ibn Saʿid al-Busiri. The author of the *Qasidat al-Burda*, he occupied several administrative posts in Egypt. He was also a fine calligrapher, a pupil of Ibrahim ibn Abi Ibrahim ibn Abi ʿAbdallah ibn Ibrahim al-Misri. He taught calligraphy to groups of as many as a thousand students a week. He died in 695/1296 aged 86. Safadi 5, 105-13.

Al-Wazir ʿAbdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Khalid al-Sahib Fath al-Din Abu Muhammad al-Makhzumi al-Qaisarani. He was from Aleppo and became secretary and vizier of the Mamluk ruler al-Saʿid Nasir al-Din Baraka Khan (676-78/1277-79), son of Baibars I. He died in 703/1303-04, aged 75. Safadi 17, 588-89.

Ghazi ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman Shihab al-Din al-Katib. He was a well-known calligrapher of Damascus who worked in the style of al-Wali al-ʿAjami and had several famous pupils such as Ibn al-Basis and Ibn al-Ikhlati. He was the author of a work on penmanship, entitled *Minhaj al-Isaba fi Auda' al-Kitaba*. He died in 713/1314 aged 84. ʿAzzawi 1982, 287.
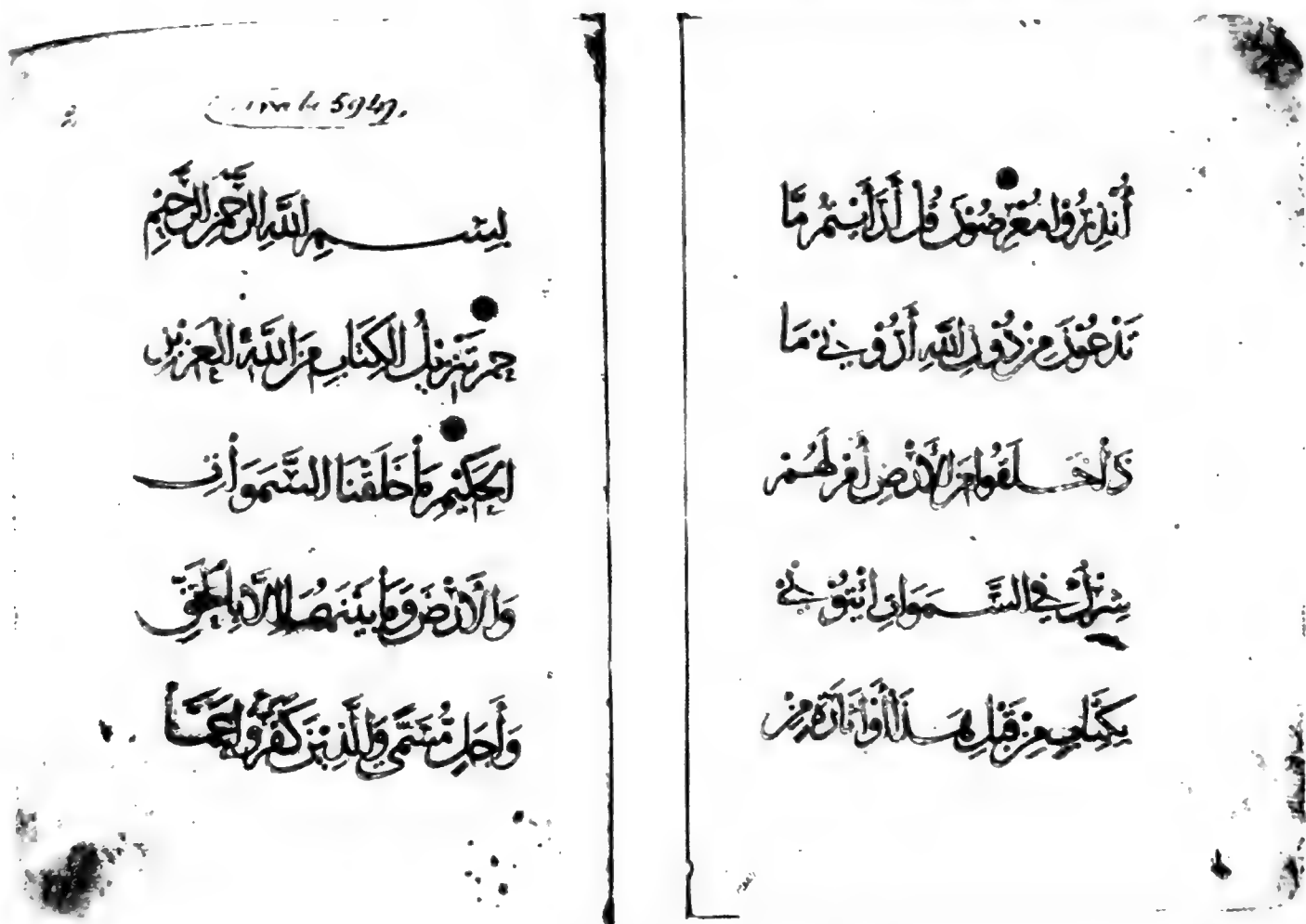
Pl. 16.1 Folios 2a and 2b from a copy of the Qur'an in *tauqi'* script, Sinjar or Nisibin, 595–616/1199–1219, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale acq. no. Ms arabe 4959. It was commissioned by the Zangid ruler Qutb al-Din Muhammad ibn Zangi, possibly for the *madrasa* established by him in Sinjar.

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Damascus Qur'an is followed by a two-page appendix on the various ways of counting the numbers of verses, according to different authorities: *Bab dhikr ikhtilaf ahl al-ansar fi ʿadad ayat al-suwar*. Each page is surrounded by a band of gold interlace with pointed medallions in the outer margins.

Sharaf al-ʿAla' al-Amidi al-Katib. He was from Amid and worked in the chancery of al-Malik al-Zahir of Aleppo (582-613/1186-1213). He returned to Amid where he worked for al-Malik al-Masʿud, Artuqid ruler of Amid in 629/1223. He went to Cairo after the Ayyubid conquest of Amid, where he died in 642/1244-45. Safadi 27, 214.

ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Sulaiman Abu'l-Qasim al-Wahid al-Hanafi. He was from Qus, a poet, scholar and calligrapher in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab. Died in Cairo in 642/1245. Safadi 18, 259.

ʿAli ibn Yahya ibn Bitriq Abu'l-Hasan Najm al-Din al-Hilli al-Katib. He came from Iraq to Cairo, and worked as secretary to al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38). Died in Baghdad in 642/1244-45. Safadi 22, 309-11.

ʿAbd al-Muhsin ibn Hamud ibn ʿAbd al-Muhsin ibn ʿAli Amin al-Din al-Tanukhi al-Halabi al-Katib. He was from Aleppo, and was secretary and vizier of ʿIzz al-Din Aibak. He wrote in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Died in 643/1245-46. Safadi 19, 138-40.

Muhammad ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Muflih ibn Hibatallah ibn Numair Shams al-Din al-Salihi al-Hanbali al-Katib. He was from Jerusalem and worked for al-Salih Ismaʿil (637-43/1239-45) and al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29). Died in 650/1252-53. Dhahabi 23, 249.

Nasrallah ibn Hibatallah ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Baqi Fakhr al-Qudda Abu'l-Fath ibn Busaqa. He was from Qus, a poet and calligrapher, and intimate of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa (592-6624/1196-1227) and al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29). He studied calligraphy in Baghdad. Died in Damascus in 650/1252-53 aged 77. Safadi 27, 41-9.

Zuhair ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli Yahya al-Sahib Baha' al-Din al-Makki al-Azdi al-Muhallabi. He was from Makka but lived in Qus. He was a renowned poet and *Katib al-Insha'* under al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub (636-43/1239-45). Al-Safadi saw examples of his hand and praised it. Died in Cairo in 656/1258. Safadi 14, 231-44.

Shaikh Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhab ibn ʿAli ibn Ahmad Abu'l-Maʿali Muhiyy al-Salami. He was from Baalbek and was *khatib* of its Great Mosque. He was a calligrapher in the style of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi. Died in 658/1260. Mustakimzade, 420.

Yahya ibn ʿAli ibn ʿAbdallah ibn ʿAli ibn Mufrij Rashid al-Din al-Qurashi Abu'l-Hasan al-Umawi al-Nabulsi al-Maliki al-ʿAttar. He was from Cairo, and was a fine calligrapher. Died in 662/1263-64. Safadi 28, 239-41.

ʿUmar ibn Ahmad ibn Hibatallah ibn Muhammad ibn Hibatallah ibn Ahmad Kamal al-Din al-Sahib ibn al-ʿAdim al-ʿUqaili. He came from a long line of *qadis* of Aleppo. He was a calligrapher in the style of Ibn al-Bawwab, and was expert in *naskh* and *hawashi* scripts. According to al-Safadi, he wrote a work on all aspects of calligraphy, and many calligraphers asked his advice, including the son-in-law *(sihr)* of Yaqut al-Mustaʿsimi, called Yaqut al-ʿAlim. He came to Cairo after the Mongol invasion of the Near East. Died in 666/1268 aged 88. Safadi 22, 421-26.

Al-Ra'is Kamal al-Din Abu Yusuf Ahmad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAziz ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn al-Hasan ibn ʿAbdallah al-Halabi, known as Ibn al-ʿAjami. He was a master of calligraphy and *insha'*, the chancery epistolary style. Died in 666/1268 aged 46. ʿAzzawi 1982, 287.

Muhammad ibn ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Hanna al-Sahib Fakhr al-Din ibn Baha' al-Din. He was from Cairo, and was a scribe and vizier of Baibars I (658-76/1260-77). Died 668/1270 aged 46. Safadi 4, 185-86.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Da'im al-Maqdisi al-Funduqi al-Hanbali al-Nasikh. He was a fine and rapid calligrapher as he left the letters unpointed and unvocalised. When copying, he only needed to read the page through once before writing it out. He could complete nine quires *(kararis)* in a day, and a *juz'* of the Qur'an in a night. His career lasted 50 years and he copied out several thousand works. Died in 668/1270. Al-Kurdi, 311.

Ismaʿil ibn Ibrahim ibn Abi'l-Yasr Shakir Masnad al-Sham Taqi al-Din al-Tanukhi al-Maʿarri. He was from Damascus, and was a scholar and calligrapher. He was secretary to al-Nasir Da'ud (624-26/1226-29) and his grandfather Shakir was secretary to Nur al-Din ibn Zangi. See above. Died in 672/1273-74. Safadi 9, 71-74.

ʿAli ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAli al-Ra'is Muwaffaq al-Din al-Amidi al-Katib. He came to Syria from Amid with his brother in the time of al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38). He was in charge of the chancery at Karak and al-Shaubak. Died in 674/1275-6. Safadi 22, 96.

Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah ibn Muhammad ibn Haffaz Badr al-Din Abu ʿAbdallah al-Salami al-Hanafi, Ibn al-Fuwaira. He was from Damascus and taught at the Salihiyya Madrasa. He was an outstanding calligrapher. Died in 675/1276. Safadi 3, 235-6.

Chapter 17
FROM MONASTIC CLOISTERS TO *SAHN*:
THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE OPEN SPACE
OF THE MASJID AL-AQSA UNDER SALADIN

Sabri Jarrah

Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the reconfiguration of the open space of the Masjid al-Aqsa by a directive given by Saladin as part of his campaign to re-dedicate the holy precinct.[1] The directive exclusively targeted the structures which the Crusaders had introduced in the vicinity of each of the two major shrines of the Masjid al-Aqsa area: the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque.[2] During the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem, these monuments had imposed their presence on the ancient platform of the Masjid al-Aqsa area through a vast open space.[3] In order to grasp the full extent of the transformation of the open space under Saladin, it is necessary to present an outline of these Crusader structures on the eve of his reconquest. This outline will comprise the first part of this chapter.

What little of the Crusader structures that survive *in situ* in the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct does not permit a reconstruction of their layout or an understanding of their original purpose. Instead, an insight into the form and function of these structures is provided by a number of descriptive narratives dating from the Crusader period. The majority of these narratives come from accounts of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land (*peregrinatio in terram sanctam*), which was at its height during this period.[4] A few of these accounts were illustrated with pictorial maps.[5] This study will delineate from both the descriptive historical narratives and the pictorial Christian pilgrimage maps the general spatial concepts of the Crusader structures that were introduced into the vicinity of the two major Muslim shrines in the holy precinct. As this study will show, the Crusader structures targeted by Saladin's directives were expressions of Christian piety, and their votive purpose must be viewed within the Christian religious context of the sacred precinct under the Crusaders.

None of the surviving narratives dates from the days or months directly before the reconquest. The Muslim sources for Saladin's rededication of the Masjid al-Aqsa area report a multitude of Crusader structures there but give virtually no description of their architecture. The latest pilgrimage account to describe the Crusader structures prior to the reconquest of 1187 dates from around 1173. In around that year, a German Christian monk, a Muslim geographer from Aleppo, and an Andalusian Jewish traveller each performed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and recorded his observations of the holy precinct in a personal pilgrimage account.[6] The three independent accounts all indicate an advanced stage of Crusader constructions in the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct. This study will therefore presume that the Crusader structures seen by the three pilgrims in 1173 were still standing some fourteen years later.

The second part of this chapter will discuss the reconfiguration of the space around the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque undertaken by Saladin's directive. Evidence for this directive will be adduced from the only surviving

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[1] *Al-masjid al-aqsa*, literally the distant shrine, is the Qur'anic appellation (Sura 17: 1) of what a tradition of the Prophet Muhammad designates as the third holiest site in Islam: the ancient, artificial platform on Mount Moriah in the south-eastern corner of the present walled city of Jerusalem. For the tradition of the Prophet, see 'Abd al-Baqi 1949 ii, 97 no. 882. Since the Ottoman period, the site has been popularly known as the Haram al-Sharif (The Noble Sanctuary). [Editorial note: In this chapter, for the sake of clarity, the term 'al-Masjid al-Aqsa' is rendered 'the Masjid al-Aqsa area' (or 'precinct'). In contradistinction, the term 'the Aqsa Mosque' will be used here to denote exclusively the congregational mosque at the south end of this precinct.]

[2] The Aqsa Mosque, which is referred to in some Muslim sources as the *mughatta*, literally the covered [aisles] (see, for example, al-Muqaddasi 1987, 145) or the *jami'* (see, for example, Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 11), comprises the covered aisles situated along the south side of the ancient platform of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct.

[3] Ibn Hawqal 1979, 158; al-Muqaddasi 1987, 145-47; Naser-e Khosraw 1986, 23-35.

[4] See, for example, Aryeh Grabois 1988, 69-75.

[5] See, for example, Milka Levy-Rubin and Rubin 1996, 353-62.

[6] For a general introduction to these three pilgrimages, see Rosen-Ayalon 1995, 227-34.

eyewitness source for his rededication of the Masjid al-Aqsa area. While the source appears to indicate that Saladin's directive led to a thorough dismantling of the Crusader structures around the two shrines, the present study will demonstrate that this dismantling was selective, and that it was as much about reinforcing a particular perception of the open space as it was about clearing it of the Crusader structures that had been encroaching upon it.

The Masjid al-Aqsa precinct on the eve of Saladin's reconquest

The Crusaders identified the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct as the site of the Solomonic Temple.[7] They saw themselves as the true legatees of the biblical Children of Israel, and, consequently, the Masjid al-Aqsa area as their rightful inheritance from Judaism rather than a Muslim trophy.[8] Shortly after the conquest of 1099, the Crusaders assigned many of the traditions of the Jewish Temple from both the Old and the New Testaments to the various Muslim shrines of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct, thus creating there a Latin-Christian sacred topography which, by 1103, had transformed the holy Muslim precinct into a Christian pilgrimage site second in importance only to the Holy Sepulchre.[9] Islam's veneration of this ancient site was well known to the Crusaders throughout their occupation of Jerusalem.[10]

During the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem (637-1099), Christian pilgrimage was virtually absent from the Masjid al-Aqsa area,[11] and it appears that Crusader pilgrimage to the holy precinct started largely on a *tabula rasa*. This explains the occasional dissension among the clergy of Crusader Jerusalem regarding the hermeneutic range within which the Muslim shrines of the Masjid al-Aqsa area were to be interpreted.[12] Qur'anic traditions about Maryam (Mary) and the nativity of 'Isa (Jesus) were associated with the south-eastern corner of the ancient platform of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct during the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem.[13] These associations were assimilated into the Crusader *circulus sanctus* of the holy precinct by Syrian, eastern-rite Christians even before they were invited to take up residence in Jerusalem by King Baldwin I, in around 1115.[14]

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[*] The Christians of Jerusalem transferred many of the traditions of the Jewish Temple to Calvary sometime between the visit of the so-called Bordeaux Pilgrim to Jerusalem around 333 and Egeria's stay in Jerusalem between 381 and 384. Wilkinson 1971, 36-8, 298-310; Ousterhout 1990, 44-53. By the early 6th century, the Christians had denuded the ancient platform on Mount Moriah of almost all of the Temple traditions, as indicated by the *Breviarius* or 'Handbook' on Jerusalem: Wilkinson 1977, 4, 5, 59-61. The few Temple traditions that persisted on Mount Moriah during the Byzantine period were mostly associated with the platform's perimeter wall and gates, the most famous of which was the Gate Beautiful. In a personal narrative of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land dating from *ca* 570, the so-called Piacenza Pilgrim identified this gate as a relic from the Temple and placed it on the site of the present Golden Gate: Wilkinson 1977, 6, 83, 161. Christians under Abbasid rule identified the Dome of the Rock as 'The Holy of Holies' and the Aqsa Mosque to the south as 'The Temple of Solomon': Epiphanius the Monk (writing between 750 and 800), translated by Wilkinson 1977, 11, 117. According to Ekkehard of Aura, who visited Jerusalem in 1101, the desecration of the Temple of the Lord by the Saracens was one of the reasons Pope Urban II called for a crusade in his famous speech in Clermont in 1095. Ekkehard of Aura cited his version of the pope's speech in his *Hierosolymita*, which he wrote after his return to Germany around 1115: Schein 1984, 186.

[8] Kazar 1986, 103-9

[9] As indicated by Saewulf's personal narrative of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1101 and 1103: Saewulf 1896, 15-17; Wilkinson 1988, 104-5.

[10] Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 118 (Bk 1, cap. 26); William of Tyre 1943 i, 345 (Bk 8, cap. 3). John of Wurzburg 1896, 18; Wilkinson 1988, 249.

[11] Bernard the Monk stated in his pilgrimage account in around 870 that the Temple of Solomon contained a Saracen synagogue. Although he did not visit the mosque, he must have seen it from the Mount of Olives, which was on his itinerary; see Wilkinson 1977, 13, 144. Sometime between 867 and 878, Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, wrote in his *Amphilochia* that Christians in Jerusalem were forbidden entry to places holy to the Saracens. The Porch of Solomon and what was once the Holy of Holies, he explained, were occupied by the Saracens and served as their mosque. The two ancient sites, he stated, were no longer known to any of the Christians in Jerusalem; see Wilkinson 1977, 13, 173. Photius' statement suggests that any practices of early Christian pilgrimage to Mount Moriah must have fallen into desuetude, if not oblivion, during the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem.

[12] As indicated by the *Historia Hierosolymitana*, the only chronicle of the First Crusade written by a Frankish resident of the Holy Land covering both the conquest and the ensuing formative period. The author, a clergyman and polymath known as Fulcher of Chartres, contradicted the Crusader interpretation of the Rock as the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant and the Urn and Tablets of Moses. According to the second book of the Maccabees, he explained, these sacred objects were hidden in Arabia, where they would remain until the Day of Judgment (II Macc. 2: 4-9); see Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 118 (Bk 1, cap. 26). Fulcher reported that he was in and out of the Temple of the Lord, the Christianised Dome of the Rock, for fifteen years after its capture in 1099, presumably when he was chaplain to King Baldwin I (r. 1100-1118), who resided in the nearby Aqsa Mosque: Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 92 (Bk 1, cap. 14), 118 (Bk 1, cap. 26).

[13] Nasir-i Khusrau, who reached Jerusalem on 5 March 1047, located a mosque known as Mahd 'Isa (Cradle of Jesus) inside the vaulted space beneath the esplanade to the east of the Aqsa Mosque. The 'cradle' itself served as a *mihrab* for the mosque. In the east side of the mosque, he located the *mihrab* of Maryam and that of Zakariyya (Zacharia). The mosque was lit by many hanging brass and silver lamps which were kept burning throughout the night; see Naser-e Khosraw 1986, 21-6.

[14] Between 1101 and 1103, Saewulf related that Syrian Christians located to the east of the Aqsa Mosque a small sanctuary that contained 'the Cradle and the Bath of Christ Jesus and the Bed of his Blessed Mother'; see Saewulf 1896, 17; Wilkinson 1988, 105. As Saewulf elsewhere in his narrative questions the veracity of some of the things Syrian Christians told him (Wilkinson 1988, 7), his citation of them in reference to these traditions betrays a certain incredulity about the authenticity of the relics, possibly because the traditions could not be authenticated by the canonical gospels. However, two Jerusalem guidebooks that also date from the early Crusader period include Jesus' cradle and his mother's bed in their pilgrimage itinerary. The first, the so-called *Ottobonian Guide*, which appears to be contemporary with Saewulf's narrative (1101-1103), situates Jesus' cradle and his mother's bed at one end of the Templum Salomonis (Aqsa Mosque): Wilkinson 1988, 92. The second, a guide to Jerusalem entitled *De Situ Urbis Hierosolymitae*, which seems to have been written before 1114 or even at the same time as Saewulf's account, situates Jesus' cradle and his mother's bed in a subterranean church known as Saint Mary and located to the east of the Aqsa Mosque: Wilkinson 1988, 178. On the migration of Syrian Christians to Crusader Jerusalem, see William of Tyre 1943 i, 507-508 (Bk 11, cap 27).

Eyewitness descriptions of Crusader constructions on the platform of the Dome of the Rock

The most important Crusader pilgrimage shrine in the Masjid al-Aqsa area was the Umayyad Dome of the Rock. The pilgrimage guide attached to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, the earliest Latin record of the Crusader conquest of Jerusalem, which was composed between 1099 and 1103, identifies the Islamic monument as the Temple of the Lord built by Solomon *(Templum Domini a Salomone factum)*.[15] While almost all subsequent descriptions of Jerusalem dating from the Crusades concur in this designation,[16] they provide divergent attributions for its construction.[17]

Godfrey of Bouillon (r. 1099-1100) established canons in the Temple of the Lord only a few days after he was elected ruler of Jerusalem. He also bestowed ample benefices upon them and gave them residences in the vicinity of the Dome of the Rock.[18] The earliest Crusader restoration of the monument dates from 1115, when the canons covered the rock with white marble paving on which they built a choir and an altar for a priest to celebrate the sacred offices.[19] The marble paving, explains Fulcher of Chartres, was introduced because the rock 'disfigured the Temple of the Lord.'[20] However, the actual re-dedication of the building did not occur until 1141.[21]

Sometime around 1154, the Andalusian geographer, al-Sharif Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Idrisi (d. 1165), produced the earliest description written by a Muslim of the holy precinct under Crusader occupation.[22] In this account,

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[15] *Gesta Francorum* 1962, 99. The anonymous pilgrimage guidebook dating from *ca* 1160 and referred to by Wilkinson as the *Seventh Guide* also states that the monument was built by King Solomon: Wilkinson 1988, 233-34. This guidebook, however, is largely based on the one attached to the *Gesta Francorum*.

[16] The Dome of the Rock was known to the followers of the Greek Church both before and during the Crusades as the Holy of Holies. See, for example, the accounts by Epiphanius the Monk (guide-book completed between 750 and 800), Daniel the Abbot (pilgrimage between 1106 and 1108), and John of Phocas (pilgrimage in 1185): Wilkinson 1988, 28, 43, 132, 324; Daniel the Abbot 1895, 19-20; Joannes Phocas 1896, 20.

[17] Daniel the Abbot stated that the Solomonic construction had been destroyed except the foundation that David began. The extant building, he added, was built by 'a Saracen chieftain called Amor'; see Daniel the Abbot 1895: 21. Writing between 1167 and 1184, William of Tyre attributed the design and construction of the building to 'Omar, son of Khattab, the third in succession from the seducer Muhammad and the inheritor of his error and his power.' This attribution, he adds, is evidenced by ancient inscriptions both on the interior and exterior walls of the building; see William of Tyre 1943: i, 344 (bk 8, cap 3). According to the guide forming chapters 31-33 of the *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium* and dating from 1109 or later, the extant structure is neither Solomon's original building nor the one rebuilt for a second time after Ezra. The guide, however, establishes that the extant building has four entrances in a fashion similar to the first temple. The anonymous *Descriptio locorum circa Hierusalem adjacentium*, composed between 1128 and 1137, relates that the present Temple of the Lord is said to be the fourth. As for its builder, the author reports that it could be one of four: Helena mother of Constantine, Emperor Heraclius, Justinian Augustus, or a prince of Memphis in Egypt in honour of 'Alachiber'. The last attribution, the author explains, is recorded by a Saracen inscription. When the Franks first arrived, he adds, the building's decoration displayed nothing of the Law and no inscriptions in Greek. The two guides are translated in Wilkinson 1988: 173, 199. John of Würzburg reported in around 1170 seeing many Saracen letters above the lintel of the north door of the Temple of the Lord; see John of Würzburg 1896: 16. Theodoric, who visited Jerusalem between 1169 and 1174, demonstrates that the extant building was the fifth renewal of the Temple, and was built by Queen Helena and her son Emperor Constantine; see Theoderich 1896: 30. Achard of Arrouaise, prior of the Temple of the Lord between 1118 and 1131, stated in his rhymed history of the Temple that some have attributed the existing building to Helena, Constantine's mother; some say that it was built by Justinian the emperor of the Romans; and others say it was built by Heraclius; see M. de Vogüé 1881: 562-79. Fulcher of Chartres asserted that the extant Temple of the Lord could in no way be compared in appearance to the original construction; see Fulcher of Chartres 1969: 117 (bk 1, cap 26). Admiring the monument's construction, Jacques de Vitry, the bishop of Acre from 1217 to 1227, stated in his history of Jerusalem that the Lord's holy

Temple is 'second to none of the holy and venerable places.' Although the monument had been destroyed first by the Babylonians and later by the Romans, the bishop explained, it had been rebuilt on the same spot by faithful and religious men as a round building in great workmanship; see Jacques de Vitry 1896: 41.

[18] William of Tyre 1943: i, 391-92 (bk 9, cap 9). The seal of the abbot of the canons regular of the Templum Domini showed a depiction of the Dome of the Rock with the inscription *Sigillum Templi Domini*. See, for example, the seal of the abbot Roger attached to a charter dated 1176—Schlumberger *et al.* 1943: 138-39, no. 175; reproduced in Z Jacoby 1982: 135.

[19] William of Tyre 1943: i, 345 (bk 8, cap 3).

[20] Fulcher of Chartres 1969: 118 (bk 1, cap 26).

[21] In his versified history of the Temple that he dedicated to King Baldwin II, Achard of Arrouaise, prior of the Temple of the Lord between 1118 and 1131, pleaded for the endowment and rededication of the Temple. On the third day after Easter 1141, a lavishly endowed Dome of the Rock was consecrated as a church by the papal legate Alberic of Ostia, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and a number of bishops. On the endowments, see Linder 1982, 119-29. On the consecration of the Temple of the Lord, see William of Tyre 1943 ii, 122 (Bk 15, cap. 18); de Vogüé 1881, 564; Hamilton 1980, Appendix 370.

[22] The narrative, however, carries Arabic Christian overtones, which may be explained by the unusual circumstances under which al-Idrisi composed his treatise. Al-Idrisi arrived in Palermo in 1138 upon receiving an invitation to Sicily from its Norman king, Roger II, some forty-nine years after the Norman capture of the island from the Muslims; see al-Idrisi 1983, editor's introduction, 23. The invitation, according to Roger II's biography by al-Safadi (d. 1363), was prompted by the king's wish to have al-Idrisi produce at his court an image of the known world. Al-Idrisi accomplished the task in masterly fashion in the form of a silver-plated map. Roger is then reported by al-Safadi to have asked al-Idrisi to compose a descriptive, eyewitness narrative to accompany the map. Since al-Idrisi had travelled only in al-Andalus, Sicily, and southern Italy, Roger despatched several learned men to roam the rest of the regions of the known world and report their observations to al-Idrisi. Al-Safadi adds that Roger despatched with the itinerant artists and cartographers, *qauman musauwirin*, to illustrate their observations; see al-Safadi 1931-79 Vol. 1, 163-4 (biography of al-Idrisi), Vol. XIV, 105-7 (biography of Roger II). In January 1154, shortly before the death of Roger II, al-Idrisi completed his synthesis of the individual descriptions into a voluminous geographical treatise, which he entitled *Nuzhat al-mushtaq fi ikhtiraq al-afaq*. The date of the completion of the book is provided by the prologue to the *Nuzhat*, which, however, does not seem to have been written by al-Idrisi. It was probably prefixed to the book by a Sicilian at the behest of Roger II. See al-Idrisi 1983, editor's introduction, 46; Husayn Mu'nis 1961, 291-94. The treatise is also known as the 'Book of Roger', *Kitab Rudjar* or *al-Kitab al-Rudjari*: al-Safadi 1931-97 i,

al-Idrisi locates on the platform of the Dome of the Rock and directly opposite the northern entrance to the monument a beautiful garden, *bustan*, planted with all sorts of trees. The garden is surrounded by a colonnade of marble columns that are braided with most wondrous workmanship.[23] In the further part of this garden is a place of assembly, *majlis*, where the priests and deacons eat their meals.[24]

The German priest John of Würzburg, whose pilgrimage account is conjectured to date to *ca* 1170, stated that the Temple of the Lord had one door to the north towards the Cloister of the Canons.[25] He reported in another passage that the addition of the Cloister of the Canons along the north side of the court of the Temple of the Lord or the 'upper' court (the open space of the platform of the Dome of the Rock) had made that side appear narrower than the south side, which faces the Palace of Solomon (Aqsa Mosque), and the west side, which faces the city.[26] Sometime between 1169 and 1174, the German monk Theodoric similarly indicated in his pilgrimage narrative that the Augustinian canons had their cloister and outbuildings erected in the northern part of the 'inner' or 'upper' court (the open space of the platform of the Dome of the Rock).[27]

In his travel guide to sacred sites and tombs of prophets and saints entitled *al-Isharat ila maʿrifat al-ziyarat*, ʿAli ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi (d. 1215) provides a description of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct as he saw it during his visit to Jerusalem in 1173, the year the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, and, quite possibly, the German Monk Theodoric also visited Jerusalem. Al-Harawi distinguishes between Islamic and Crusader works in the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct with a particular zeal for accuracy. Among the Crusader constructions he identifies there is the house of the priests, *dar al-qusus*, to the north of the Dome of the Rock. His attention was similarly caught by the house's columns, *al-ʿumud*, and marvellous workmanship, *ʿaja'ib al-sanʿa*.[28]

Eyewitness descriptions of Crusader constructions in the vicinity of the Aqsa Mosque

The Crusaders identified the site of the Aqsa Mosque, the largest building in the Masjid al-Aqsa area, as that of the Palace of King Solomon, which he is reported to have been built beside the Temple.[29] The Crusaders, consequently, called the Aqsa Mosque the Temple of Solomon (Templum Salomonis)[30] or Palace of Solomon (Palatium Salomonis),[31] though not all of them believed that it was the original Solomonic construction.[32] Quite fittingly, the Aqsa Mosque became the residence of the first three Crusader rulers of Jerusalem, Duke Godfrey of Bouillon (1099-1100), King Baldwin I (1100-1118), and King Baldwin II (1118-1131).[33] Following European traditions, this royal residence was also the seat of government.[34]

Writing between 1100 and 1127 during his residency in Jerusalem, Fulcher of Chartres twice lamented the dilapidated state of the Aqsa Mosque. In the first redaction of his chronicle, which he initiated upon the death of King Baldwin I in 1118,[35] Fulcher ruefully states that the roof of the Templum Salomonis has fallen into a state of disrepair ever since it passed into the hands of King Baldwin I and the Latins. This, he explains, was due to financial hardships so severe that any lead that fell

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163: al-Idrisi 1983, editor's introduction, 44. Al-Safadi's account suggests that al-Idrisi's descriptive narrative about the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct is based on a guide by a Sicilian Christian who was nonetheless well versed in Arabic. His arrival in Jerusalem can therefore be dated to sometime after 1138, the year al-Idrisi began working on the map. He must have submitted his descriptive narrative to Roger II in Palermo before January 1154, when al-Idrisi completed his book.

[23] Al-Idrisi 1970-84 iv, 360:

ودائر هذا البستان أعمدة رخام مضفورة بأبدع ما يكون من الصنعة

[24] Al-Idrisi 1970-84 iv, 360-61.

[25] John of Würzburg 1896, 16; Wilkinson 1988, 248.

[26] John of Würzburg 1896, 20; Wilkinson 1988, 251.

[27] Wilkinson 1988, 288-9; Theoderich 1896, 25.

[28] He also states here that he intends to expatiate on the house's pillars and workmanship in a separate chapter devoted to architecture, which, unfortunately, does not seem to exist; see al-Harawi 1957, 25.

[29] According to the Book of Kings, the Solomonic palace complex, which was built in thirteen years, included the Royal Palace, the House of the Forest of Lebanon, the Hall of Pillars, the Throne Hall (Hall of Justice), and the Palace of Pharaoh's Daughter; 1 Kings 7: 1-12.

[30] Including the guide attached to the *Gesta Francorum* 1962, 99; Saewulf 1896, 17; William of Tyre 1943 i, 345 (Bk 8, cap 3); anon, *Citez de Jherusalem* 1896, 13-14. See also the guide known as *Qualiter* and linked to the history of the Archbishop of Dol (1101-1104); *The Ottobonian Guide* (1101-1104); the guide believed to have been written by a German between 1102 and 1106; the book on the Holy Land by Peter the Deacon (1137); Nikulás of Pverá (1140); the *The Seventh Guide* (*ca* 1160); and pilgrims' texts trans. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 91, 92, 119, 213, 217 and 234 respectively.

[31] The Latin guide entitled *De Situ Urbis Hierosolymitae* (before 1114) in Wilkinson 1988, 178; *Fetellus* 1892, 3 (*ca* 1130); John of Würzburg 1896, 21; Theoderic 1896, 30. Both the Greek word *naos* and the Latin word *templum* in the Old Testament texts translate the Hebrew word *hekal*, which denotes 'temple' or 'palace' (as did its ultimate source, the Sumerian word E.GAL, literally, big house); see Meyers 1992, 351.

[32] Both the anonymous author of the pilgrimage guide attached to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum* and John of Würzburg (*ca* 1170) attributed the construction of the extant building to King Solomon: *Gesta Francorum* 1962, 99; John of Würzburg 1896, 21. Among those who discounted the attribution of the extant building to King Solomon were Daniel the Abbot and Fulcher of Chartres: Daniel the Abbot 1895, 20-1; Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 118 (Bk 1, cap 26).

[33] Some two centuries after the conquest by Saladin, King Baldwin I was still referred to as 'Baldwin of the Temple of Solomon': Cook and Christ 1972, 96, 108.

[34] Schein 1984, 179.

[35] Recognising that the death of King Baldwin I in 1118 was the end of an era, Fulcher of Chartres revised the completed parts of his chronicle before proceeding to record the reign of Baldwin II. See Fulcher of Chartres 1969, editor's introduction, 20-4.

off the roof, or was stripped off the roof at the king's behest, was sold to merchants.[36] In the second redaction, which he carried out between 1124 and 1127, Fulcher reports that the lack of resources had not allowed the Latins even to maintain the building in the condition they found it. The building, he adds, is therefore largely destroyed.[37]

The accession of Baldwin II to the kingship of Jerusalem in 1118 marks a new chapter in the monument's institutional history. Following the death of King Baldwin I in March 1118, nine Frankish veterans of the First Crusade under the leadership of a noble from Champagne called Hugh of Payns founded a religious brotherhood whose aim was to secure the pilgrim roads to and from the holy places.[38] This must have been strongly endorsed by King Baldwin II, since the city had failed to attract a sizeable European community and virtually no settlers from the Italian Communes.[39] The founding knights took monastic vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience, which earned them the sponsorship of King Baldwin II and, consequently, part of the Templum Salomonis as their headquarters when their brotherhood was approved by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1118-19.[40]

In 1128, about one year after the abrupt end of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres,[41] a legate of Pope Honorius presiding over a council at Troyes drew up a founding rule for the knights, who had adopted the name Templars, or Brethren of the Soldiery of the Temple, in reference to the Templum Domini (Dome of the Rock), near which they were lodged.[42]

By this time, the Templars' original duty as an armed escort for Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land had evolved into the defence of the whole Crusader kingdom.[43]

King Baldwin II, who reigned from 1118 to 1131, transferred his royal court from the former mosque to the Tower of David and is believed to be the last Crusader monarch to have taken up residence in the Templum Salomonis.[44] There are no written attestations to the exact date of and reason behind the transfer. Since Fulcher makes no mention of it, it is possible to suggest the end of his chronicle in the summer of 1127 as a *terminus post quem* for the transfer. The pope's recognition of the Templars as a military order in 1128 may have been behind Baldwin II's decision to vacate the Templum Salomonis for them, and to transfer his headquarters to what appear to have been new royal constructions at the Tower of David.[45] When and why the Templars took over the former mosque is of little relevance to this chapter and, therefore, need not detain us here. What does concern us is that by the second quarter of the 12th century, the Templars controlled the vicinity of the former mosque.

After Hugh of Payns' recruiting campaign of 1128-29 in Europe, the former mosque must have become overcrowded. By this time, the brothers and *confraters* of the order included stellar figures in the west like Fulk V of Anjou, Alfonso I of Portugal, Hugh of Troyes, and Raymond III of Barcelona. They

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[36] From the Latin text of Fulcher's first redaction; Hagenmeyer 1913, 291. See also a note by Fink in his edition of Fulcher's second revision: Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 118, n. 6 (Bk 1, cap 26).

[37] Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 118, (Bk 1, cap 26). It is not clear how much of this destruction was caused by Tancred's plunder of the building and his massacre of hundreds of Muslim men and women on its roof in 1099; see Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 121-2 (Bk 1, cap 27); William of Tyre 1943 i, 371-72 (Bk 8, cap 20). The eyewitness chronicle, *Gesta Francorum*, reports that the indiscriminate slaughter by the Franks drove many Muslim men and women to the roof of the Temple of Solomon where they spent the night. Next morning, the Franks went cautiously up on to the roof and attacked the Muslims there. Some of the Muslims jumped headlong from the building: *Gesta Francorum* 1962, 92. It is not clear either how much of the destruction of the Aqsa Mosque was caused by earthquakes. Fulcher of Chartres relates that during the Vigil of the Lord's Nativity (December 24) 1105, people in Jerusalem felt a terrifying earthquake. Another earthquake hit Jerusalem on the Feast of St Lawrence (August 10) 1114: Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 189 (Bk 2, cap. 34), 210 [Bk 2, cap. 52]. The whole land of Syria was shaken by a devastating earthquake during November 1114: William of Tyre 1943 i, 500 (Bk 11, cap. 23). Fulcher's claim that the building was 'largely destroyed' needs to be treated with caution, since Hamilton has demonstrated that large parts of the mosque predating the Crusader conquest survived into the 20th century; see Hamilton 1949.

[38] William of Tyre 1943 i, 524-25 (Bk 12, cap. 7); Jacques de Vitry 1896, 50; Riley-Smith 1997, 160.

[39] This was also due to the moribund economy of Jerusalem during this period. See Prawer 1980, 95-7.

[40] William of Tyre 1943 i, 524-25 (Bk 12, cap. 7); Jacques de Vitry 1896, 50-1.

[41] After reporting a pestilence of rats that lasted through the summer of 1127, the chronicle comes to a sudden halt, presumably caused by the incapacity or death of the author: Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 304, n. 1 (Bk 3, cap. 62).

[42] William of Tyre 1943 i, 526 (Bk 12, cap. 7); Jacques de Vitry 1896, 50-51; *La Règle du Temple* 1886, 58-9; Barber 1994, 6-18. The seal of the Knights Templar shows a depiction of the Dome of the Rock with the inscription *Sigillum Militum de Templo Christi*; de Vogüé 1860, 290 and nn. 3, 4, fig. 4. One of two fragments of a lapidary medieval Latin inscription that were taken from the Aqsa Mosque during the restoration of 1938-42 bears the name *Fratres Militiae Templi*. The two fragments are believed to be the only surviving parts of a Crusader inscription that Pringle suggested were a building dedication or epitaph: Pringle 1989, 197-9.

[43] This, along with the scriptural resonance of their new title, identified them with the Maccabees and the Israelites; see Jacques de Vitry 1896: 51-52; Riley-Smith 1997: 161. Within six years of the foundation of the Templars, their ideal of penitential war was already transforming another monastic order similarly devoted to the well-being of pilgrims in the Holy Land: the Hospital of St John. See Riley-Smith 1997: 163.

[44] Prawer 1972, 111.

[45] Fulcher of Chartres describes the Tower of David in glowing terms but makes no mention of construction works at the Citadel in either one of his redactions, which suggests that Baldwin II initiated these works after the end of Fulcher's chronicle in the summer of 1127. Fulcher's description of the city and its fortifications is prefixed to his account of the conquest of 1099. However, it is a description of Crusader Jerusalem. In the second redaction, Fulcher updated the description of the city to reflect the state of the buildings after 1124: Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 117 (Bk 1, cap. 26). According to the Crusader pilgrimage treatise *Citez de Jherusalem*, which dates from around 1220, the Crusader king of Jerusalem was in possession of three palaces: the Temple of Solomon, a palace at the Tower of David, and another in front of it. The richest of these palaces was the Temple of Solomon, the former Aqsa Mosque. This account comes from the Ms. of the Library of Berne published by Titus Tobler in his *Topographie von Jerusalem und seiner Umgebungen* Vol. II, 1006, and cited by de Vogüé 1860, 281 n. 2: 'Li rois avoit .III. riches manoirs, .I. en haut à la Tor Davi[d], et .I. en bas devant la Tor Davi[d], et le tierc devant le temple u Dex fu offers, cel manoir apele on le temple Salemon. C'estoit li plus riches.'

brought the order large estates and prodigious endowments in Europe[46] that would undoubtedly have enabled the Templars to undertake the restoration and expansion of the Templum Salomonis. The first version of the porch deployed along the main (northern) façade of the Aqsa Mosque, the southern bays of its eastern aisles (rebuilt anew during the repairs of 1938-42), its north eastern vaulted annexes (cleared away during the repairs of 1938-42),[47] and the long vaulted hall extending from its southwestern corner westwards are all attributed to the Templars. They remained in full control of the former mosque until the end of the first Crusader interregnum in Jerusalem.[48]

Al-Idrisi reported around 1154 in his descriptive narrative of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct that the Crusaders, *al-Rum*, converted its covered part, *al-musaqqaf*, into residences, *buyut*, where companies of men known as al-Dawiyya (Knights Templar) were lodged. Their name, explained al-Idrisi, meant 'servants of the House of God', *khuddam bait Allah*.[49]

When the Templars were first lodged in the Palatium Salomonis, they had no prayer area of their own. The canons of the Temple of the Lord therefore gave them a square near the former mosque where they could have their own church. The square was given on certain conditions.[50] However, with the rise of the Knights Templar to a powerful military order, large areas of the open space around the Aqsa Mosque seem to have passed from the hands of the canons to those of the Templars, as indicated by Muslim, Christian, and Jewish pilgrim accounts dating from the last three decades of the Crusader occupation of Jerusalem.

During the first Crusader interregnum, another Muslim, Usama ibn Munqidh, the prince of Shaizar, indicated that the Templars had been installed in the Masjid al-Aqsa area. In his memoirs entitled *Kitab al-i'tibar*, he recounts that whenever he visited the Bait al-Muqaddas (the Holy City) he would go to the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct, where the Dawiyya, whom he refers to as his friends, *asdiqa'i*, would assign him a small prayer hall, *masjid*, in which he could say his prayers. This *masjid*, which the Franks had converted into a church, was by one of the sides of the holy precinct.[51] Usama does not provide

dates for his visits to the Masjid al-Aqsa area. He was born in 1095 and died in 1188. His life, therefore, spans the whole of Crusader rule in Jerusalem. He was in the Fatimid court in Cairo between 1144 and 1154,[52] but some of his trips to the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct could have occurred before that. In any event, his eyewitness account suggests that by the time of his visits to the Masjid al-Aqsa area, the Templars' stewardship in the sacred precinct extended to some of the smaller shrines there. By 1170, this stewardship had found visual expression in new elaborate constructions in the vicinity of the former mosque, as indicated by the pilgrimage narratives by John of Würzburg and Theodoric. John of Würzburg reported that the Templars had many large and spacious buildings next to the Palatium Salomonis. He also saw there a large new church under construction. The site of the church was probably the square given to the Templars by the Augustinian Canons. The Templar institution, he explained, was teeming with soldiers defending the Christians' land and had enormous resources both in the Holy Land and other parts of the world.[53]

The monk Theodoric, who is believed to have been German and whose pilgrimage to the Holy Land has been dated to the period from 1169 to 1174,[54] produced a pilgrimage narrative that provides the most extensive eyewitness description of the Templars' constructions in the Masjid al-Aqsa area. Theodoric indicated that the eastern and western sides of the 'outer' court (the holy precinct's open space around the platform of the Dome of the Rock) had not been changed by the Crusaders. The northern and southern (Aqsa Mosque) sides of the 'outer' court, on the other hand, had been taken over by the Augustinian canons and the Templars, where both institutions built private houses and gardens.[55]

The Templars, observed Theodoric, were garrisoned in their compound on Mount Moriah. He reported that, with stores of arms, clothing, and food, they were always ready to repel any attack.[56] Military preparedness, however, is a corollary of physical fortification. Theodoric indeed stated in another passage that they built a forewall a short distance south of the former Aqsa Mosque to guard their compound.[57] The description of the Templar's domain on Mount Moriah by Benjamin of Tudela, who also visited Jerusalem in around 1173, similarly suggests that it had metamorphosed into a military

[46] Riley-Smith 1997, 162-3.

[47] Hamilton 1949, 37-53, 70-4.

[48] The Cambrai map of Jerusalem, which dates from the closing years of the Crusader occupation of the city after the bell-tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been built in about 1170 (Boase 1971: 8, fig. 2; the library catalogue, however, gives the date as 1150) designates the former mosque as the Domus Militum Templi. The Cambrai map appeared in the *Exegesis of Brother Angelomus to the Four Books of Kings*, now in the library of the city of Cambrai in northern France; see Röhricht 1891: pl. 4.

[49] Al-Idrisi 1970-84 iv, 360. He is the first to provide a meaning for *dawiyya*, the standard Arabic appellation of the Templars. It is still unclear where the Arabic name *dawiyya* came from. It should be noted, however, that *dawiyya* is cognate with —and possibly an Arabic corruption of—the Latin *devoti* (French *dévots*), namely, pious people.

[50] William of Tyre 1943 i, 525 (Bk 12, cap. 7).

[51] Usama ibn Munqidh 1981, 172-3.

[52] Usama ibn Munqidh 1981, introduction by Philip Hitti.

[53] John of Würzburg 1896, 21; Wilkinson 1988, 251.

[54] Wilkinson 1988, 22.

[55] An anonymous account of a personal pilgrimage to Jerusalem preserved in a manuscript in Vienna and dating from *ca* 1170 suggests that the northern part of the holy precinct had by then passed under the custodianship of the Templars, who also appear to have been influencing Christian pilgrimage there. The anonymous pilgrim indicates that the Templars were showing the pilgrims the pool immediately to the north of the ancient wall of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct, the Birkat Bani Isra'il, as the Sheep Pool. Translated under the title *Second Guide* in Wilkinson 1988 21, 238-43.

[56] Wilkinson 1988, 294; Theoderich 1896, 31-2.

[57] Wilkinson 1988, 295; Theoderich 1896, 33.

base. Three hundred knights, he reports, are quartered there, and they set out every day for military exercises.[58]

Theodoric found the Templar buildings flanking both the eastern and western sides of the former mosque. Even the vaults beneath the esplanade to the east of the mosque, which were originally built to support the south eastern section of the platform of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct, had passed into their possession. These subterranean vaults, which were designated by the Crusaders the 'Stables of Solomon', are reported by Theodoric to have been used by the Templars as stables for their horses, where they added wash-rooms, domestic stores, and granaries. Theodoric's pilgrimage account, along with the contemporary narratives by John of Würzburg and Benjamin of Tudela, are among the first sources from the Crusader period to describe or even mention Solomon's Stables,[59] which suggests that these underground vaults were largely under-utilised during the residency of the Crusader king in the former Aqsa Mosque. The Templars gained direct access to these subterranean vaults from outside the city through a new gate, the so-called Single Gate, which pierced the southern wall of the platform of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct.[60] Above these vaults, Theodoric adds, the Templars built dwellings, consistories (places of assembly), council chambers, porches, and outbuildings for all purposes. The buildings were planned around lawns, walking-places, and supplies of water in splendid cisterns.[61]

These elaborate structures seem to have been outshone by two monumental Templar constructions between the western side of the Palatium Salomonis and the western edge of the 'outer' court. Theodoric identified the one closer to the Palatium Salomonis as a new house for the Templars; its construction eclipsed the architectural customs of the Holy Land, both in its general proportions and individual parts, such as cellars, refectories, and staircase. Its roof, he added, is pitched, unlike the flat roofs of that country. The height of its pitch, he remarked, transcends belief. 'There indeed they have constructed a new Palace,' he notes, 'just as on the other side they have the old one.' Next to this 'palace' on the edge of the 'outer' court, the Templars had founded another monument: a new church of magnificent size and workmanship.[62]

Two Crusader cloisters in the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct

Five circular maps of Crusader Jerusalem dating from the 12th century enhance our perception of the overall architectural composition of the Templars' compound west of the former mosque. The maps are to be found in the Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala, the Bibliothèque royale Albert I in Brussels, the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, the Bibliothèque Municipale in Saint-Omer, and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague. The five maps belong to a family of eleven maps, each representing the holy city as a perfect circle.[63] Judging from their common general layout, eastward orientation, street plan, choice, location, and general identification of the major pilgrimage sites, the eleven circular maps appear to derive from a single prototype produced in the 12th century to illustrate a text describing Crusader Jerusalem. The two maps from Saint-Omer and Uppsala, along with a circular map from the British Library in London and another from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, are connected to the text from the *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium*. The London and Paris maps carry part of the text around and within the map itself, while the maps from Saint-Omer and Uppsala are attached to the text.[64] The *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium* dates from the 12th century and includes a guidebook to Jerusalem which appears to have been written in 1109 or later in that century.[65] Only seven of the circular maps date from the 12th century, while four are later, dating from the 13th and 14th centuries; nonetheless, they are depictions of Crusader Jerusalem.[66]

There are few critical variations in the maps' detailing or their choice and localisation of traditions, both biblical and apocryphal. The circular map from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris dating to *ca* 1260[67] identifies a stone (*lapis*) inside the Templum Domini, which prompted Wilkinson to suggest that the prototype antedates the covering of the Rock in 1114.[68] Others, however, have proposed that the prototype originated around the middle of the 12th century,[69] in which case one presumes that pilgrims' texts dating from before 1114 apprised the cartographer of the existence of the Rock underneath the marble paving.[70]

The symbolic representation of the irregular layout of the encircling city wall as a perfect circle indicates at first sight that these maps were not intended as practical guides to

[58] Singer and Adler 1983, 83.

[59] John of Würzburg 1896, 21; Singer and Adler 1983, 83.

[60] Burgoyne 1992, 111. This gate has been walled up for centuries. Although the gate is not mentioned in the historical sources, it appears on several maps of Crusader Jerusalem; Wightman 1993, 263-4.

[61] Wilkinson 1988, 294-5; Theoderich 1896, 31-2.

[62] Wilkinson 1988, 294.

[63] Seven of the circular maps were published Röhricht 1891. Since then, four more have been located. See Levy-Rubin and Rubin 1996, n. 11.

[64] The Uppsala map forms an integral part of a 12th-century manuscript of Robertus Monachus, *Historia Hierosolymitana*. The map appears at the end of the ninth book, and is immediately followed by the text of the *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium*, which, in this manuscript, is the tenth book of the *Historia Hierosolymitana*. The *Gesta* is followed by Fretellus' *Descriptio de Locis Sanctis* 1137; Levy-Rubin 1995, 163-5.

[65] Wilkinson 1988, 11.

[66] Levy-Rubin and Rubin 1996, 356-61; Levy-Rubin 1995, 165.

[67] Bahat and Sabar 1997, 115.

[68] Wilkinson 1988, 33.

[69] Levy-Rubin and Rubin 1996, 357.

[70] See, for example, Saewulf 1896, 16; Daniel the Abbot 1895, 20; the guide forming chapters 31-33 of the *Gesta Francorum Jherusalem expugnantium* and dating from 1109 or later, (trans.) Wilkinson 1988, 173.

Fig. 17.1 Schematic diagram of the circular maps of Jerusalem.

the holy city. The perfect circle symbolizes the sempiternity of the Divine and the perpetuity of the life hereafter. The city's winding streets and alleys are pared down on these maps to a few straight streets, two of which, presumably the Roman-Byzantine *cardo* and *decumanus*, intersect at the centre of the circle to form four equal quadrants. The cartographer was undoubtedly presenting Crusader Jerusalem as a city of perfection and divine glory. By superimposing important Crusader monuments on the city's map of historic sites and localised sacred traditions, he blurred Crusader Jerusalem into the city of David, Solomon, and Jesus. While the maps are not to be taken as realistic, topographic depictions of Crusader Jerusalem, their identifications of Crusader monuments are generally reliable (pl. LXXXIX, fig. 17.1).

The 12th-century maps which come from Uppsala, Brussels, Stuttgart, Saint-Omer, and the Hague identify the area bordering the Templum Salomonis to the west as the Claustrum Salomonis. Mount Moriah's Solomonic constructions as expounded in the Book of Kings did not include a cloister.[71] The absence of any reference to a Claustrum Salomonis on Mount Moriah in the known Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources antedating the 12th century suggests that the toponym was coined during the Crusader period. A *terminus post quem* of the middle of the 12th century for the five maps places the toponym 'Claustrum Salomonis' within the period when the Templars controlled the area west of the Templum Salomonis.

Furthermore, the Hague map depicts St George in armour displaying the Templars' red cross as he charges after the Saracen foe, a hagiographic representation of the Templars' ideal of penitential war (pl. XC). In the chronicle which he

wrote between 1167 and 1184, William of Tyre reported that the Templars introduced the red cross on their apparel as a distinguishing hallmark during the pontificate of Eugene III (1145-53),[72] which confirms the middle of the 12th century as a *terminus post quem* for the Hague map.[73] The picture of the triumphant St George is clearly an allegorical depiction of the Templars' ascendancy, and it must have been regarded in high esteem to serve as a backdrop for a map of the holy city.

The maps' designation of the area west of the former Aqsa Mosque as the Claustrum Salomonis has important implications for our grasp of the general disposition of the Templars' compound there. In around 820, the term *claustrum* (Latin, from *claudere*, to close) appeared on a manuscript plan for a monastery as a caption designating a quadrilateral enclosure bordered by an open portico and surrounded by the major edifices of monastic life—a church, refectory, dormitory, and cellar.[74] The manuscript plan, which comes from the library of the abbey of St Gallen, Switzerland, is believed to be a copy of a layout drawn up after the council of 816-17 at Inden, near Aachen, as a blueprint for the ideal monastery. The copy was sent with alternative dimensions by Abbot Heito of Reichenau (806-23) to Abbot Gozbert of St Gallen (816-37), who had not attended the council.[75]

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[72] William of Tyre 1943 i, 526 (Bk 12, cap. 7).
[73] Some have even dated the Hague map to the end of the 12th century, when Acre was the virtual capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. See, for example, Toman 1997, 14.
[74] Conant 1978, 55-7; Altet 1997, 150-53; McLean 1997, 118-19.
[75] Conant 1978, 56.
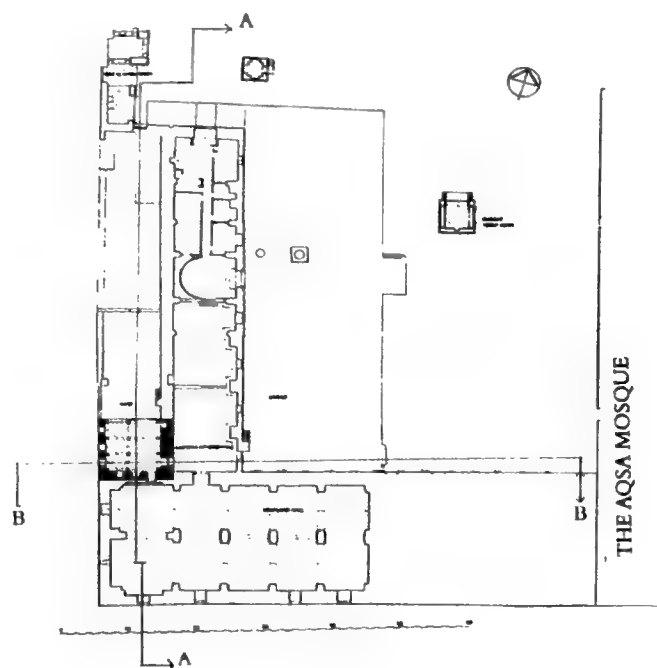
Fig. 17.2 The Southwest corner of the Masjid al-Aqsa

[71] 1 Kings 7: 1-12.

UNNAMED SABĪL   ENTRANCE   'FIRST COURTYARD'

0   10   20   30
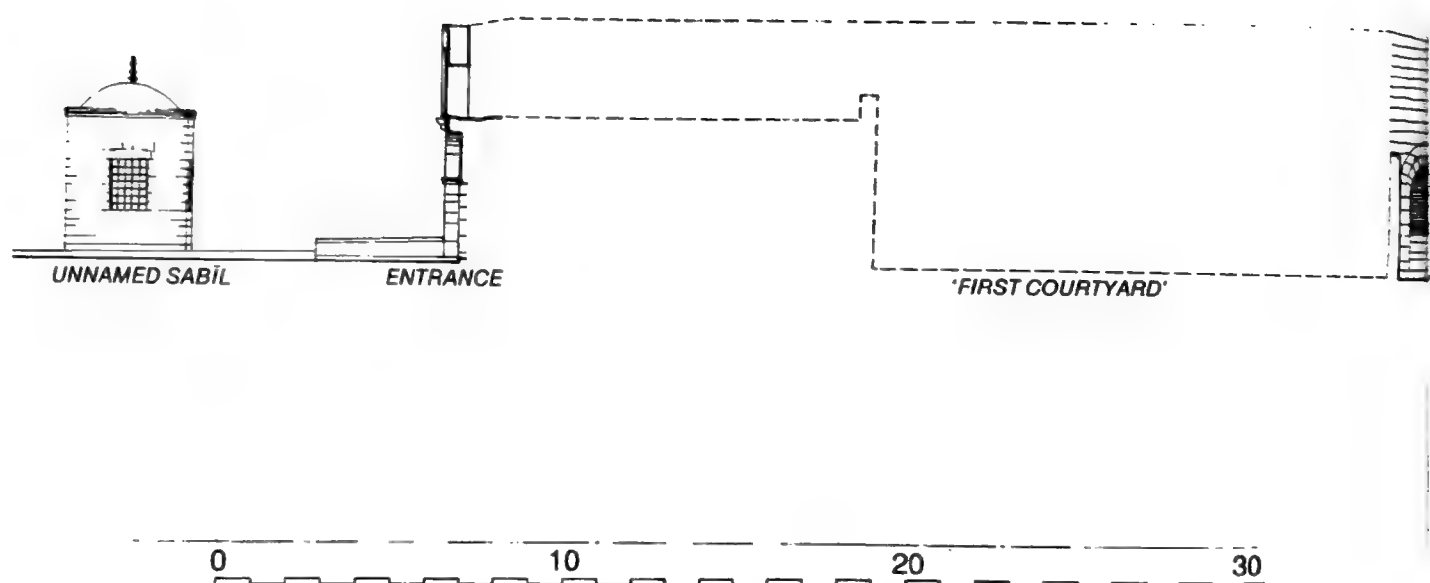
Fig. 17.3 North-south section through courtyards and columned hall.
Section A-A (see fig. 17./2) (after Burgoyne 1987, 266).
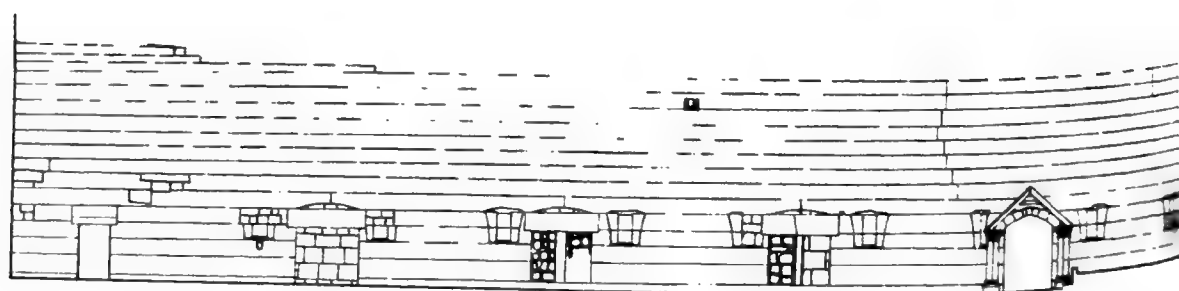
Fig. 17.4 East-west section through Jamiʿ al-Maghariba and columned hall looking south towards the great hall of the Templars. Section B-B (see fig. 17.2) (after Burgoyne 1987, 266)].

SECOND COURTYARD'   'COLUMNED HALL'   TEMPLAR HALL

South ▷

JÂMI' AL-MAGHÂRIBA   COLUMNED HALL

West ▷
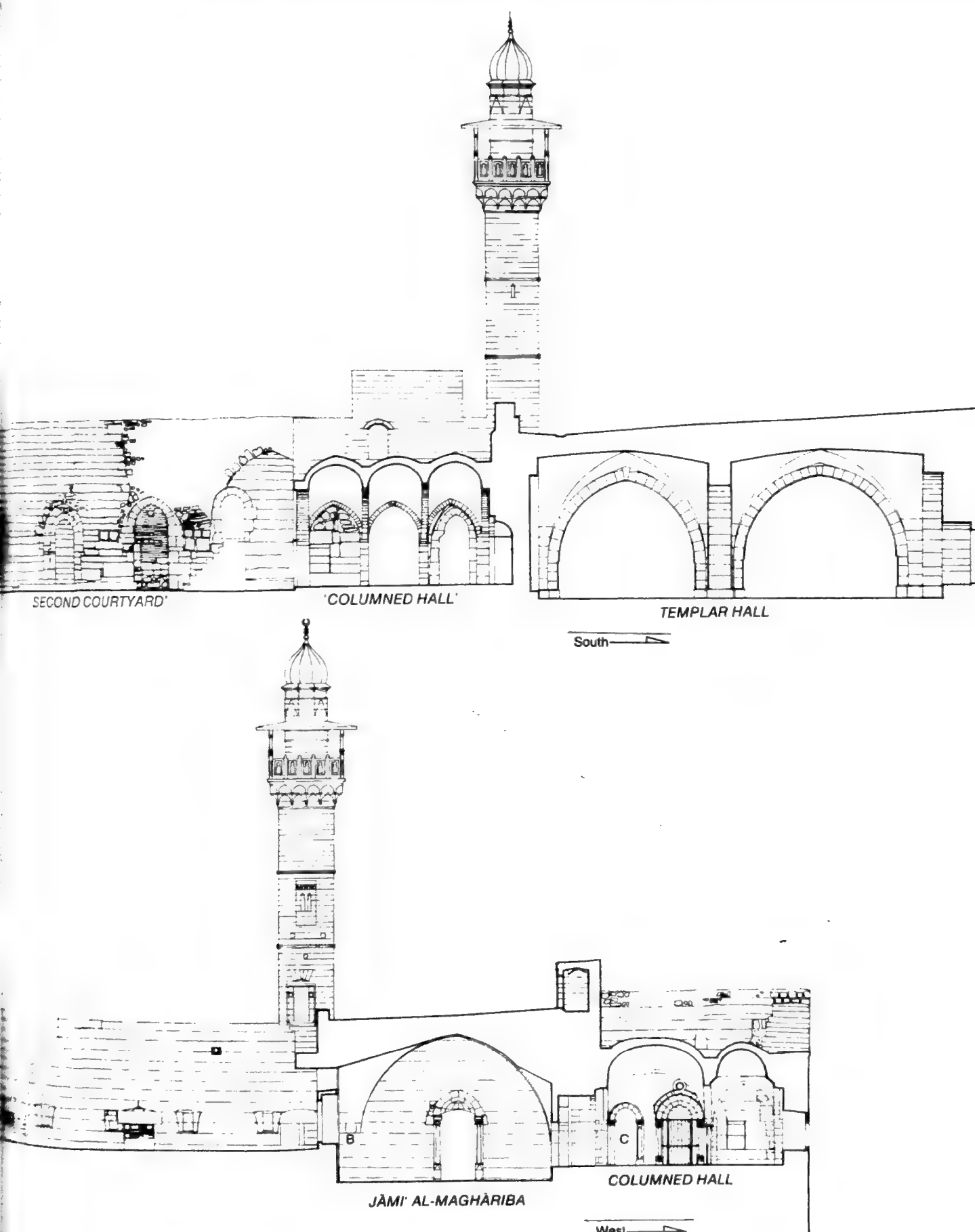
The plan of St Gallen is the architectural codification of Carolingian monastic reform which stood at the forefront of the religious and intellectual renascence launched by an edict of Charlemagne (r. 771-814) in 789 and continued by his successor Louis the Pious (r. 814–840).[76] The new layout[77] is an adaptation of the rule of St Benedict of Nursia (d. 547) to the growing economic, social, and political functions of monasticism under the Carolingians.[78] The focal point of the new scheme was the cloister, around which the major functions of the monastery were organised. The St Gallen plan became the prototype for monasteries throughout the Holy Roman Empire, the Christian commonwealth forged in the legislated Carolingian renascence.[79]

Both John of Würzburg and Theodoric made references to a cloister on the north part of the platform of the Dome of the Rock. Al-Idrisi located there a garden surrounded by a colonnade of marvellously braided columns, undoubtedly the same columns that al-Harawi reported to have seen there some twenty years later. On one side of the garden, al-Idrisi situated the canons' dining hall or refectory. In view of contemporary monastic architecture in the West, the colonnaded garden described by al-Idrisi was surely the monastic cloister situated there by John of Würzburg and Theodoric. There are no further descriptions of the architecture of the monastic house of the canons, of which nothing remains *in situ*.

The only Templar structure west of the Aqsa Mosque to have survived *in situ* is a long hall along the south end of the Masjid al-Aqsa area extending from the west side of the Aqsa Mosque to the southwest corner of the holy precinct. The hall comprises two aisles roofed by twenty cross vaults supported on a central row of nine piers (figs 17.2, 17.3).[80] The mosque and this vaulted hall are interconnected through a doorway in the mosque's west wall. The hall's north wall, the outer face of which is the façade onto the open space of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct, is aligned with the mosque's transverse arcade which continues the mosque's northern dome-bearing arch to the east and west. This arcade, which is claimed to belong to the rebuilding of the mosque by Fatimid caliph al-Zahir in 1035, forms the northern limit of the mosque's transept (fig. 17.5).[81] The Templars' alignment of the northern limit of their hall with the northern limit of the former mosque's transept was

probably an attempt at establishing a structural interrelationship between the two edifices.

Today, this hall houses the Women's Mosque and part of the Islamic Museum of the Haram al-Sharif. The grand proportions of the hall recall Theodoric's descriptions of the Templars' compound that he saw west of the former mosque. Along the hall's northern façade are a series of bare vaulting springers that were most likely intended as the southern abutments of a series of a portico vaults (fig. 17.4). These Crusader springers were inserted into the wall after the hall was built. The absence of any other trace of such a vaulted portico prompted Michael Burgoyne to suggest that its construction may have been interrupted by Saladin's reconquest.[82]

Vowed to a monastic discipline, the Knights Templar included in their compound the typical components of the contemporary monastery in the west, such as the dwellings, refectories, church, and cellar seen by Theodoric west of the former mosque. The deployment of a portico along the whole length of the great hall of the Templars suggests that this hall occupied the south side of a courtyard whose east and west sides were bordered by the Templum Salomonis and the Templar's church respectively. This configuration recalls the general layout of the medieval monastic cloister in the west. Whether or not there was a northern wing which created a fully enclosed cloister, the area was, as we have seen, referred to as Claustrum Salomonis in several maps of Jerusalem datable to the middle of the 12th century. When precisely the cloister of the Augustinian canons on the upper platform was constructed is unclear, but it is probable that it antedated the Templar cloister; however, there is not sufficient evidence to tell whether it provided a specific model for the Templar courtyard.

To sum up, the above eyewitness descriptions of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct under Crusader occupation indicate that the monastic constructions that the Crusaders introduced on the platform of the Dome of the Rock and in the vicinity of the Aqsa Mosque diminished the ambient open space around the two monuments. The canons' cloister-complex, as indicated by John of Würzburg, noticeably reduced the open space on the northern part of the platform of the Dome of the Rock. The Templars' cloister-complex extended from the Aqsa Mosque to the western border of the Masjid al-Aqsa area. East of the mosque and above the subterranean vaults, according to Theodoric, various Templar structures contrasted with lawns and gardens added in the 12th century(for the Templar structures that survived into the modern times in their original context east of the Aqsa Mosque, see the discussion of the Nijara vaults below). The Masjid al-Aqsa area which Saladin saw for the first time on Friday 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187[83] was thus appreciably different from any pre-Crusader Islamic description of the holy precinct he may have read or heard about.

[76] Colish 1997, 66-8.

[77] The new layout was most likely produced in the ambit of Einhard, the classicist and advisor of the two Holy Roman emperors; Conant 1978, 55-6.

[78] Jöckle 1997, 65-6; Colish 1997, 68.

[79] As demonstrated by the three great monastic houses of the Romanesque period: Monte Cassino, founded by St Benedict of Nursia in 529 and rebuilt by Abbot Desiderius in the 11th century; Cluny III, begun in 1088 by Abbot Hugh; and the Cistercian monastery at Citeaux, as rebuilt between 1125 and 1150; see McLean 1997, 118-19; Conant 1978, 226.

[80] Burgoyne 1987, 47, 260.

[81] On the Fatimid rebuilding of the Aqsa Mosque, its transept's northern arcade, and the structural interrelationship between the great hall of the Templars and the former mosque, see Allan 1989, 74-7.

[82] Burgoyne 1987, 47, 260.

[83] Ibn al-Athir 1966 xi, 549.
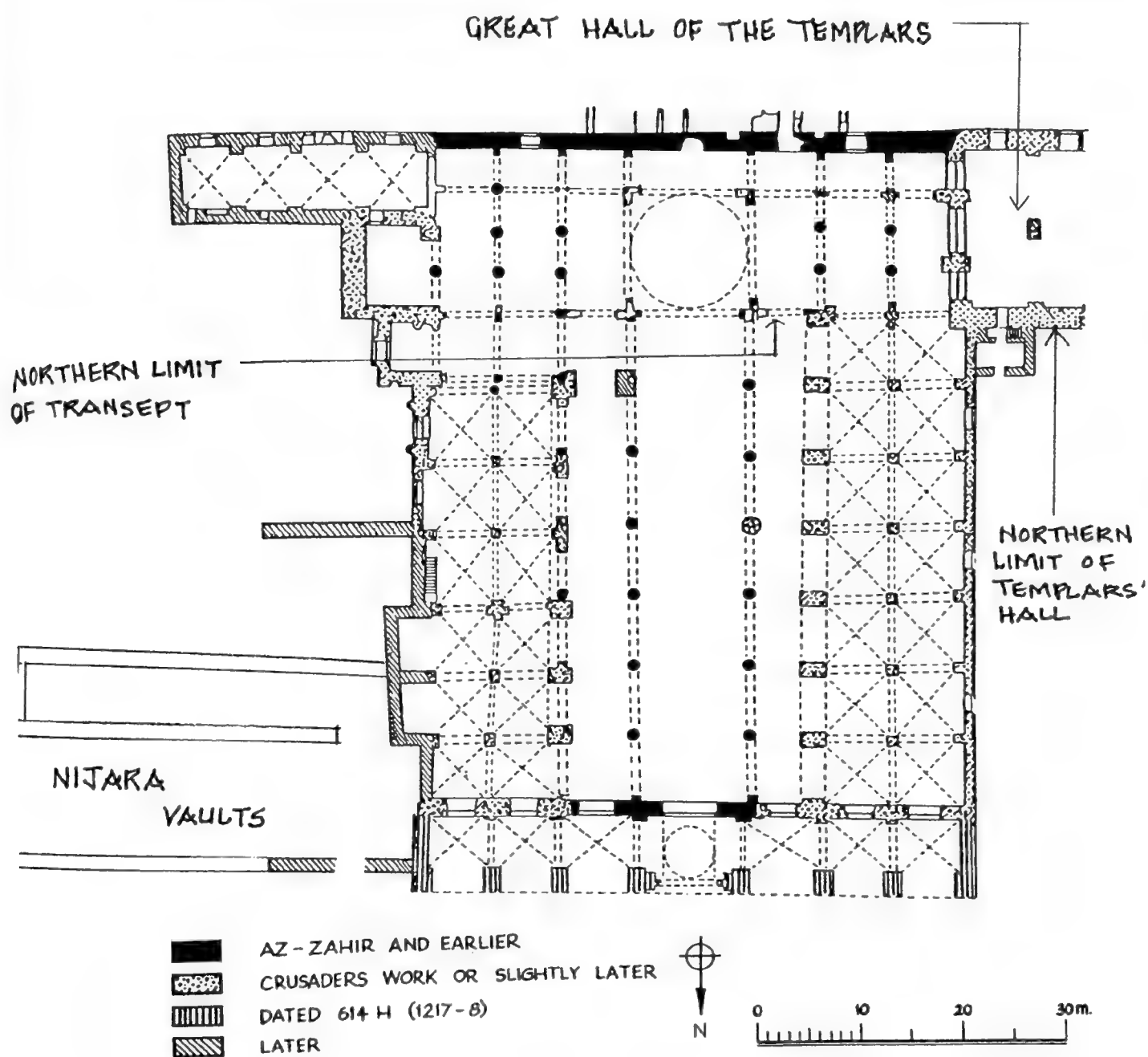
Fig. 17.5 Plan of the Aqsa Mosque showing the eastern end of the Great Hall of the Templars and the site of the demolished Nijara vaults (after Hamilton 1949, pl. I, slightly amended).

Reconfiguration of the open space of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct under Saladin

The Jerusalem that Saladin reconquered was overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, Christian.[84] The massacre of almost all of the Muslim population and part or all of the Jewish population of Jerusalem by the army of the First Crusade was soon followed by an edict forbidding Muslims and Jews from living in the holy city.[85] The only Muslims to be found there during the first Crusader interregnum were either pilgrims or prisoners of war.[86]

Saladin's restoration of Muslim life in Jerusalem was inaugurated by a major campaign to reconsecrate the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct to Islam, which the sultan launched with a great sense of urgency on the very day of the reconquest. ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1201), Saladin's secretary and scribe (*katib*), expressed deep indignation at the numerous physical signs of Christian worship and Templar profanity which he saw in the sacred precinct. These signs, he explained, defiled the Masjid al-Aqsa area and, as a result, precluded the Muslims from performing the Friday prayer in the sacred precinct on the day of the reconquest.[87] The signs particularly injurious to Islam's veneration of the sacred precinct included the golden cross affixed to the top of the Dome of the Rock,[88] the religious figural representations inside the Dome of the Rock, the marble pavement and altar on the Rock, the Crusader tombs near the Dome of the Rock and near the Bab al-Rahma (Golden Gate); and the church which the Templars had constructed west of the Aqsa Mosque.[89]

Saladin's purging of Crusader religious iconography from Islam's third holiest site was extolled in the Muslim chronicles in a phraseology evocative of the Islamic ritual of physical cleansing and purification, *tathir*.[90] This evocation is a *topos* of the Muslim chronicles of the reconquest, which almost invariably adopt a hagiographical posture towards Saladin.[91] This *topos* often obfuscates aspects of Saladin's reconsecration of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct which transcended the mere removal of Christian iconography. Among those aspects is Saladin's directive that reconfigured the space surrounding the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. This directive will here be extracted from the only eyewitness source for Saladin's rededication of the sacred precinct. The absence of independent eyewitness corroborations of this source's narratives of the rededication campaign by Saladin makes it necessary first to identify this source and examine its quality as a historical work, particularly if we are to draw from it conclusions as to the motives behind Saladin's directive.

The eyewitness narratives of Saladin's rededication of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct

There are a number of narratives from the Ayyubid period of Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem and his ensuing campaign to rededicate the Masjid al-Aqsa area. A few of these accounts were composed by contemporaries of Saladin, some of whom came into personal contact with him. Of these narratives, however, only those by Saladin's secretary and scribe, ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani (d. 1201), are first-hand. ʿImad al-Din first arrived in Jerusalem on Saturday 28 Rajab 583/3 October 3 1187, the day after the Crusaders had surrendered the holy city to Saladin.[92] He recorded his narratives in two of his historical works, *al-Fath al-qussi fi'l-fath al-Qudsi* and *al-Barq al-Shami*. There are minor differences in style and content between the rededication narratives in the *Fath* and those in the *Barq*.

The *Fath* is an eyewitness chronicle beginning with Saladin's mobilisation of his troops in Muharram 583/March 1187 for the reconquest of the Holy Land, and ending with the division of Saladin's empire on his death in 1193.[93] There is no

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[84] Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jerusalem *ca* 1173, found Karaite, Rabbanite, and Parushim Jews among the population of the holy city; see Benjamin of Tudela 1995, 167-80. An earlier edition of one of the manuscripts of Benjamin's narrative mentions only four Jewish families in Jerusalem: Benjamin of Tudela 1900, 69. Prawer, citing Dinaburg, challenges the reading 'two hundred families' found in some manuscripts: Prawer 1980, 91. There seems to be no corroboration of Benjamin's narrative about the Jewish population in Crusader Jerusalem; see Rosen-Ayalon 1995, 231.

[85] On the massacre of the Muslim population, see William of Tyre 1943 i, 370-7 (Bk 8, caps 19-24); Fulcher of Chartres 1969, 121-2 (Bk 1, cap. 27). On the very few Muslims who survived the onslaught, see the anonymous eyewitness chronicle *Gesta Francorum* 1962, 92; Mujir al-Din 1973 i, 298-9; Ibn al-Athir 1966 x, 282-6. On the massacre of the Jewish population, see, for example, Ibn al-Qalanisi 1908, 137; Goitein 1952, 162-77. On the Crusader edict forbidding Muslims and Jews from living in the city, see William of Tyre 1943 i, 507 (Bk 11, cap. 27); Achard d'Arrouaise 1881-84 i, 567; Prawer 1980, 90; Benjamin of Tudela 1995, 177.

[86] On Muslim pilgrimage to Crusader Jerusalem, see, for example, Abu'l-Hasan ʿAli ibn Abi Bakr al-Harawi 1957: 24-28; Usama ibn Munqidh 1981: 172-73; John of Würzburg 1896: 15; Wilkinson 1988: 247. According to ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani, there were thousands of Muslim prisoners in Jerusalem when Saladin's army marched on the holy city; see al-Isfahani 1965: 127.

[87] Al-Bundari 1979, 311-12; and Abu Shama 1997 iii, 344.

[88] Ibn al-Athir 1966 xi, 551. The golden cross was dragged to the Tower of David to be broken up; *Chronique d'Ernoul* 1871, 234. Ibn Wasil reports that the cross was paraded in Baghdad along with Crusader prisoners: Ibn Wasil 1953-77 ii, 279.

[89] Al-Isfahani 1965: 137.

[90] See, for example, C Hillenbrand 1999, 298-301.

[91] See, for example, the missive composed on behalf of Saladin by his vizier al-Qadi al-Fadil (d. 1200) to the ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Nasir al-Din Allah, and quoted by Ibn Khallikan 1968-77 vii, 186; Ibn al-Athir 1966 xi, 551; al-Isfahani 1965, 116-49.

[92] Al-Isfahani 1965, 132; al-Bundari 1979, 313.

[93] Several manuscripts of the *Fath* have survived. A manuscript now in Leiden produced four years after the death of the author was edited and published in 1888 by Count Carlo Landberg. The manuscript first published in Cairo in 1903 by Matbaʿat al-Mawsuʿat was edited and published by Muhammad Subh in 1965 with references to the Leiden manuscript and to the manuscript which comes from the library of the Azhar University and dates from 1752/53. This is the edition used here. On the surviving manuscripts, see al-Isfahani 1965, the introduction by the editor, Subh, 36.

direct evidence for dating the composition of the *Fath* in any of the surviving works by ʿImad al-Din, his contemporaries, or later historians. The earliest surviving manuscript of the *Fath* bears a completion date of 12 June 1199.[94] However, ʿImad al-Din states that a passage from the *Fath* was read to Saladin one night when they were in Jerusalem during the year 1192,[95] which indicates that the composition of the chronicle began during Saladin's lifetime.

The *Barq* is ʿImad al-Din's personal memoir of his career in Syria in the service of Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zangi (r. 1146-74) from 1167 to 1174 and then Saladin (r. 1169-93) from 1175 to 1193.[96] This autobiography appears to have been completed towards the end of 1198.[97] ʿImad al-Din accompanied Saladin almost without intermission from the summer of 1175 until Saladin's death in 1193. During this period, ʿImad al-Din was Saladin's confidant in Syria whenever ʿImad al-Din's official superior, Saladin's Chief Secretary, al-Qadi al-Fadil (d. 1200),[98] was despatched to Cairo, which was a frequent occurrence.[99]

Five of the seven original volumes of the *Barq* are lost, including the one covering the reconquest of Jerusalem.[100] However, the text has largely survived in an abridged version of the *Barq* completed in 1224 under the title *Sana al-barq al-Shami* by Qiwam al-Din al-Fath ibn ʿAli al-Bundari, an official from the court of the Ayyubid sultan, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa (r. 1218-27).[101] Al-Bundari's abridgement was prompted by the prolixity of the *Barq*, which was often the result of ʿImad al-Din's excessive display of verbal virtuosity.[102] *Al-Barq* was also largely preserved by Abu Shama (d. 1266) in the form of extensive quotations in his chronicle *Kitab al-raudatain fi akhbar al-daulatain*.

In his extensive study of the Arabic sources for the life of Saladin, Sir Hamilton Gibb has described the treatment of Saladin in both the *Barq* and the *Fath* as authoritative, comprehensive, and able to stand up to rigorous historical criticism.[103] ʿImad al-Din was the authority on Saladin's re-dedication of the Masjid al-Aqsa area for almost all the other historical compositions which date from the Ayyubid period and later.[104] Among those historical compositions is, quite possibly, *al-Nawadir al-sultaniyya wa ʾl-mahasin al-Yusufiyya*, the standard biography of Saladin by his other confidant, and Judge of the Army and Jerusalem, Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad (d. 1234). Although the earliest surviving manuscript of the *Nawadir* dates from 1228, Donald Richards has suggested a composition date before October 1216 or even before November 1198.[105] Even if Baha' al-Din's biographical work was composed before or coevally with the *Barq* and the *Fath*, he may very well have consulted ʿImad al-Din's authoritative records of the reconquest of Jerusalem, since he did not participate in the reconquest, nor was he involved in the re-dedication of the Masjid al-Aqsa area. In fact, Jerusalem had been liberated for some six months when Baha' al-Din first arrived there in April 1188.[106] Baha' al-Din states that his narrative in the *Nawadir* of the events antedating his instalment in the service of Saladin, on 28 June 1188, was derived from accounts by reliable eye-witnesses.[107]

Unlike the individual pilgrimage accounts of the two Crusader cloisters in the Masjid al-Aqsa area discussed in the first part of this chapter, ʿImad al-Din's version of the changes effected to these cloisters by Saladin's directive can neither be corroborated nor complemented by any other eyewitness sources. In the absence of other accounts, and in view of Gibb's rigorous evaluation of ʿImad al-Din's treatment of the life of Saladin, we have little choice but to accept ʿImad al-Din's version as our primary source for the following treatment of the transformation of the open space of the Masjid al-Aqsa area by Saladin's directive.

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[94] According to Rosen's description of the manuscript in the Catalogue of the old St Petersburg Asiatic Museum (no. 158); see Richards 1980, 60.

[95] Richards 1980, 61. During this year, Saladin was in Jerusalem from 18 January to 22 July and from 13 September to 15 October: Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad 1962, 222, 234, 239.

[96] On ʿImad al-Din's career in Syria, see his biography in Ibn Khallikan 1968-77 v, 148-9. On the characterisation of the *Barq* as an autobiography, see al-Suyuti 1975 ii, 4; Gibb 1950, 60; Gibb 1953, 98-9; Gibb 1962, 93; Richards 1980, 49.

[97] As inferred from a letter by al-Qadi al-Fadil to ʿImad al-Din and quoted by Abu Shama 1997 iv, 445.

[98] Mujir al-Din ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn ʿAli al-Baysani. See his biography in Ibn Khallikan 1968-77 iii, 158-63. The *Fath* is reported to have received quite a favourable critique from al-Qadi al-Fadil, who, in addition to being one of the master stylists of his time, was widely described as a judge of outstanding probity. In his preface to the *Fath*, ʿImad al-Din reported that, upon his completion of the chronicle, he presented it to al-Qadi al-Fadil under its original title *al-Fath al-Qudsi*. Al-Qadi al-Fadil suggested that the title be changed to *al-Fath al-qussi fiʾl-fath al-Qudsi* since he found its composition to be reminiscent of the legendary eloquence of Quss ibn Saʿidah al-Iyadi, the 6th-century sage and bishop of Najran; see al-Isfahani 1965, 57-8.

[99] Ibn Khallikan 1968-77 v, 149.

[100] Only the manuscripts of Volume 3 (573-75/1177-79) and 5 (578-79/1182-83), now in the Bodleian Library, have survived. On their contents, see Gibb 1953, 93-115.

[101] The manuscript comes from the Süleymaniyye Library in Istanbul; see al-Bundari 1979, the introduction by the editor al-Nabrawi, 1-9. This is the edition used here.

[102] Al-Bundari 1979, al-Nabrawi's introduction, 8-9.

[103] Gibb 1950, 59-60, 70-71.

[104] Gibb 1950, 58-70; Gibb 1953, 93; Cahen 1982, 323-4.

[105] Richards 1980, 57-60.

[106] Baha' al-Din was en route to Jerusalem from his pilgrimage to Mecca in February 1188 when he was summoned to appear for the first time before Saladin. The two met outside Kaukab al-Hawa (Belvoir Castle) during the Muslims' siege of the fortress from March to April 1188. After his meeting with Saladin, Baha' al-Din was told by ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani that he was to appear before Saladin on his return from his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Baha' al-Din left Kaukab al-Hawa for Jerusalem on the same day that Saladin raised the siege there. He reached Damascus from Jerusalem on 5 May 1188, the day Saladin and his troops arrived there from Kaukab al-Hawa. On 28 June 1188, Baha' al-Din was appointed by Saladin Judge of the Army, *Qadi al-ʿAskar*, and of Jerusalem. He held this position until Saladin's death on 4 March 1193; see Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad 1962, 84-7; Ibn Khallikan 1968-77 vii, 87-8.

[107] Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad 1962, 87.

The first seven days: from monastic cloisters to a congregational mosque courtyard

ʿImad al-Din indicates that Saladin launched his rededication campaign with three major directives: the restoration of the secularised Aqsa Mosque as a congregational mosque, the reconfiguration of the sacred open space surrounding the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque to accommodate as many rows of Friday worshippers as possible, and purging all the physical elements offensive to the Islamic faith from the holy precinct.[108] These requirements had dashed the conquerors' hopes of celebrating their first Friday prayers in the Masjid al-Aqsa area on the day of its liberation, 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187.[109] Later, Saladin ordered the cleansing of the holy precinct to be completed before the following Friday prayer.

The space around the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque also had to be reorganised within the first week after the reconquest in order to accommodate the thousands of Saladin's troops, who had been awaiting the first Friday prayer in the liberated Masjid al-Aqsa precinct with great anticipation. The reorganisation of the space around the two shrines, as we shall see, would involve significant demolition work. The time constraint was successfully resolved, since Saladin's troops supplied an abundance of manpower.[110] On Friday 4 Shaʿban 583/9 October 1187, Saladin sat in the Dome of the Rock and, with thousands of his troops in the Masjid al-Aqsa area, listened solemnly to the sermon of the first Friday prayer in the holy precinct in eighty-eight years.[111] The rededication of the Masjid al-Aqsa area was concluded with an edict forbidding access to the holy precinct to Christians.[112]

On that Friday, ʿImad al-Din perceived the reconfigured open space as one vast courtyard. Describing the huge number of people who had attended that Friday prayer, he remarked that despite the vastness of the courtyard, the worshippers' rows were contiguous with the Dome of the Rock.[113] It is my contention here that Saladin's directive to reconfigure the sacred open space was translated into a demolition scheme which was intended to reinforce the perception of the open space as the courtyard of a congregational mosque.

This directive targeted structures in the vicinity of the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque that were identified by the Muslims as Crusader, and, therefore, were perceived as encroaching upon the pre-Crusader open space,[114] a space which had traditionally supplemented the prayer areas inside the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock on Fridays and major religious celebrations. Among the Crusader structures near the Dome of the Rock and the Golden Gate, ʿImad al-Din identified a cemetery and domed constructions *(maqbara wa qibab muʿammara wa ajdath)* as well as constructions with perforated panels *(safayihuha al-mukharrama)*, and with marble columns *(aʾmidatuha al-murakhkhama)*,[115] presumably the braided marble columns located by al-Idrisi and al-Harawi in the cloister-complex of the canons atop the platform of the Dome of the Rock. Of the Crusader structures in the vicinity of the Aqsa Mosque, he identified two buildings west of the mosque: a spacious house *(daran wasiʿa)* into which the mosque itself was incorporated,[116] and an elegant church *(kanisa rafiʿa)*.[117] The 'spacious house' was clearly a reference to the Templar vaulted hall that opened onto the mosque from the west. The compartmentalisation of the space east and west of the mosque by Templar structures may very well explain why ʿImad al-Din described that space as a multitude of courtyards *(al-afniya)*.[118]

ʿImad al-Din reports that Saladin gave instructions to reconfigure these courtyards into one commodious courtyard *(al-ʿarsa al-muttasiʿa)*, for Friday congregations.[119] Along with his directive to cleanse the holy precinct, this led to the demolition of Crusader structures in the vicinity of the mosque during the first week after the reconquest.[120] In a similar vein, ʿImad al-Din states that Saladin's directives resulted in the levelling of the Crusader structures on the platform of the Dome of the Rock and near the Bab al-Rahma after the Muslims had stripped these structures of their marble columns and carved panels.[121] The fact that the Muslims made the effort to strip the columns and panels from the Crusader buildings prior to demolishing these buildings suggests that Saladin had instructed that the columns and panels be salvaged rather than destroyed. Recent studies have identified several Crusader braided columns in secondary use in various parts of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct.[122]

[108] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137, 141, 143; al-Bundari 1979, 314-15.

[109] Al-Bundari 1979, 312.

[110] Al-Bundari 1979, 314.

[111] Al-Isfahani 1965, 138.

[112] Van Berchem (1925, 88 n.3), citing Michael I (1126-1199), the Syrian Patriarch of Antioch, from *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens arméniens*, i, 400, relates that an inscription was introduced above one of the entrances to the sanctuary declaring the premises forbidden to Christians. However, Chabot's French translation (and editing) of the Syriac manuscript of the chronicle of the Syrian Patriarch Michael I reports the edict but makes no mention of an inscription: '*Ils purifièrent selon leur loi le Temple de Salomon, qu'ils appellent sakra, c'est-à-dire "roche", qui avait été rebâti pour la seconde fois par les Arabes eux-mêmes; et ils décrétèrent qu'aucun chrétien ne pourrait y entrer;'* Michel le Syrien 1899-1910 iii, 405. A recent Arabic translation (and redaction) of the Syriac chronicle of Michael I also refers to the proscription: ٠وضع من أن يطأه رجل مسيحي٠. There is no mention of an inscription in connection with the proscription in this Arabic recension either: Mar Mikhaʾil 1996 iii, 371.

[113] Al-Isfahani 1965, 140: .وصلى السلطان في قبة الصخرة والصفوف على سعة الصحن بها متصلة

[114] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137; al-Bundari 1979, 314, 317.

[115] Al-Bundari 1979, 317.

[116] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137; al-Bundari 1979, 314.

[117] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137.

[118] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137.

[119] Al-Isfahani 1965, 137.

[120] Al-Bundari 1979: 314.

[121] Al-Bundari 1979: 317.

[122] Folda 1995; Jacoby 1979 and Jacoby 1982. Folda's examples include the twisted double columns in the *mihrab* of ʿUmar in the Aqsa Mosque (266, 271, plate 8A.8c) and in the outer porch of the double gate Bab al-Silsila

GREAT HALL OF THE
TEMPLARS

NIJARA
VAULTS
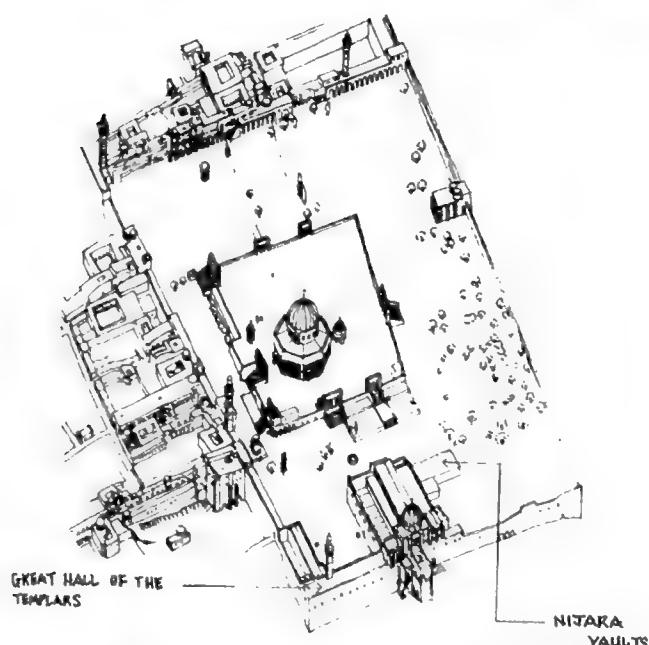
Fig. 17.6 The Masjid al-Aqsa as it appeared towards the end of the Mamluk period (after Burgoyne 1987, 84, slightly amended).

None of the textual or visual descriptions of the holy precinct that postdate Saladin's reconquest indicate the survival of any visible remains of the canons' cloister-complex *in situ*.[123] On the other hand, the demolition of the Templar structures surrounding the Aqsa Mosque was selective, as demonstrated by the survival of four Crusader structures there. The largest of the four structures is, as discussed above, the great vaulted hall along the south end of the Masjid al-Aqsa between the Aqsa Mosque and the south west corner of the holy precinct, the site of the Templar cloister-complex (fig. 17.6). Another structure is a porch consisting of three bays aligned with the three central aisles of the mosque and deployed along its façade. The porch, whose façade was rebuilt by al-Mu'azzam 'Isa some thirty years after his uncle Saladin's reconquest of Jerusalem, comprises the

three central bays of the present porch of the Aqsa Mosque (fig. 17.5).[124] The two other Crusader structures were barrel vaults abutting each other as they each extended eastwards from the northern end of the east side of the mosque (figs 17.5, 17.6). The two vaults, which were known as al-Nijara (carpentry),[125] were cleared away during the major restoration of the mosque from 1938 to 1942.[126] Neither from the textual descriptions nor the visual depictions of the holy precinct subsequent to the reconquest of 1187 are any other Templar constructions on the esplanade of the Masjid al-Aqsa area around the Aqsa Mosque known to have survived the demolition reported by 'Imad al-Din. It appears then that the layout of the reconfigured space around the Aqsa Mosque was demarcated by these four preserved Templar structures. The following is an attempt to explain why Saladin opted to preserve these four structures.

The discussion of why these Templar structures were preserved must first address whether they were all identified by Saladin and his entourage as Crusader. While Saladin was undoubtedly intent on clearing the Crusader constructions that he would have perceived as impingeing on the sacred open space, any overall vision of an unimpeded space had to be set against the demand to preserve anything that might be pre-Crusader Muslim construction. We must therefore enquire whether any Crusader structure was preserved because Saladin may have thought that its authorship was Muslim.

Of the four preserved Crusader structures, only the great hall west of the Aqsa Mosque was specifically identified by 'Imad al-Din as Templar. None of the surviving post-Crusade Muslim sources provide any information about the bays of the porch of the Aqsa Mosque antedating al-Mu'azzam 'Isa's restoration. The only surviving attribution for the Nijara vaults by a post-Crusade Muslim source comes from a narrative by Mujir al-Din al-Hanbali (d. 1521) in which he identified the two vaults as the product of the mosque workshop known as al-Nijara,[127] and suggested that they may have been built by the Fatimids.[128] In a preceding passage, however, he identified the great vaulted hall west of the Aqsa Mosque as Jami' al-Nisa' (Women's Mosque) and stated that he had been informed that its authorship was Fatimid.[129] It is difficult to reconcile 'Imad al-Din's identification of the hall as Crusader with Mujir al-Din's Fatimid attribution. It may be that Saladin's decision to leave the hall and the Nijara vaults standing prompted later

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and Bab al-Sakina, which were rebuilt with Crusader *spolia*, probably *ca* 1198–99 (266–69, plates 8A.7b, 8A.7c, and 8A.7e); and the interlaced double columns flanking the entrance to the Ayyubid Madrasa al-Nahawiyya (266, 269, plate 8A.7g). Among the examples in Jacoby's earlier article are the three pairs of knotted columns transferred from the Dome of the Rock to the Islamic Museum in the Haram al-Sharif after recent restorations (9, fig. 9); and the two sets of the coupled, intertwined columns of the *mihrab* of Ibrahim in the Dome of the Rock (10, fig. 11). The examples in Jacoby's later article include the two braided single columns adorning a panel in the Aqsa Mosque (327, fig. 4, 354); the two braided single columns at the Ottoman fountain of Bab al-Nazir, a few steps away from the Aqsa Mosque (331, fig. 11, 354); the twisted double columns in the *mihrab* of 'Umar in the Aqsa Mosque and in the outer porch of the double gate Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-Sakina (351); the interlaced double columns flanking the entrance to the Ayyubid Madrasa al-Nahawiyya (351, 353, fig. 61); and the two sets of the coupled, intertwined columns of the *mihrab* of Ibrahim in the Dome of the Rock (328, fig. 6, 354).

123 Some have attributed the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, the aedicule to be seen today on the northwest quadrant of the platform of the Dome of the Rock, to the Crusader, but it appears to be Ayyubid.

124 Hamilton 1949, 37–48.

125 Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 14; al-'Umari 1924, 151.

126 Hamilton 1949, 48–53.

127 Inside one of the Nijara vaults Mujir al-Din located one of the two openings to a well known as al-Waraqa, and situated beneath the northeastern section of the Aqsa Mosque; see Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 14–15. During the first half of the 14th century, Ibn Fadl Allah al-'Umari (d. 1349) located the same opening to this well inside the carpentry shop of the Haram but made no mention of its architecture; see al-'Umari 1924 i, 151.

128 Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 14.

129 Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 13.

generations to identify these structures as Muslim buildings that predated the Crusades.

Numerous Crusader masons' signature marks still visible on the ashlar masonry of the north wall of the great hall of the Templars[130] were also visible in 1187 on the ashlar masonry of the Nijara vaults.[131] Several colonnettes with distinctively Romanesque shafts, pedestals, capitals, and brackets are still extant in their original context in the three Crusader central bays of the porch of the Aqsa Mosque.[132] To architectural historians, these masons' marks and Romanesque colonnettes are unmistakable signs of Crusader workmanship.[133] By 1187, Saladin and his entourage must have had an intimate acquaintance with Crusader art and architecture in the Holy Land. However, in the absence of clear documentation, we cannot be certain to whom they attributed the masons' marks, colonnettes, and any other stylistic features of these structures.[134] The notion therefore that Saladin refrained from demolishing the Nijara vaults and the Crusader porch of the Aqsa Mosque lest they might be pre-Crusader Muslim constructions is speculative. However, an insight into why the four Templar structures were preserved may be offered by their functional and spatial relationships to both the newly rededicated mosque and the reconfigured space surrounding it.

The open space around the Aqsa Mosque as demarcated by these four preserved Templar structures was different from its organisation prior to the first Crusader interregnum. During the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem, the vast open space of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct was configured as a congregational (Friday) mosque courtyard, *sahn*. The Aqsa Mosque represented the covered sanctuary, *al-mughatta*, that traditionally bordered the *qibla* side of a congregational mosque courtyard.[135] However, two critical architectural aspects of the *mughatta* of the pre-Crusader Masjid al-Aqsa precinct set it apart from the traditional congregational mosque sanctuary. First, while the sanctuary of the traditional congregational mosque extended along the whole length of the mosque's *qibla* wall, the *mughatta* of the Masjid al-Aqsa area was never extended to either end of the *qibla* wall of the whole precinct. Second, the traditional congregational mosque courtyard was unified by a portico deployed along its

sanctuary *(qibla)* side as well as the three other sides. However, the porticoes, *arwiqa*, which Nasir-i Khusrau saw in 1047 along almost the entire north and west sides of the *sahn* of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct and along its south *(qibla)* side from the *sahn's* southwestern corner to the *mughatta*, were never extended along the façade of the *mughatta*, the *sahn's* east side, or the remaining part of its south *(qibla)* side (from the *mughatta* to the *sahn's* southeastern corner).[136]

The great hall of the Templars became the Jami' al-Nisa' apparently soon after Saladin's reconquest.[137] The structure is both inoffensive to Muslim sensibilities and adaptable to the functions of a prayer hall. Sometime between 1342 and 1348, the Damascene geographer al-'Umari (d. 1349) indicated in his description of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct that the door to Jami' al-Nisa' opened onto a large open space *(fadwa kabira)* to the north. On each side of this door, he found four white marble colonettes braided into a single column.[138] Mujir al-Din stated that Jami' al-Nisa' was part of the interior space of the Aqsa Mosque.[139] With the functional integration of the great hall of the Templars into the Aqsa Mosque, the *mughatta* was extended to the west side of the holy precinct for the first time since its appropriation for Muslim worship. The Templars' alignment of the northern limit of their hall with the northern limit of the mosque's transept may have reinforced the perception of this hall as a westward extension of the *mughatta's* transept. The decision to preserve the Templar porch of the Aqsa Mosque presented the *sahn* of the holy precinct with its first version of a portico for the *mughatta*. Any signs of Christian iconography in its original façade would certainly have been removed by the Muslims. The Nijara vaults were preserved despite their awkward protrusion into the *sahn* space probably because they were both highly serviceable and inoffensive.

In conclusion, the *sahn* space around the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock was reclaimed from the Crusader structures that had been encroaching upon it through a selective demolition plan that was evidently inspired by the layout of the traditional, congregational (Friday) mosque courtyard. This plan was the manifestation of Saladin's directive to reconfigure the sacred open space around the two shrines to accommodate as many rows of Friday worshippers as possible.

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[130] Burgoyne 1987, 260.

[131] Hamilton 1949, 51-2.

[132] Hamilton 1949, 39-46.

[133] Burgoyne 1987, 260; Hamilton 1949, 39-46, 51-2; Folda 1995, 254, 266.

[134] Other Crusader features include the form of doors and windows and the vaulting system of the Nijara vaults, and the cross vaults of the Aqsa porch; see Hamilton 1949, 39-46, 50-3.

[135] See, for example, al-Muqaddasi 1987, 145-6.

[136] For the architectural history of the Aqsa Mosque during the first phase of continuous Muslim rule in Jerusalem, see Allan 1989, 73-82. On the porticoes of the Masjid al-Aqsa precinct during this phase, see Naser-e Khosraw 1986, 24-7; Grabar 1996, 145-8.

[137] Burgoyne 1987, 260.

[138] Al-'Umari 1924 i, 153. It is not clear whether these braided columns were in *situ* or in secondary use.

[139] Mujir al-Din 1973 ii, 13.

Chapter 18
AYYUBID MOSAICS IN JERUSALEM

Lorenz Korn

Glass mosaic, amongst the more conspicuous techniques of architectural decoration, at all times has been appreciated for the material expense and the technical expertise necessary for its production. Its use was restricted to particular surfaces, mainly in sanctuaries. In Islamic architectural decoration, glass mosaic was inherited from Byzantine art, and as such did not constitute a novelty in Bilad al-Sham. The Umayyad mosaics in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and in the Great Mosque of Damascus used gold lavishly as a background to plants and other devices with a decorative and symbolic function. As a contrast, Umayyad palaces—as far as can be recognised from extant remains—were adorned with floor mosaics made of stone *tesserae*, clearly a less expensive technique. Apparently, glass mosaic was valued so highly that its use was restricted to the most privileged areas of sanctuaries of the highest rank. At least, the iconography and the style of Umayyad glass mosaics make it obvious that they belonged to a class of decoration different from floor mosaic of stone *tesserae*.

Although glass mosaic is only sparsely attested in Bilad al-Sham for the centuries after the Umayyads, there seems to have been little change in the basic attitude: glass mosaic was used for exceptional purposes, on religious buildings of high rank. The mosaics from the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Zahir (411-27/1021-36) in the Aqsa mosque apparently hark back to the style of the Umayyad mosaics in the Dome of the Rock more than three hundred years before. The lists given by Georges Marçais[1] and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon[2] demonstrate that, after a period of comparative dearth, in the Mamluk period the technique of glass mosaic became more widely used. The Mausoleum of Baibars in Damascus, with its mosaic wall decoration above a marble dado, constitutes a kind of starting shot. The architectural motifs, interspersed with trees, were clearly inspired by the mosaics of the neighbouring Umayyad Great Mosque, which had been restored a few years earlier.[3] Later in the Mamluk period, *mihrab* niches in several places were decorated with glass mosaic in combinations of vegetal and geometric patterns, which are much closer to the mainstream of Islamic decorative arts of the time.[4]

Against this background, the two Ayyubid examples of glass mosaic in Jerusalem appear somewhat isolated, at least chronologically. They can be connected with the two prominent restorations which Saladin undertook after the conquest of the city on 27 Rajab 583/2 October 1187. The Aqsa Mosque, used by the Crusaders first as the palace of the King of Jerusalem, then as the seat of the order of the Templars, was returned to its original purpose as a mosque. The same was done with the Dome of the Rock, which under Latin rule had housed a convent of Augustines. In both cases, the restoration comprised inscriptions and decorative elements which were executed in glass mosaic. They can be counted among the most interesting expressions of artistic genius in the Ayyubid period.

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In the Aqsa Mosque, the mosaic decoration on and around the *mihrab*, which was restored under Saladin,[5] is part of a decorative scheme which consists of different elements (pl. 18.1). It comprises the marble revètment of the *mihrab* niche, the mosaic of inlaid marble in the spandrels above the niche, and the partly gilt relief decorations flanking the *mihrab* to both sides. Glass mosaics cover the hood of the niche and form a frieze at both sides, while the inscription takes pride of place in a field above the *mihrab*.

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[1] Marçais, *EI2* Vol. II, 957, sv *fusayfisa*.

[2] Rosen-Ayalon 1976.

[3] See Flood 1997, 66-7.

[4] See *ibid.*, 68-9; Rosen-Ayalon 1986, 553-63.

[5] See van Berchem, *MCIA* 1927, 408-415; Burgoyne 1987, 48; Bieberstein/Bloedhorn 1994 Vol III, 54-63; Korn 2184, 64.

Pl. 18.1 Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque, *qibla* wall.

Pl. 18.2 Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque, inscription band to the left of *mihrab*.

Pl. 18.3 Sacramentary from the scriptorium of the Holy Sepulchre, 1128-30 (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 49), fol. 7r.

The mosaic in the hood of the niche is composed of a mesh of interwoven bands, which form large and small circles. Leaves, grapes and pearls (cut from mother-of-pearl) fill the larger circles. To the right and left of the *mihrab*, a mosaic band, some 30cm wide, accompanies the marble frame of the niche; above the capital of the inserted columns, it bends at a right angle to form a frieze above the marble dado. It contains a Kufic inscription quoting Qur'an 17: 1. The *basmala* is placed to the right, and the beginning of the verse can be reconstructed to have been at the top, so that the inscription on the left begins only with the words *[al-]masjid al-haram*. The elongated black letters are placed on a background of a scrolling tendril with a green-brown stem on a gold background (pl. 18.2). Green palmette-shaped leaves and chalice flowers fill the spandrels between the spiralling scrolls as well as the cores of the scrolls, and partly overlap with the tendril. The bifurcations are marked with pearls. In all, the scrolling tendril does not appear typically Islamic, as van Berchem has already remarked.[6] The distribution of the scrolls does not take into account the Arabic inscription for which they serve as a background. In its style, the tendril
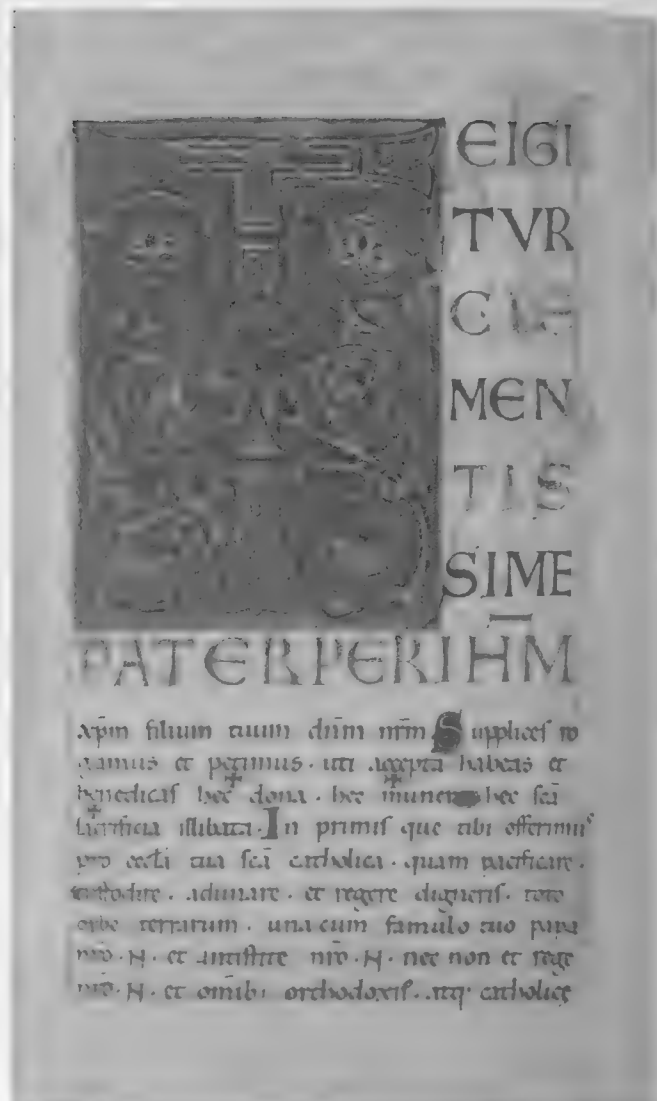
seems, rather, similar to Romanesque architectural decoration and book illumination.[7] A close parallel can be found in two works from Crusader Jerusalem—a sacramentary and a missal from the first half of the 12th century.[8] In their illuminated initials, the background is filled with scrolling tendrils, in which palmette leaves and chalice flowers occur most frequently (pls. 18.3, XCI). The way in which the leaves are hooked into the scrolls is also similar to the Aqsa mosaic.

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[7] The motif of the spiralling tendril with palmette leaves appears prominently in various western European illuminated manuscripts dating to the 12th century. Among the famous examples are the Lambeth Bible and the Winchester Bible, bibles from Saint André-au-Bois and Arnstein, and the Bodleian Ms Auct. E; see Fillitz 1969, figs 396, 399, 401; Durliat 1983, figs. 498-99; Boase 1951, figs 17-18. Although the tendrils in these works form much more intricate systems than in the Aqsa mosaic, and are mostly animated with birds, lions, dragons etc., the shading of the stem, the shapes of leaves, and the accentuated bifurcations are similar. The scrolling tendril is also the principal motif in the relief on the lintel of the right door in the south façade of the Holy Sepulchre; however, its texture is richer, and it is animated with human figures and fabulous beasts; see Folda 1995, pls 7.9k-q.

[8] See Folda 1995, col. pls 5-7, 14, pls 6.12a-k.

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[6] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, 412-13.

The question how this 'Crusader' motif came to be among the mosaics of al-Aqsa has repercussions for our understanding of the character of Ayyubid art in Jerusalem and its roots in various artistic traditions. An explanation which assumes two phases in the making of the mosaics, one Crusader and one Ayyubid, must be rejected. First, the Crusaders had no reason to honour the Aqsa *mihrab* by decorating it with a mosaic frame.[9] Second, inserting the Kufic inscription into an existing frieze would have left irregularities in the pattern of *tesserae*. There is no visible trace of such an insertion—on the contrary, the leaves within the scrolls are placed in such a way that they do not interfere with the letters. The mosaics decorating the Aqsa *mihrab* must be considered entirely Ayyubid, dated to 583/1187 (or shortly after) by the inscription.

The mosaicists of the Aqsa *mihrab* were apparently inspired by decorative models, probably book illumination, of Latin patronage. These models must have been available in Jerusalem after the Ayyubid conquest, either as booty or through workshop tradition. As for booty, it is hard to imagine that Muslim artists, who would have come from other parts of Bilad al-Sham, would have adapted to a local style. Glass mosaics from Muslim workshops from the years before the conquest, which might support such an assumption, have not been preserved.

There is one problematic record which must be taken into account. 'Izz al-Din ibn Shaddad mentions that the restoration of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus, undertaken on the orders of Saladin in 585/1189-90, comprised—apart from the dome and its supporting pillars—the restoration of gold mosaics and the façade of the transept.[10] Ibn Shaddad's date is contradicted by two inscriptions from the transept pillars of the Umayyad mosque, indicating that the marble revêtment *(tarkhim)* was renewed by order of Saladin, in the year 575/1179-80.[11] In view of this error, it might be asked to what degree Ibn Shaddad's information, which is not confirmed by any other chronicler, can be trusted. If the mosaics in Damascus were indeed restored under Saladin, the question must be raised as to whether to restore older works would have enabled the artists to produce new creations in Jerusalem. Thus no certain conclusions can be drawn for our understanding of the Aqsa mosaics.[12]

Pl. 18.4 Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Frankish Chapel, portal to the Calvary (after Folda 1995, pl. 7.8 k).

A contrasting hypothesis would be based on the assumption that local artists were at work who continued their tradition and integrated the Arabic inscription into an existing design. This is confirmed by the existence of mosaics which date to the last decades of Latin rule. On the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, glass mosaics from the Latin period are preserved on the ceiling of the Calvary chapel and on the portal from the so-called Frankish chapel to Calvary (pl. 18.4); the existence of mosaics in the tympana of the main portal is also documented.[13] In Bethlehem, a cycle of mosaics in the Church of the Nativity was produced most likely in 1167-69.[14] The stylistic relationship between these largely figural mosaics and the vegetal ornament in the Aqsa mosque is difficult to determine.[15] What can be said with certainty is that in the second half of the 12th century, the technique of glass mosaic was firmly established in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem.

It is certainly true that Ibn al-Athir's statement that Saladin had the Aqsa mosque decorated with 'mosaics in the manner of Constantinople' *(min al-fass al-madhhab al-*

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[9] Arabic sources contradict such an assumption, reporting that a wall had been put up in front of the niche; see Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg) 1851-76 (reprinted 1965-67) vol. XI, 551; Mujir al-Din al-'Ulaimi 1388/1968 vol. I, 331. The polemical statement that the Crusaders abused the *mihrab* as a latrine (*ibid.*) was probably unfounded.

[10] Ibn Shaddad 1375-1382/1956-1962 Vol. II.1, 76-7 *Ubtudi'a tarmim da'ir Qubbat al-Nasr wa'l-rafraf al-mustadir 'alaiha wa'l-fass al-mudhahhab wa'l-taqat wa-wajh al-nasr.*

[11] RCÉA Vol. IX, nos 3343, 3344; al-'Ush, Joundi, Zouhdi, 1976, 254, nos A.12, A.13. The date 575 is well-preserved and clearly legible.

[12] The importance of the elusive Damascene mosaics would be all the greater since the person who was in charge of their restoration is named, by Ibn Shaddad as well as in the inscriptions, as Muhyi 'l-Din Abu 'l-Ma'ali Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Qurashi. This is the same Shafi'te scholar Muhyi 'l-Din ibn al-Zaki who held the first Friday prayer on the Haram after the

conquest of Jerusalem; see Ibn Khallikan, (ed. 'Abbas) n.d. vol. IV, 229-37 He might well have been in a position to funnel expertise in architectural decoration from Damascus to Jerusalem

[13] See Folda 1995, col. pls 20-21, pls 7.10a-e; Rosen-Ayalon 1976.

[14] Hunt 1991; Folda 1995, pls. 9.8-9.23; Folda 1996

[15] Although it has been stated that the Bethlehem mosaics contain 'strong reflections' of the works of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium; Folda 1995, 347.
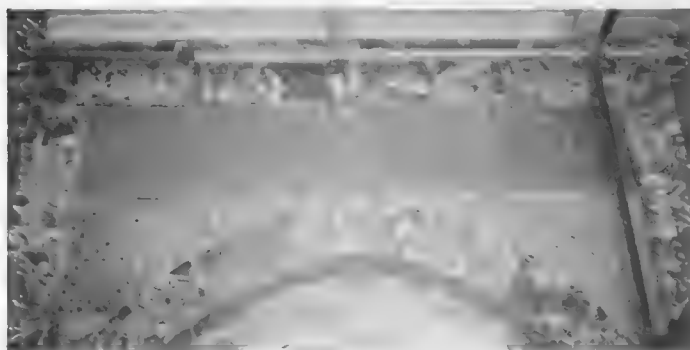
Pl. 18.5 Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque, restoration inscription above the *mihrab*, dated 583 H.

qustantini)[16] is a statement on the style, not on the origins of the workmen.[17] However, if we take it in the sense that the mosaics were considered unfamiliar, so that the chronicler connected them with (Byzantine) Christian tradition, this would imply that there was no firmly rooted Muslim tradition of glass mosaic at the time, and that a Damascene origin of the workmen can be excluded. It seems much more plausible that the mosaics originated from a local tradition.

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The inscription (pl. 18.5) as the central element of the whole scheme covers an oblong panel of *ca* 210cm x 40cm. The four lines of text appear in gold upon green, with the golden letters outlined in black. In a few places where the lack of upper lengths leaves enough space, simple fleurons or tendrils are placed between the lines. The style of the *naskhi* letters, termed '*si purement saladinien*' by van Berchem,[18] might be described as 'straightforward' in that it does not rise above an unpretentious handwriting. Parallels can be found in other Ayyubid inscriptions of Saladin's reign. The letters are comparatively squat, with a tendency for the edges to be rounded off. A comparison between the first halves of the second and third lines reveals the varying size of the letters, which seems to betray a lack of routine in the distribution of text in the field. It is possible that the artist, wishing to place Saladin's full title in the second line, had to squeeze a little, whereas plenty of space could be used for the words *wa-huwa yas'alu* at the beginning of the last line. It is possible to suppose that the distribution of the text was changed from the handwritten model in the process of laying the mosaic.

Idiosyncrasies in the calligraphy can be observed in many of the letters. Nearly all *alifs* are rounded at the top. Unconnected *alifs* have their foot bent to the left. The hooks at the upper end of *lam* and unconnected *alifs* extend over
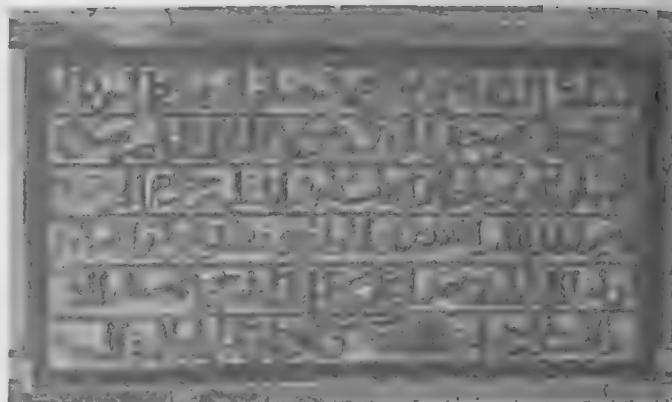
Pl. 18.6 Jerusalem, Qubbat Yusuf, building inscription (from the city wall) dated 587 H.

half of the letter and protrude so little that they make no conspicuous appearance. *Fa'* and *qaf* are hardly stilted and have rounded tops. In the letter *ha'*, the first loop is only just closed. The terminal *sin* has a flat shape, with an extremely open last bend. Finally, the *ha'* of Salah is placed quite high, but reaches the bottom line, so that its length equals that of an *alif* and its shape becomes somewhat distorted.

Similar features occur in a few inscriptions from the AH 580s. The inscription mounted in Qubbat Yusuf[19] and an inscription in the western Haram portico,[20] which can both be ascribed to the rebuilding of the city walls under Saladin in 587/1191, have a similar general appearance (pl. 18.6). In the inscription on Qubbat Yusuf, the letters are similarly proportioned, while the *hastae* of the *alifs* are decidedly angular, and some bold ligatures and diagonal strokes in the last lines give a more dynamic impression. In the fragment in the western portico, proportions are taller, but the shapes of *sad*, *fa'* and *qaf* equal those of the Aqsa mosaic. As a contrast, the *waqf* inscription of the Madrasa al-Salahiyya (pl. 18.7),[21] dated 588/1192, features similar hooks on the *lams* and unconnected *alifs*, but has very sharp terminal bends and occasionally indulges in unusual ligatures such as the one between *ibn* and *Shadhi*. The building inscription of the ʿUmari Mosque,[22] dated 589/1193, follows a similar line, although in a more subdued dynamic (pl. 18.8). Ayyubid inscriptions in Jerusalem from the late 6th/12th–early 7/13th century seem to continue this trend, although their lines become more angular.

The question whether the epigraphic style of the Aqsa inscription originated in Syria or in Egypt is not easily answered, because so few inscriptions from the early years of Saladin's rule in Egypt are preserved in a reasonable state. An inscription

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Ibn al-Athir (ed. Tornberg) Vol. XI, 366

See already van Berchem 1920-27 Vol. II, 408-9, in the same sense, Flood 1997, 70

Van Berchem 1920-27 Vol. II, 410.

[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, 23-31, no. 150, Vol. III, pls 32-33; *RCÉA* 1931-91 Vol. IX, no. 3447; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 Vol. III, 68.

[20] Burgoyne and Abul Hajj 1979, 119-120 no. 15; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 Vol II, 436.

[21] Van Berchem 1925-27 Vol. I, 91-2 no. 35, Vol. III, pl. 34; *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3453; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 Vol. III, 170-73.

[22] Van Berchem 1925-27 Vol. I, 95-8, no. 36, Vol. III, pl. 34; *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3464; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 Vol. II, 181-2.

Pl. 18.7 Jerusalem, Church of St Anne, *waqf* inscription of the Madrasa al-Salahiya, dated 588 H.
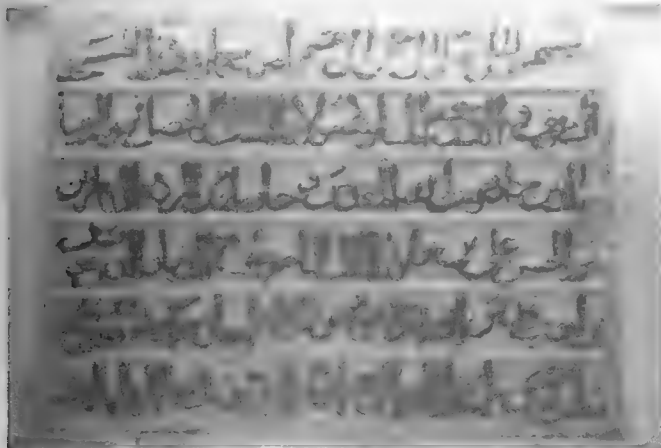
Pl. 18.8 Jerusalem, 'Umari Mosque, building inscription dated 589 H.

Pl. 18.9 Damascus, Maristan Nuri, building inscription dated 549 H.

Pl. 18.10 Damascus, National Museum, building inscription from the Madrasa al-Raihaniya, dated 575 H.

from Alexandria[23] displays a general similarity with the style of the Aqsa inscription, but lacks the idiosyncrasies mentioned above. The inscription on the Citadel of Cairo[24] seems even more different with its less accentuated letters, slightly leaning to the right. Zangid and early Ayyubid inscriptions in Damascus share at least some of the characteristics with the inscriptions in Jerusalem. The low, rounded *fa'* and *qaf* appear in the building inscription of the Maristan Nuri (pl. 18.9).[25] The two inscriptions commemorating Saladin's restoration of the Great Mosque,[26] dated 575/1179–80, seem more akin to the 'dynamic' epigraphy of Saladin's Madrasa in Jerusalem.[27] A closer relation to the Aqsa inscription can be seen in the example from the Madrasa al-Raihaniyya,[28] also dated 575 (pl. 18.10). It seems that the epigraphic style of Jerusalem under Saladin was influenced by Damascus rather than Cairo.

The text of the inscription[29] is a remarkable document:

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. The renovation of this hallowed *mihrab* and the restoration of the Aqsa Mosque, founded on the fear of God, has ordered the slave and friend of God, Yusuf ibn Ayyub Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Malik al-Nasir Salah al-Dunya wa 'l-Din, at the time when God conquered it through his hands, in the months of the year 583. He prays to God that he may fill him

[23] Van Berchem, *MCIA Égypte* Vol. 1, *Le Caire* 1894–1903, 638–644, no. 458, pl. 44.1; *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3420; Wiet 1971, 50, no. 65, inv. no. 2399.

[24] Van Berchem, *MCIA Égypte*, 80–86, 758, no. 49, 49 bis, pls. 2.4–5, 24.1–2. *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3380.

[25] *RCÉA* Vol. VIII, no. 3166.

[26] See above, note 11.

[27] The same could be said of the epigraphic style of Aleppo, which is generally a little more ornate, eg. in the *waqf* inscription of the Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya, 564/1168–69; see *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3284.

[28] *RCÉA* Vol. IX, no. 3342.

[29] Van Berchem *MCIA Jérusalem* Vol. II, 403, no. 280, Vol. III, pl. 31; *RCÉA* Vol. IX. no. 3423

with gratitude for this benefaction and may grant him his share in mercy and grace.

For a building inscription, this is an unusual text. While the beginning keeps the common formula which indicates the commissioning of a restoration, and the epithet *al-mu'assasa 'ala 'l-taqwa* for the Aqsa mosque refers to Qur'an 9:108-109—well-known to the contemporary reader of Saladin's time—the words which follow are remarkable. Saladin calls himself *'abd Allah wa-waliyyuhu*, an epithet of exclusively religious content. It has nothing in common with the ornate titles which usually appear in Saladin's inscriptions: *jami' kalimat al-iman*, 'the one who gathers the word of faith', *qami' 'abadat al-sulban*, 'extinguisher of the slaves of the crosses', *muhyi daulat amir al-mu'minin*, 'life-giver of the dynasty of the commander of the faithful'—all of these, underlining Saladin's role as a champion of the *jihad* and Sunni orthodoxy, are missing here.[30] Instead, 'slave and friend of God' distracts from Saladin's functions as a ruler and emphasises his personal religious commitment. The same reason must be assumed to underlie the rhetorical device in the following passage. Saladin's name and titles appear in reverse order, the personal name preceding the throne name. This occurs in no other Ayyubid building inscription. Here, divine will and earthly conquest appear inextricably connected with the person of Saladin. In combination with the prayer for forgiveness and divine benefaction, this implies that the conquest of Jerusalem was considered Saladin's personal achievement.[31]

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In the Dome of the Rock, the mosaic inscription in question is placed in the inner rotunda, on the cornice of a segmental section which separates the arcades from the mosaics in the drum.[32] Compared to other parts of the mosaic decoration of the Dome of the Rock, it has received little attention.[33] The upper third of the cornice is covered by an inscription band, while the lower part bears a decoration of predominantly geometric motifs (pls 18.11-16). Gold and two shades of green dominate, while dark red, black, and mother-of-pearl inlay play a lesser part.

The inscription on the upper part of the cornice contains a quotation from the Qur'an, namely, the first twenty-one verses from Sura Taha, followed by the common closing formula of Qur'anic recitation, *sadaqa Llah al-'azim*. Since the text contains no explicit dating, this must be inferred from its contents and its epigraphic style, which will be dealt with below. Both point to a date shortly after the conquest of 583/1187. This dating is confirmed by a few details of the decorative frieze, in which four different sections can be discerned.

The standard motif, which occupies more than three-quarters of the whole length, consists of a band of semicircular arches resting on small circles, gold upon green. The archivolts are divided into seven segments, each of which is filled with a pearl. From the apex of every arch hangs a circular or semicircular pendant in red and gold or black and gold, adorned with up to ten pearls on the margin. The outlines of the pendants alternate between circle and semicircle, their filling between a spoked wheel and a rosette of seven pearls. Small golden circles with a pearl in the centre, and three pearls around it, fill the spandrels between the arches in one section; in another stretch, the spandrels form a green triangle framed by a golden band or vice versa.

The second motif, occupying *ca* 4m ($^1/_{16}$ of the circumference of the drum),[34] is an intertwined golden band, bending back on itself and forming alternating smaller and larger circles (pls 18.15-18.16). Golden twin leaves or fleurons upon green are placed in the large circles, and rosettes consisting of a red central dot surrounded by six pearls on dark green in the small ones. The spandrels remaining above and below the small circles are filled with leafy tendrils, gold upon green, which grow from a pearl in the centre.

Extending over the same length,[35] the third motif can be described as rosettes consisting of a light green centre around which eight petals alternate in green and dark red, with pearls between their tips (pls 18.11-18.12). The rosettes are placed separately on the golden background, with two vertically opposed red drops placed between each of them.

The fourth motif occupies only half of the length of the preceding one.[36] It consists of interconnected circles of eight pointed beads, dark red with a golden border, alternating with pearls (pl. 18.14). In the centre of each circle, a roundel is placed in the shape of a spoked wheel or as a rosette of pearls on dark green around a light green central dot.

From its general appearance and from individual elements, the majority of the decorative frieze can be dated as being contemporary with the borders of the large mosaic band in the drum above.[37] Most of these can be considered

[30] Wiet 1922. For similar titles of nearly contemporary rulers in building inscriptions, see Élisséeff 1952/54, Blair 1998, 35-9.

[31] In Cairo, Saladin's building activities appear important for the development of the city throughout the Mamluk period, and his foundations of *madrasas* set an example for other patrons. His building activities in Damascus seem comparatively insignificant. As a contrast, the re-islamicisation of Jerusalem appears centred on his person; see Korn (eds Vermeulen and de Smet) 1998; *idem* (eds Pahlitzsch and Korn) (in press).

[32] Best illustrated in Rosen-Ayalon 1989, col. pls I-XVI.

[33] The inscription is mentioned by van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, 369-70. In the work on the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock by Marguerite van Berchem (in Creswell 1969 Vol. 1.1, 213-372), the mosaics on the cornice are dealt with in a footnote (p. 308, n. 4).

[34] Rosen-Ayalon 1989, pls XV-XVI.

[35] *Ibid.*, pls VIII-IX.

[36] *Ibid.*, pl. XI.

[37] M van Berchem 1969, 293, fig. 345.

Pl. 18.11 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate VIII)

Pl. 18.12 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate IX)

Pl. 18.13 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate X)

Umayyad;[38] at any rate, they date before the Ayyubid period. Their colours (gold, light green, dark green, and mother-of-pearl) correspond with those in the first motive on the cornice. In the field of the drum mosaic with its large vases and tendrils, a dark red is added to the palette; here, the motif of the segmented arch (and, as a variant, segmented circles) also occurs above the vases in the main field. Large parts of the decorative band on the cornice, therefore, may well be contemporary with the Umayyad main field above.

Some parts display marked differences from these 'original' sections. The second motif mentioned above recurs in two panels in the upper section of the drum which interrupt the sequence of vases and tendrils belonging to the Umayyad design. These two panels must be ascribed to a later phase.[39]

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[38] The Fatimid restoration of 418/1027-28 probably consisted only of minor repairs; see *ibid.*, 300-8.

[39] *Ibid.*, 305: 'A somewhat late epoch', fig. 365

Pl. 18.14 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate XI)

Equally, the black outlining of some motifs against the golden background (eg. the rosettes of the third motif) marks these parts off from the less contrasting design of the Umayyad tendrils in the field above. The same is true for the black outlining of golden elements, which give the intertwined band in the second motif, and some of the arcades in the adjacent section of the first motif, a distinct appearance. This forms a parallel with the treatment of the adjacent inscription above, the golden letters of which are all outlined in black. Thus, it can be argued that large parts of the decorative frieze are pre-Ayyubid, while those parts in which black outlining appears prominent (motif two and three, with parts of motif one) belong to restorations after the Ayyubid conquest of Jerusalem.[40]

The epigraphic style of the inscription is, generally speaking, similar to that in the Aqsa inscription. It is an unpretentious, upright *naskh*, and some characteristics are identical to those in the Aqsa Mosque, eg. the open first loop of the *ha'* and the shape of *alif* and *lam* (pl. 18.11).[41] Consequently, it can be assumed that the mosaic inscription belongs to the last relics of Saladin's restoration works in the Dome of the Rock, while other traces have largely disappeared.[42] However,

the comparison with the Aqsa inscription also reveals some odd stylistic features in certain parts of the cornice inscription. Outright clumsiness can be observed, for example, in a *dal* which occupies the full height of the band (pls 18.12, 18.13), or in an *'ain* with a head twice as broad as the lower part is long.[43] It is possible that the position on the projecting cornice rendered work for the mosaicist particularly difficult. A more likely explanation is that later restorations have changed the style of the Ayyubid inscription.

*   *   *

Although the text of the inscription is a Qur'anic quotation and as such contains no surprises of protocol and titulature, the choice of this particular text deserves closer consideration.[44]

> In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.
> Taha.
> It was not to distress you that We revealed the Koran, but to admonish the God-fearing. It is a revelation from Him who has created the earth and the lofty heavens, the Merciful who sits enthroned on high.
> His is what the heavens and the earth contain, and all that lies between them and underneath

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One stylistic similarity to Crusader mosaics can be observed in the spoked heel motif, which has a parallel in the mosaic on the archivolt of the Franks' Chapel at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; see Folda 1995, col. pl.

Examples in Rosen-Ayalon 1989, pls VII-VIII

If not, the two fields of the drum mosaics mentioned above can be counted as part of the same restoration. For the interior of the dome, where an inscription text of much later date retains part of a restoration inscription by Saladin, see van Berchem, *MCIA Jerusalem* Vol. II, 289-98, no. 225, Vol. III, pl. 20. It would be interesting to know whether the cornice had been used for inscriptions by the Crusaders, and whether these were executed in mosaic. The reports by John of Wurzburg and Theoderic (in ed. Huygens) 104, 89-95, 159-162, give the contents of inscriptions in the

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Dome of the Rock; John of Würzburg mentions golden letters, probably in the drum, but this is no conclusive evidence that these were mosaic inscriptions. In other passages, both authors use the term *opus musivum* for mosaic, which does not appear here.

[43] See Rosen-Ayalon 1989, pl. X.

[44] Translation by Dawood 1959.

Pl. 18.15 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate XV)

Pl. 18.16 Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock, cornice mosaic. (Rosen-Ayalon 1989, colour plate XVI)

the soil. You have no need to speak aloud; for He has knowledge of all that is secret, and all that is hidden.

He is God. There is no god but Him. His are the most gracious names.

Have you heard the story of Moses?

When he saw a fire, he said to his people: 'Stay here, for I can see a fire. Perchance I can bring you a lighted torch or find a guide hard by.'

When he came near, a voice called out to him: 'Moses, I am your Lord. Take off your sandals, for you are now in the sacred valley of Tuwa.

'Know that I have chosen you. Therefore listen to what shall be revealed.

'I am God. There is no god but Me. Serve Me, and recite your prayers in my remembrance.

'The Hour of Doom is sure to come. But I choose to keep it hidden, so that every soul shall be rewarded for its labours. Let those who disbelieve in it and yield to their desires not turn your thoughts from it, lest you perish. What is it that you are carrying in your right hand, Moses?'

He replied: 'It is my staff; upon it I lean and with it I beat down the leaves for my flock. And I have other uses for it besides.'

He said: 'Moses, cast it down.'

Moses threw it down, and thereupon it turned into a slithering serpent.

'Take it up and have no fear,' He said. 'We will change it back to its former state.'

Only lately have the contents of the inscription received scholarly attention. In a brief article, Myriam Rosen-Ayalon explains the quotation of Sura Taha in this place in the context of Saladin's restoration.[45] She puts the stress on the last sentence *sanufiduha sirataha 'l-ula*, which can be understood as referring to the re-consecration of the Sakhra, returned its original state.[46]

While the last sentence of the Qur'anic quotation can be taken as evidence that the inscription dates indeed from the restoration of the Qubbat al-Sakhra under Saladin, an interpretation should not be based on this sentence alone. Other passages of the text are certainly no less meaningful. From *tafsir* works which were known at the time or written slightly later, the different approaches by Muslim scholars to the event of the burning bush in Qur'an 20: 1-21 can be gleaned. Usually, emphasis was laid on the biographical context, with consideration of the geographical setting. Thus, al-Zamakhshari explains the words *hadith Musa* as an allusion to the preceding part of the story, which is not mentioned in the Qur'an. Moses had gone into exile to Midian, from where, after several years, he returned to Egypt.[47] The same explanation can be found with Ibn Kathir.[48] Al-Suyuti is more explicit and places the valley of Tuwa somewhere in Palestine, quite logically deducted from the route from Midian to the Nile valley.[49] Al-Nasafi elaborates in an anecdotical way. Moses had lost his way, so that the fire which he perceived attracted him, because he expected a sign which might guide him on his way.[50] Apparently, current *tafsir* material tended to circumscribe Moses' role as a prophet less from a theological point of view. Rather, it is in full congruence with the condensed versions of Moses' biography which were available in works on general history, like the one by al-Tabari.[51] The biblical account of the life of Moses was generally available, while elements of the story were distributed over several *suras* of the Qur'an.[52]

If it was obvious to Muslims in the 6th/12th century that Moses never set foot in Jerusalem—the city which appears only later in the biblical chronology—why should the Ayyubid inscription in the Dome of the Rock identify the building with Moses' staff? The answer lies probably in another aspect of the Qur'anic quotation. First, God's unity and majesty are stressed in the sentence before the story of Moses begins—*Allahu la ilaha illa huwa lahu 'l-asma'u 'l-husna*. In the following story of the burning bush, the crucial element is God's unmediated presence. God reveals himself to Moses, not through a sign, but speaking directly to him. This is what distinguishes Moses from other prophets: He is the *kalim Allah*, elected from among the people by God himself. Al-Zamakhshari makes it explicit that 'God's presence was thrown upon him' *(fa-ulqiyat 'alaihi 'l-sakina)*.[53] The presence of God as the pivotal element of this story also plays the central part in the interpretation of the building of the Dome of the Rock.

From a work on the 'Virtues of Jerusalem' written shortly after Saladin's conquest, written by the pious 'Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Jauzi, it becomes evident that the old, mostly Jewish, traditions which had formed a background for 'Abd al-Malik's construction in the late 1st/7th century, were still current in the Ayyubid period. According to these *Fada'il al-Quds*, Jerusalem was created, together with Mecca and Medina, before all other places on earth. The divine *baraka* is focused on this place, on which God fixes his eyes at least twice a day. The Rock is the place from which God ascended to heaven after having finished his creation, and God's throne will be placed on it for the Last Judgment. The Sakhra is regarded as the centre of the world, a veritable *umbilicus mundi*.[54]

The holiness of the place is also expressed by the order *fa-khla' na'laika*, which could be interpreted as a sign of reverence.[55] Rather technically, it is added that Moses should meet the *baraka* of the spot with his own feet.[56] The valley of Tuwa in return bears the epithet of *al-wadi 'l-muqaddas*, and while some commentators go to great lengths to give an etymology of 'Tuwa', al-Qurtubi's *tafsir* mentions that the valley was holy because it was clean; and it was clean because God had driven all unbelievers from it.[57] The parallel between the valley of Tuwa and the Sakhra becomes evident. God had driven the Crusaders from Jerusalem—through Saladin's hand, as the Aqsa inscription states—and thus prepared the city for re-consecration by the Muslims.

[45] Rosen-Ayalon (in ed. Kühnel) 1997-98.

[46] Rosen-Ayalon's apodictic statement 'This is precisely the meaning of the inscription: the Dome of the Rock, which had been Templum Domini under the Crusaders, is transformed once again into the Muslim Qubbat al-Sakhra' (*ibid.*, p. 466) can only be taken with a pinch of salt. Her comparison 'The snake which Salah al-Din is told not to fear and to seize is the Crusaders' *(ibid.)* remains structurally unclear: 'Saladin—Moses'; 'snake—Sakhra', and at the same time 'snake—Crusaders'.

[47] Zamakhshari (ed. Ahmad) 1406/1986, Vol. III, 53.

[48] Ibn Kathir (ed. al-Mar'ashli) 1406/1986, Vol. III, 150-51

[49] Suyuti 1411/1990, Vol. IV, 523.

[50] Nasafi n.d., Vol. II, 351.

[51] Al-Tabari (ed. de Goeje *et al.*) 1879-1901 Pt. I, 463-67, Vol. I.3 (transl. Brinner) 1991, 48-52.

[52] For an analysis of Muslim literature on Moses, see Tottoli 2002, especially pages 31-5 (where the story from Qur'an 20 appears somewhat distorted); Wheeler 2002, *passim* (with a tendency to blur the limits between traditions on individual prophets).

[53] Zamakhshari (ed. Ahmad) 1406/1986 Vol. III, 54.

[54] Ibn al-Jauzi (ed. Jabbur) 1979, 72-3, 84-5, 139-41. Ibn al-Jauzi mentions another building, the Qubbat al-Mi'raj, explicitly as serving to commemorate of Muhammad's ascension to the heavens (page 119). This makes it abundantly clear that, in the Ayyubid period, the veneration of this event was not yet connected with the Sakhra itself. The extant building of the Qubbat al-Mi'raj largely received its present shape in 597/1200-1.

[55] Zamakhshari (ed. Ahmad) 1406/1986 Vol. III, 55: *Ihtiraman li'l-buq'a wa-tashrif li-qudsiha.*

[56] *Ibid.*; al-Nasafy n.d. Vol. II, 352.

[57] Qurtubi 1952-65 Vol. XI, 175.

The lives of prophets and patriarchs were frequently taken as prefigurations of current events. Examples of this exegetical practice from the Ayyubid period are not hard to find.[58] In the case of Saladin, it is true that during the early years of his reign he was mostly paralleled with his namesake Yusuf, the Joseph of the Qur'an and the Old Testament.[59] However, Saladin could also be understood as acting parallel to Moses. Saladin had led his troops across Sinai, just as Moses had done with the Children of Israel.[60] Like Moses, Saladin's official politics had one declared aim—to conquer the Promised Land (or the Holy Land respectively), held by an enemy people.[61] Very much unlike the prophet, Saladin had not died on Mount Nebo, but had conquered the Holy Land from the east, as the Israelites had done after Moses' death. In some way, Saladin had accomplished what Moses had prepared, for a second time. Through his conquest, Saladin fulfilled Moses' call to enter the Holy Land—a call which was very much on the mind of his contemporaries. It is Moses' words *Ya qauma udkhulu 'l-ard al-muqaddasa alladhi kataba Llah lakum* which appear right at the beginning of Ibn al-Jauzi's *Fada'il al-Quds*.[62]

With the inscription in the Qubbat al-Sakhra, the commemoration of Moses received a firm place in the holy topography of Jerusalem, at least for the Ayyubid period. With the construction of the Qubbat Musa further south-west on the Haram, a separate building was devoted to the prophet, under the reign of al-Salih Ayyub in 647/1249-50.[63] In later periods, the commemoration of Moses in Jerusalem was connected with other places. Ibn Fadlallah al-ʿUmari mentions in passing that God's speech to Moses took place on the Mount of Olives (al-Tur).[64] Evliya Çelebi reports that a *tekke* on the Mount of Olives served as a 'Maqam Musa' in which the relic of Moses' staff was venerated.[65] At this time, the commemoration of Moses had long found its new centre, promoted by Sultan Baibars I in the early Mamluk period, where it flourishes up to the present day—the *maqam* of al-Nabi Musa near Jericho.[66]

[58] See, for example, the famous episode of the year 618/1221-22, when the three Ayyubid princes al-Kamil Muhammad, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa and al-Ashraf Musa celebrated their victory over the Franks of the Fifth Crusade, and a singer recited a verse in which the three prophets Moses, Jesus and Muhammad were named, thereby using the first names of the princes as an allusion to the prophets; Maqrizi (ed. Ziyada) 1934-58 Vol. I.1, 209 ; (transl. Broadhurst) 1980, 187. For another example from Ayyubid Egypt, see van Reeth in (ed. Vermeulen and de Smet) 1998.

[59] Möhring in (ed. Lev) 1997, 187-192.

[60] The archaeological record of the Ayyubid Sinai route between Egypt and Southern Syria has been explored in the recent past; one stop on this route was the little oasis of 'the Springs of Moses' (ʿUyun Musa); see Mouton 1996.

[61] The measure to which Saladin's politics were geared to the *jihad* and the reconquest of Jerusalem has been debated. Ibn al-Athir's old accusation of hypocrisy against Saladin has been taken up by Ehrenkreutz 1972; for contradictory statements see Möhring 1980; Lyons and Jackson 1982, *passim*.

[62] Ibn al-Jauzi 1979, 67.

[63] See Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994 Vol. III, 64-5 . It is remarkable that the chronicler of Mamluk Jerusalem, Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaimi, denies a connection of this building with Moses, although the alternative name which he mentions, 'Qubbat al-Shajara', points directly to the event of the burning bush; 1388/1968 Vol. II, 21 For a brief analysis of Qubbat Musa, see also Korn 2007.

[64] Al-ʿUmari (ed. Krawulsky) 1407/1986, 123.

[65] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname* 1935, Vol. IX, 482-3 .

[66] See Sadan 1990; Tamari 1990.

Chapter 19
AYYUBID JERUSALEM IN PERSPECTIVE:
THE CONTEXT OF AYYUBID
ARCHITECTURE IN BILAD AL-SHAM

Lorenz Korn

When Saladin's troops conquered Jerusalem in 583/1187, this was not only a decisive moment in the political history of the Levant. The conquest also had multiple repercussions at the cultural level, starting from the physical expulsion of the Frankish population from reconquered towns and cities, and affecting also the slightly less tangible spheres of literature and the collective psyche.[1] It is difficult to assess whether the effect of the conquest of Jerusalem was stronger on the Muslim or on the Latin side. For the city of Jerusalem itself, the change from Crusader to Ayyubid rule meant, first of all, a heavy loss of population. Second, the activities of the Latin church were reduced from a dominant role to practically nil, for the programme of islamisation initiated by Saladin came into immediate effect. Although Jerusalem was to fall back into Crusader hands in 626/1229 for ten years and again briefly in 639/1241, the effect of Saladin's conquest was not to be reversed. Jerusalem remained an Islamic city with important Christian and Jewish minorities.[2]

In the field of architecture, the potential was there for fundamental change. The re-islamisation of the city required building activity.[3] The question to be asked is what decisions were taken as to what Islamic Jerusalem should look like, and, consequently, which elements of architecture and decoration were to be used. In other parts of Bilad al-Sham, a stylistic development had already begun in which architectural elements were exchanged between the two major centres, Damascus and Aleppo. One might expect that Jerusalem would have been included in this movement. The huge propagandistic importance of Saladin's conquest would

have been reason enough to give the Holy City a new face with buildings in a style similar to that of the Muslim cities of Syria or, possibly, Egypt.

The styles of Aleppo and Damascus in the 12th century

Ayyubid architecture in Bilad al-Sham can be seen as the direct continuation of a development which had started under the Saljuqs, Burids and Zangids. However, when Saladin invaded Syria from Egypt to take over the dominions of his late overlord Nur al-Din, architecture in Syria was not a unified stylistic entity. Political integration of the large principalities of Aleppo and Damascus under Nur al-Din had not yet resulted in a merger of the distinct regional styles. But the beginnings of such a composite style may be sensed.[4]

A fresh start in the architecture of Bilad al-Sham in the late 5th/11th—early 6th/12th century is marked by some monuments in a style which has been labelled as a 'Classical Revival'.[5] The use of elements from classical antiquity is one of the most important features of this group of buildings, which includes, among others, the minaret of the Great Mosque of Aleppo, and the Madrasa al-Shuʿaibiyya (also known as Qastal al-Shuʿaibiyya or Jamiʿ al-Tuta) in the same city. On the latter building (pls 19.1, 19.2), the cornice running round the top of the building reproduces a classical entablature with striking authenticity. Other elements like pilasters and *tabulae ansatae* demonstrate a general familiarity of the builders with monuments from classical antiquity, and their decoration. The impact of these models and their transformation went

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[1] For reports of the conquest, see ʿImad al-Din 1888, 47-63, (transl.) Massé 1972, 44-54; Ibn Khallikan (ed.) ʿAbbas, Vol. VII, 183-8, Mujir al-Din 1388/1968, Vol. I, 328-40.

[2] See Hiyari in Asali (ed.); Little in Asali (ed.).

[3] For the architecture of Jerusalem, see Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994. For the earlier Islamic monuments, see Rosen-Ayalon 1989; Raby and Johns 1992; Elad 1995; Johns 1999.

[4] For Ayyubid architecture in general, see Allen 1996-99; Korn (in press). For Aleppo, see Tabbaa 1997. For Damascus, see Herzfeld 1942-48, *Monuments Ayyoubides* 1938-50, Moaz 1990.

[5] Allen 1986.

Pl. 19.2 Aleppo, Qastal al-Shuʿaibiyya (Jamiʿ al-Tuta), detail of cornice.

or by the emphasis on elaborate jointing by means of the bevelled edges of the ashlar. The masons demonstrated special skill in vaults that cut into each other, resulting in complicated spherical surfaces, for example in the vaulting of the portal niche of the Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya. Certain areas were emphasised by sculpted decoration, such as medallions with arabesques, cornices with vegetal and geometric decoration, and so on. A typical element is the profile consisting of a rising ledge and a groove, which is alternately pointed and lobed.[8]

At about the same time as in northern Syria, building activity in Damascus was revived. The style of Damascus was clearly fed from a different source, namely the ʿAbbasid tradition of Iraq. Brick and stucco were widely used as building materials. Nur al-Din's hospital and his funerary *madrasa* strike the eye with their steep domes, which even from the outside betray that they are composed of superimposed *muqarnas* cells. The same motif appears, cut into half, as a niche head above the entrance to the hospital.[9] It is reasonable to assume that domes of this type existed earlier in Baghdad; later Iraqi examples have been preserved.[10] Nur al-Din's hospital is built on a cruciform plan with four *iwans* in the axes of the central courtyard—a scheme which can equally be ascribed to influence from the eastern Islamic lands.[11] Besides, the re-used Hellenistic or Roman pediment over the portal demonstrates that in Damascus, too, the classical heritage was being revived to some degree. On the *madrasa*, a conspicuous element appears on the portal niche. The keystone of its arch projects downwards, as if hanging in the air (later, it was supported by an additional arch). This feat of the stonemason betrays a similarly skilful approach to stonework as in Aleppo. However, the builders of the *madrasa* left the adjacent surface of the walls without sculpted decoration. Instead, they applied a colouristic effect

Pl. 19.1 Aleppo, Qastal al-Shuʿaibiyya (Jamiʿ al-Tuta), portal, view from west.

beyond simple copying, in a process of creative selection and adaptation, which was quite often in contradiction to the rules that had determined the arrangement of architectural elements in the classical canon.[6] Other distinct features of north Syrian architecture under the Saljuqs and their successors are the perfect handling of stone, a highly developed sense of geometry, and relatively modest dimensions. Important buildings in Aleppo under Nur al-Din, like the Maristan Nur al-Din or the Madrasa al-Muqaddamiyya, measure just twenty metres square. On this scale, the process of construction could be organised in a simple manner. Architects were not much more than stonemasons, responsible for the plan and its execution on the site, and they probably also worked with their hands.[7] The superb quality of stereotomy is underlined by the contrast between richly ornamented parts and plain, smooth surfaces,

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[6] According to Panofsky 1960, the influence of classical elements in the various 'renascences' in medieval art is characterised by the 'principle of disjunction' between form and content; see also Allen 1986, 89–92.

[7] Allen 1996–99, ch. 2, 'The Business of Architecture'.

[8] Allen 1996–99, ch. 2.

[9] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1942], I, 1–14, 28, 40–46; Allen 1986, 57, 92–93; Allen 1996–99, Ayyubid Architecture, ch. 2, 'Bīmāristān of Nūr al-Dīn, Damascus'

[10] Tabbaa 1985.

[11] The intricate problem of the origin of the cruciform *madrasa* cannot be discussed here extensively. For relevant literature, see *EI*, Vol. V, 1125–28, s.v. 'Madrasa—The Institution' (J Pedersen—G Makdisi); *ibid.* 1136–54, s.v. 'Madrasa—Architecture' (R Hillenbrand); Meinecke 1988; Hillenbrand 1994, 173–251, particularly 184–193; Korn (in press), Vol 1, 47, 151

Pl. 19.3 Damascus, Madrasa al-ʿAdiliyya al-Kubra, portal.

Pl. 19.4 Damascus, Turba al-Najmiyya, view from southeast.

by using stones of white and reddish colour in alternating layers *(ablaq)* in the façade of the tomb chamber, to the left of the *madrasa* entrance.[12]

The architectural history of Ayyubid Bilad al-Sham is dominated by the mutual *rapprochement* of the regional styles of Aleppo and Damascus. This is already visible in the second funerary *madrasa* which Nur al-Din commissioned in Damascus on a grander scale, the Madrasa al-ʿAdiliyya al-Kubra.[13] Here, the portal niche (pl. 19.3) is richly sculpted with a surrounding profile in the shape of half stars, and with interlaced bands, a sculpted frame for an inscription and a star pattern in the back wall. The arch culminates in a hanging keystone, behind which are hidden two little *muqarnas* domes. The whole appears as an ingenious interplay of stonecutting and alternating colours. While the hanging keystone and the *ablaq* were probably

inspired by the Madrasa al-Nuriyya, the sculpted decoration seems to be an import from Aleppo. The *muqarnas* domes and the star pattern of the back wall can, in some way, be seen as parallel phenomena. Neither of them originated in Syria. The *muqarnas* dome had found its way from Iraq to Damascus; to transpose it from brick into stone meant an adaptation to the Syrian practice of stonecutting. The star pattern, consisting of interlaced angular bands, resembled the *muqarnas* in its partition into small units and in the geometric construction on the basis of a grid which extends—potentially—in all directions and is limited only by the available surface. Baghdad has been assumed to be the centre in which these decorative devices developed and whence they were spread.[14] Both elements become characteristic features of architectural decoration in Bilad al-Sham in the Ayyubid period.

Under the reign of Saladin, funerary architecture in Damascus developed towards a standardised scheme, but with notable variations. The Turba al-Najmiyya (543/1148 or 575/1179)[15] already marks a decisive step from earlier

Allen 1986, 93–5; see also Moaz 1990, 171–7

Although the question remains open to what degree the building had been completed when Nur ad-Din died in 570/1174, and which parts belong to the second phase of 612/1219, it is safe to assume that large parts of the portal were designed and executed in the first building phase; see Allen 1996–99, ch. 2, 'Madrasah al-ʿAdilīyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 128, no. Dam/29.

14 Necipoglu 1995, 91–109.
15 Herzfeld 1942–48 [1946], III, 43–44; Allen 1996–99, ch. 1, 'Turbah al-Najmīyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 105, no. Dam/5.

Pl. 19.5 Aleppo, Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya, portal.

Pl. 19.6 Aleppo, Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya, right half of prayer hall façade.

examples towards the standard type (pl. 19.4). The cubical base is built of large ashlar blocks up to the height of the door lintel. Above this, the stones become smaller. The portal has a monolithic lintel and a low relieving arch with a basalt keystone. The transitional zone and the ribbed dome are built of brick covered with plaster. The drum is divided into an octagonal and then a sixteen-sided zone. Windows and blind arches alternate, in the lower zone as double arcades under a larger arch. The stucco decoration of the interior—a cornice of *muqarnas* cells, and profiles framing the blind arches in the transitional zone—is rather plain. The Turba al-Khatuniyya[16] in the suburb of al-Salihiyya, dated 577/1181-82, varies the programme slightly, with less top-heavy proportioning and a more elegant solution to the double arcades in the octagonal drum. A completely different building type is represented by the Turba al-Shamiyya, part of the Madrasa al-Shamiyya *extra muros*.[17] The tomb chamber has a tripartite courtyard façade,

in which rectangular doors are combined with pointed-arch windows above. A re-used piece taken from a classical cornice forms the lintel of the central door. This *turba*, built on a nearly square plan with retracted corners, is covered with a cross vault which springs at an extremely low level. The cave-like room is given a special atmosphere thanks to the rich stucco decoration. Ledges and lobed frames divide the wall and vault surfaces into fields, the centres of which are occupied by medallions. For this type of mausoleum, featuring a vault instead of a dome, there are a few later examples in al-Salihiyya, for example the Turba al-Nazifiyya, dated 602/1206, and the Turbat Mithqal of 621/1224.[18]

In Aleppo, an increased pace of stylistic development can be observed at the end of Saladin's reign. The *madrasa* built by the eunuch Jamal al-Din Shadhbakht in 589/1193, on the main thoroughfare of the Aleppo *suq*, demonstrates how the 'ornamented style' of the Zangid period was gradually

Meinecke 1983, 193, 227, no. 56; Allen 1996-99, ch. 3, 'Turbah al-Khatuniyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 106-107, no. Dam/9.
Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 38-43; Moaz 1990, 131-147; Allen 1996-99, ch. 3, 'Madrasah al-Shamiyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 109, no. Dam/16.

[18] For the Nazifiyya, see Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 48; Meinecke 1983, 221, no. 35; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 120-121, no. Dam/65. For the Turbat Mithqal, see *Monuments Ayyoubides* 1938-50, 113-17; Meinecke 1983, 226, no. 54; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 134, no. Dam/123

replaced by a new fashion (pls 19.5, 19.6).[19] Of the four wings surrounding the small courtyard, three have been preserved. In their markedly different forms, they were obviously designed for different functions. On the north side, a vaulted *iwan* probably served as a teaching hall. The adjacent tomb chamber is built on a rectangular plan, and roofed with a dome between two short barrel vaults; it communicates with the street through a window. Residential cells with barrel vaults occupy the east wing, while the south side of the courtyard is formed by the prayer hall, which in turn is roofed by a dome rising above the short lateral vaults (mitred vaults). The façade of the prayer hall is arranged along three axes, with a wider central part and narrower lateral parts (pl. 19.6). The three doors (in their present state incorporating later alterations) are supplemented by blind niches in the upper registers. It can be surmised that the architect attempted to bind the three wings together following a unified concept, and accordingly raised the façade of the prayer hall to the same level as that of the *iwan* opposite. The result is a screen wall of steep proportions which completely hides the dome behind it. Decorative elements of the Zangid style are lacking on the courtyard façades, except for the bevelled margins of the masonry in the *iwan*. By contrast, the interior of the prayer hall is dominated by the marble decoration of the *mihrab*. Continuous mouldings of intertwined bands frame the niche and the flanking columns. While these elements appear as descendants of the 'ornamented style', the decoration around the *mihrab* arch is a new invention. It consists of broad interwoven bands which extend from the lobes on the archivolt to cover a rectangular field. The use of different colours is an essential feature of this marble inlay work. In the following decades, this kind of wall decoration around *mihrab* niches, *iwans* and portals became widespread in Syria and adjacent regions.[20]

Of still greater importance is another element which, in the case of this particular building, has lost its original appearance. The entrance portal of the Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya (pl. 19.5), which is somewhat unassuming in its present surroundings, must have had a different effect when it was still unimpaired by the vaulting of the *suq* and the high street level, which has risen over the centuries. It is the earliest preserved example of a full *muqarnas* portal in stone. Two pendentives of *muqarnas* cells form the transition from rectangle to half-octagon in the niche head, which consists of two rows of staggered cells and a slightly faceted shell. Although of modest dimensions (some 2m x 1m in ground plan, some 5m in elevation) and of simple construction, this niche has a more elegant appearance than the vaulted portal niches of the Zangid period in Aleppo, or the stucco *muqarnas* of the Maristan Nuri

Pl. 19.7 Maʿarrat al-Nuʿman, Madrasa of Abu 'l-Fawaris, rear wall of portal niche.

in Damascus. In this case, the innovation is connected with the name of an architect, Qasim ibn Saʿid, who signed his work in a roundel below the dedicatory inscription.

In some respects the Madrasa of Abu 'l-Fawaris in Maʿarrat al-Nuʿman, founded in 595/1198-99, is comparable to the Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya.[21] While the dimensions and the arrangement of the four wings around the narrow courtyard are very similar to those of the Shadhbakhtiyya, the architect has found different solutions for the single parts of the building. The niche of the portal is closed with a trilobed arch, the profile of which continues through the flanks and the back wall of the niche, resulting in a folded vault. An interesting feature can be observed on the 'inverted keystones' of the trilobed arch which point inwards between the lobes. They are cut in such a way that they would fall if they were not held in place by notches which remain invisible from the outside. Below the vaulting and above the lintel of the portal, the back wall of the niche is built of joggled blocks, the outlines of which are overlaid with a relief design of interlaced star patterns (pl. 19.7). In one of the inscribed fields further below, the name of the architect is given as Qahir ibn ʿAli ibn Qanit. Apparently, dispensing with the application of *muqarnas* on the portal was a conscious choice because the interior of the building shows that the architect was familiar with this device. Behind the portal there follows a domed vestibule, from which the domed tomb chamber is accessible to the right. Of the other three wings around the courtyard, the one to the north is largely a modern replacement of the part where residential cells must have been located. On the western side, an *iwan* served as classroom, and the prayer hall occupies the south side (pl. 19.8). Its façade is tripartite, with a larger arcade in the centre. The voussoirs which form the relieving arch above are so long that they form a radiating motif, which accentuates the middle axis of the façade. Above, the dome of the prayer hall rises on

Herzfeld 1954-56, 255-60; Allen 1996-99, ch. 5, 'Shadhbakht and His Madrasa'; Tabbaa 1997, 112-13, 134-35; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 215, no. Al/8.
E g., the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya, ca1220, and the complex built by Sultan Qalaʾun in Cairo, 1284

[21] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 5-6; Allen 1986, 96-7; Allen 1996-99, ch. 4, 'Madrasah Abu 'l Fawāris, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 264, no. NSy/10.

Pl. 19.8 Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, Madrasa of Abu 'l -Fawaris, upper part of prayer hall façade.
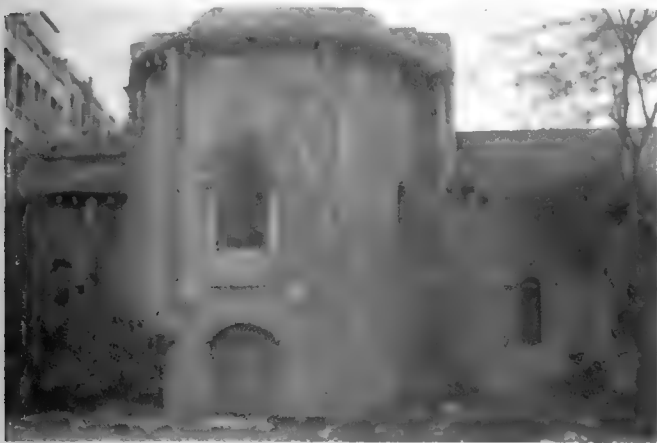
Pl. 19.10 Beirut, former Church of St John, view from east.

Pl. 19.9 Aleppo, Mashhad al-Muhassin, entrance portal.

its octagonal drum with a plain splayed cornice. Inside, the dome rests on *muqarnas* pendentives, while the lateral vaults are of simple pointed barrel type, and not mitred at the ends. In all, it seems as if Qahir had designed the architectural details in deliberate opposition to Qasim ibn Sa'id's work of six years earlier. The two *madrasas* demonstrate the range within which architects moved in the late 6th/12th century.

A parallel case can be found in the portals of the two Shi'ite memorial buildings in Aleppo, the Mashhad al-Muhassin and the Mashhad al-Husain.[22] While the latter was erected as a new building with the participation of the Ayyubid ruler al-Zahir Ghazi in 592/1195-96,[23] the Mashhad al-Muhassin is the result of several different building phases. Nothing is preserved from the first building phase of the 4th/10th century, but some parts can be seen to be pre-Ayyubid. The portal

(pl. 19.9) is dated 594/1197-98.[24] It can be interpreted as an enlarged version of the Shadhbakhtiyya portal, built on a half-square ground plan, with *muqarnas* pendentives forming the transition to the half octagon. The two rows of cells above are of different height and convey a more lively impression, but the overall appearance is calm and dignified.[25] The Mashhad al-Husain offers a different, more dramatic picture. The portal niche is comparatively high and narrow, and its arch is framed with a three-dimensional zigzag archivolt in *ablaq* stripes. Since the niche is deeper than a half square in ground plan, the construction of the *muqarnas* hood had to follow a more intricate pattern. The relief of the back wall of the niche is dominated by a large knot which frames the building inscription. Its oblique sides add to the dynamic appearance

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[22] For the Mashhad al-Muhassin, see Sobernheim 1909, Herzfeld 1954-56, 193-201, Tabbaa 1997, 108-10; Allen 1996-99, ch. 4, 'Mashhad al-Muhassin'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 220, no. Al/15. For the Mashhad al-Husain, see Herzfeld 1954-56, 239-48; Tabbaa 1997, 110-21; Allen 1996-99, ch. 5, Mashhad al-Husayn'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 218-19, no. Al/14.

[23] Herzfeld's erroneous date of AH 596, instead of AH 592 in the inscription, has been perpetuated by other authors

[24] Contrary to the older literature, which continued Sobernheim's error that the inscription contained no date

[25] From the shape of the *muqarnas* cells, which resemble those of the *madrasa* at al-Ma'arrat al-Nu'man, Terry Allen concludes that Qahir ibn 'Ali was the architect of the portal
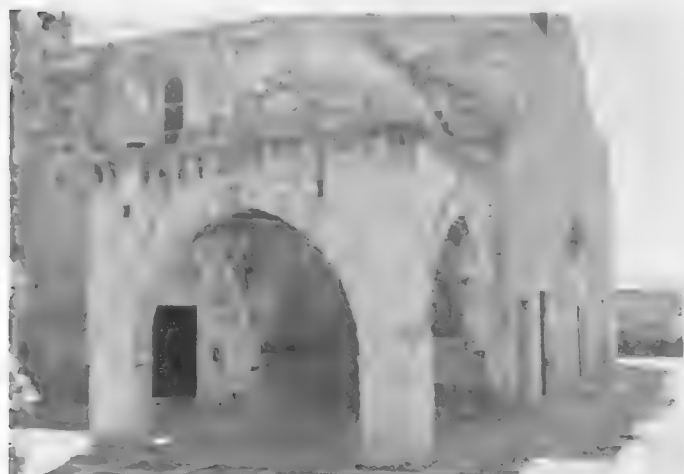
Pl. 19.11 Jubail, so-called Baptistery of the Church of St John, view from northwest.

of the whole. Compared to the portal of the Mashhad al-Muhassin, the architect of Mashhad al-Husain appears to have sought a conspicuous effect.

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem

Apart from rather utilitarian creations like fortifications, Crusader architecture in the Kingdom of Jerusalem produced works of considerable artistic pretension, mainly in the religious sphere. On the majority of Crusader churches, to make a generalised statement, elements of Romanesque church architecture from Europe, or rather southern France, were transferred to the Holy Land.[26] The cathedrals of Beirut (pl. 19.10) and Giblet (Jubail), for example, erected from 1113 onwards, are three-aisled halls with a wide nave and narrower aisle, covered respectively with pointed barrel vaults, and cross vaults on transverse arches. The capitals of the pillars and half-columns are close to examples in Burgundy, southern and western France. The same is true for the window profiles and for the outer walls with their corbelled cornices. The roofing, with plastered vaults instead of tiled wooden constructions, is the only element which was adapted to Levantine conditions.[27]

In Jerusalem itself, the picture was different. The Church of St Anne, completed probably in the late 1130s, is a deviation from the purely European building type.[28] In its eastern part, the shape of the apses, as well as the dome over the nave, can be seen to be derived from Byzantine prototypes. In its architectural decoration, too, eastern and western elements seem to merge. For example, the window arch of the west façade consists of 'cushion voussoirs', which
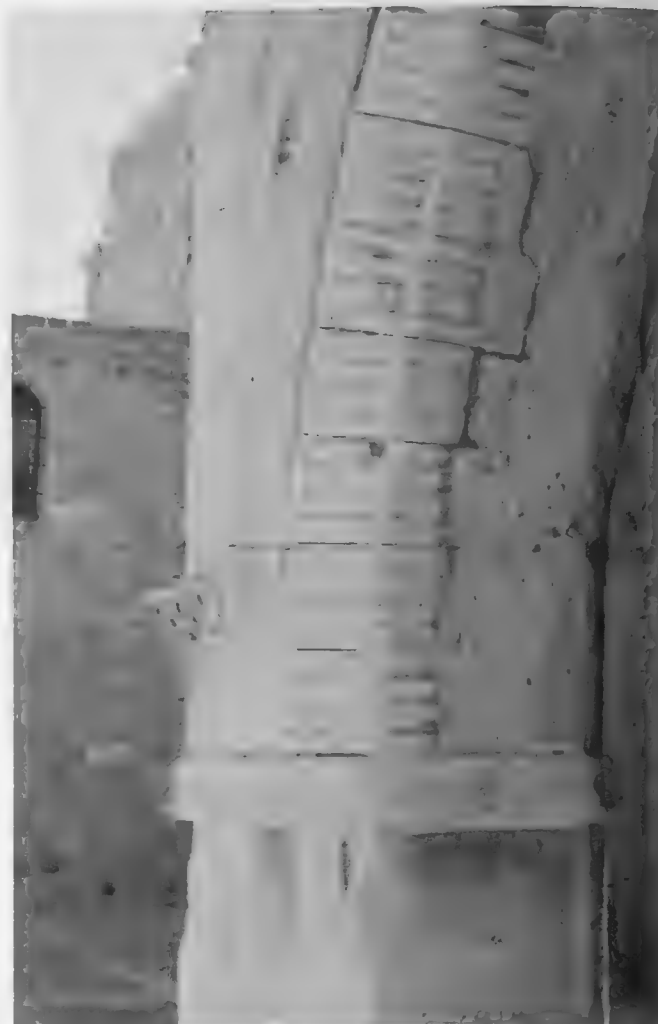
Pl. 19.12 Jubail, so-called baptistery on the Church of St John, detail of northeastern corner.

were certainly not a European Romanesque invention. They occur on one of the Fatimid city gates of Cairo, which were built from 1085 onwards, most probably by Armenian masters from northern Mesopotamia.[29] This geographical indication fits with cushion voussoirs preserved in the citadel of Harran. In Crusader architecture, the motif of the cushion voussoir appears on another important building, the so-called Baptistery in the Cathedral of Giblet.[30] Built as a single dome on a square plan, it stands against the north wall of the church (pls 19.11, 19.12). Like a baldachin, it opens in wide arches on three sides. Under a continuous moulding, which connects the archivolts around the corners, every arch is decorated in a different fashion, with a zigzag archivolt, cushion voussoirs, and triangular toothing as the principal elements. Along the upper edge of the building runs the corbelled cornice which is typical of Crusader architecture. Evidently, elements from the 'indigenous' tradition have intermingled with European Romanesque elements of architectural decoration.

26 Enlart 1925-28; Pringle 1993-98.

27 Enlart 1925-28, Vol. II, 68-78, 118-22; Folda 1995, 70-3.

28 Folda 1995, 133-6.

29 See Creswell, Vol. I, 212-13; Allen 1986, 73-8.

30 Enlart 1925-28, Vol. II, 122-3; dated 'c. 1200'; Allen 1986, 73; Folda 1995, 70; first half of 12th century.

Pl. 19.13 Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, capital in the cloister (after Enlart, pl. 101, fig. 309).

The Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is the principal work of religious architecture of the Crusades.[31] The building originated in the complex consisting of a basilica and a rotunda, erected under the Emperor Constantine the Great in about 325, but had been substantially changed in a rebuilding sponsored by the Byzantine emperors after the destruction ordered by the Caliph al-Hakim in 1009. The rotunda around the tomb of Christ, which remained as the principal part of the church, was added to by the Crusaders in several campaigns after the church had been made the seat of the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem in 1099. Among the first parts to be built was the cloister of the canons, which can be dated 1114-18. Its remnants, to the east of the church, show a characteristic detail. The vaults were supported by transverse arches springing from twin corbels, the lower parts of which are shaped like two column shafts emerging from the wall and bent upwards at a right angle.[32] These 'elbow corbels' became

a hallmark of Crusader architecture; later they also occurred in southern France.[33] In this particular case, the capitals of the corbels consist of a bulbous gadrooned chalice and a splay-faced abacus with a crenellated top (pl. 19.13). Boase has explained the appearance of these 'curious capitals' as the result of 'local work by masons unused to the tradition required by them'.[34] Although no earlier examples of elbow corbels are known from the region, this view is supported by the general attitude towards architectural decoration. Treating a column shaft as a flexible element which can be 'bent' is similar to that bending of continuous mouldings around windows and corners which occurs so frequently in the Syrian stoneworking tradition.

The important Crusader additions to the Byzantine rotunda, the choir with ambulatory and the transept, are dated by their consecration in 1149. However, it is not wholly clear whether the campaign was finished by that date or whether work on the south façade continued for some further years.[35] The shape of the choir follows the scheme of French churches on the pilgrimage route to Santiago.[36] A change in plan might have resulted in the erection of the dome over the crossing, perhaps as an adaptation to the frequent usage of domes in Jerusalem as baldachins of commemorative function, surmounting holy locations.[37] The south wall of the transept (pl. 19.14) forms the entrance façade of the whole complex. It is of overarching importance for the history of architectural decoration in medieval Jerusalem. So much has been written about the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre façade that it would be superfluous to give a complete description and analysis here.[38] Only a few points should be emphasised.

First, the façade has the character of a richly decorated screen, behind which the architecture of the church is almost completely hidden. While the two storeys have a counterpart in the interior gallery, the two axes are not motivated by the church interior itself. They can be explained as a motif of particular splendour, a ceremonial entrance.[39] The rich decoration of columns and archivolts which frames the portals and windows, of sculpted friezes which extend across the façade and bend over the archivolts, and of cornices which form horizontal layers, does not recur anywhere inside the church. There is no direct

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[31] From the vast literature, see in particular: Schmaltz 1918, Enlart 1925-28, Vol II, 136-82, Allen 1986, 80-1, Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994,Vol. II, 183-216; Folda 1995, 57-60; 177-245; Krüger 2000.

[32] Enlart 1925-28, pl. 101, fig. 309.

[33] Enlart 1925-28,Vol. I, 73.

[34] Boase 1967, 9.

[35] The latter opinion is expressed by Krüger, 2000; Folda 1995, 178-79, takes the consecration as indicating that the building was completed.

[36] See already Schmaltz 1918, 189-205; Folda 1995, 228.

[37] Folda 1995, 214.

[38] For literature see above, note 31, in addition Kenaan 1973; Buschhausen in Folda (ed.); Rosen-Ayalon 1985.

[39] In the tradition of French and Spanish Romanesque churches, as Folda 1995, 214, remarks. On the other hand, it can be remarked that cornices and friezes extend beyond the two axes of the transept façade to the adjacent parts of the walls; on the left, the frieze in the upper storey is covered by the belfry in front. For the gates of the Haram al-Sharif, the Golden Gate in particular, as local prototypes of the ceremonial gateway, see Kenaan 1973; Buschhausen in Folda (ed.).

Pl. 19.14 Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre, south façade.

relationship between the composition of the façade and what lies behind. This feature makes it easy to disconnect the stylistic classification of the façade from that of the church.

Second, different sources have been identified for the individual parts of the decoration. Since close connections between the façade of the Holy Sepulchre on the one hand, and Provence, Aquitania, Italy, and local styles of Jerusalem on the other have been established for the capitals, friezes, lintel reliefs, and acanthus friezes, it is clear that the workshop responsible for the execution of the façade consisted of masters of different origins.[*] A possible explanation could lie in the general shortage of qualified labour in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In the case of the Holy Sepulchre, pressure of time may have played a role, because the consecration of the church was fixed for the fiftieth anniversary of the Crusader conquest, in July 1149. However, not too much weight should be placed on technical constraints. It cannot be excluded that the façade was finished only after the consecration. Besides, one might assume that a deliberate decision lay behind the stylistic mix. It could have been considered an imperial motif that different 'nations' contributed to the most visible part of the building.[41]

Third, elements of classical origin play a substantial part in the decoration of the façade. Both storeys terminate with nearly identical cornices which follow late Roman standards. While the lower cornice, which rises towards the central part in a step, seems to have been made for the Crusader church, the case seems less clear with the 'upper cornice, which appears to be partly re-used Roman architectural sculpture, and which was also copied by Crusader masons for the moulding that separates the first and second stories.'[42] It is remarkable that the close copying of a Roman cornice occurred in Jerusalem at almost the same time as in Aleppo, on Nur al-Din's Madrasa al-Shu'aibiyya. The attitude towards classical antiquity seems to have been identical.[43] Considering that the architect of the Shu'aibiyya bore the name 'al-Muqaddasi', one might even be tempted to speculate about closer connections.

Finally, it has already been mentioned that local sources of architectural decoration can be identified in certain elements. The acanthus frieze which frames the outer archivolt of the lower portals, bending outwards horizontally at both sides, copies a 7th-century prototype which can also be found in Jerusalem on the Umayyad gates of the Haram al-Sharif.[44] For

the connection with the Ayyubid period, the outer archivolts of the portals and windows in the two storeys are the more important, since they consist of cushion voussoirs. While most authors have acknowledged the Islamic origin of this motif,[45] it has been demonstrated above that some earlier occurrences of this element can be connected with Armenians. Here in Jerusalem, one might equally consider the idea that eastern Christians participated in the Holy Sepulchre workshop. This is supported by the fact that Queen Melisende sustained excellent relations with the Armenians.[46] This connection becomes apparent in the example of the Armenian cathedral of St Jacob, completed *ca* 1165, where the portal from the southern narthex into the church is framed by an arch of cushion voussoirs. While the plan of the church follows an Armenian scheme, some details of the architectural decoration, like the capitals, show European Romanesque features.[47] One might conclude that it was simply a part of the Holy Sepulchre workshop which was employed on the Armenian cathedral; but the fact that cushion voussoirs appear in a prominent position here should also be taken into account.

In sum, the Crusader façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre demonstrates that a 'Christian multi-culturalism'[48] dominated the most prestigious architectural commission in Crusader Jerusalem. Certainly, local Christians played an important part in architectural decoration, if not in construction in general.

Aleppo and Damascus in the first half of the 13th century

The style of Ayyubid buildings in Aleppo under Saladin's descendants was far removed from the 'Classical Revival' and from the 'Ornamented Style' of one or two generations earlier. Austerity can be identified as the principal feature of architecture in Aleppo in the first half of the 13th century. Buildings from this period stand out for their finely tuned proportions, sharply accentuated geometric bodies and masonry of masterly execution rather than for decorative detail.

An example of the style of the first and second decades of the 13th century is the Madrasa al-Zahiriyya (pls 19.15, 19.16), the funerary *madrasa* of the Ayyubid ruler of Aleppo, al-Zahir Ghazi, outside the south gate of the city.[49] According to one burial attested inside the *madrasa* in 606/1210, the building must have been at least partly finished at this date. On

[*] Schmaltz 1918, 211-18; Enlart 1925-28, Vol. II, 160-70; Boase 1967, 10; Kenaan 1973; Buschhausen in Folda (ed.); Folda 1995, 214-25. A number of stylistic connections have been identified by Schmaltz, whose work seems to have received little attention by later authors.

[41] Folda 1995, 228.

[*] Folda 1995, 225. His statement (538, n. 61): 'The issue of reused spolia on the south transept façade, commented on by many over the years but never seriously investigated ...' must be modified insofar as Schmaltz (1918, 222-35) has already given this question some consideration.

[*] Allen 1986, *passim*.

[*] Kenaan 1973; contradicted by Buschhausen in Folda (ed.). Rosen-Ayalon (1985) proposes the idea that the friezes are *spolia*.

[*] Schmaltz 1918, 218-21; Enlart 1925-28, Vol II, 162-163; Folda 1995, 225.

[46] Folda 1995, 247; Folda in Arbeli (ed.).

[47] Enlart 1925-28, Vol. II, 237-40; Narkiss in Narkiss (ed.), 120-44. Narkiss concludes from the similarity of the motifs that the capitals as well as the south portal were the work of French masters.

[48] Folda in Arbeli (ed.).

[*] Herzfeld 1954-56, 273-5; Tabbaa 1997, 141-2; Allen 1996-99, ch. 8, 'Madrasa al-Zāhirīyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 226, no. Al/39.

the exterior, the walls of the building block are almost blank except for the portal. The narrow portal niche is decorated with a *muqarnas* vault and an incised star pattern on the archivolt. Of the four wings around the courtyard, two are adorned with arcaded porticoes, the columns of which bear *spolia* capitals. Rooms are differentiated by their size and their roofing, apparently according to their importance. Thus, residential cells are barrel-vaulted, while the larger rooms are partly domed. The central compartment in a sequence of three domed rooms is accentuated by a *muqarnas* frieze under the dome.

At first sight similar to the Zahiriyya, the Madrasat al-Firdaus in Aleppo, built by the widow of al-Zahir Ghazi, Daifa Khatun, from 633/1235 onwards,[50] forms a rectangular block with few openings. The east façade is dominated by the *muqarnas* niche of the main entrance, which rises slightly higher than the adjacent walls. In addition, a relief inscription band runs across the wall at both sides of the niche. To the north, the building opens in a large external *iwan* to a former garden area. On the plan, it can be seen that the traditional courtyard is supplemented by additional tracts on the north side, which probably served residential functions. They might also be explained by the double function of the building as a *madrasa* and a *khanqah*. The courtyard façades of the Firdaus are unique (pl. 19.17). Continuous arcades line the western, southern and eastern sides. Eight columns and two L-shaped piers bear capitals which correspond in couples on the eastern and western sides, while their shapes increase in complexity from north to south. The portico binds together the different wings around the courtyard; it covers the uneven distribution of openings in their walls, creates a transition between the courtyard and the interior of the rooms, and organises the core of the building in a rhythmical fashion. A large *iwan* on the north side interrupts the arcades and functions as an additional device of spatial orientation. It was probably used for teaching in winter, while the external *iwan*, which opens to the north, would have been used in summer. An inscription band runs across the back walls of the porticoes and the walls of the *iwan*, as the sole decorative element apart from the column capitals. While the two lateral wings consist mainly of oblong halls with three domes in a row, the southern wing is occupied by the prayer hall and two lateral rooms, square in plan, comprising altogether five vaulted bays. A large field of inlaid coloured marble bands occupies the central part of the *qibla* wall around the *mihrab*. It is clearly a descendant of earlier marble decorative schemes like that in the Madrasa al-Shadhbakhtiyya, but livelier in its lines and colours. The Madrasat al-Firdaus is at the same time typical of the building types and style of religious architecture in Ayyubid Aleppo, and—paradoxically—an exception to them. Its size, the two *iwans* and the residential block in the northern part

Herzfeld 1954-56, 297-302; Jalabi-Holdijk 1988, Tabbaa 1997, 168-82, Allen 1996-99, ch. 8, 'Madrasah al-Firdaus'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 242-244, no A. 112

Pl. 19.15 Aleppo, Madrasa al-Zahiriyya, north façade, from northeast.

Pl. 19.16 Aleppo, Madrasa al-Zahiriyya, upper part of portal niche.

Pl. 19.17 Aleppo, Madrasat al-Firdaus, courtyard looking northeast

of the building were uncommon, and the epigraphic bands on the façade and around the courtyard were new to Aleppo. The architecture of the courtyard is unique, not by the fact that it is surrounded by arcades on three sides, but for the apparent harmony with which its parts are integrated.

The courtyard arcades with *muqarnas* capitals appear once more in the Madrasa al-Kamaliyya al-ʿAdimiyya, built 639-49/1241-52 at the order of the jurist and administrator Kamal al-Din ibn al-ʿAdim.[51] Here, they are restricted to the

Tabbaa 1997, 137-8; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 247-8, no. Al/114.

Pl. 19.18 Damascus, Turba of al-Amjad Bahramshah, view from east.

Pl. 19.20 Damascus, Jami' al-Tauba, central part of prayer hall façade with transept.

Pl. 19.19 Damascus, Madrasat al-Sahiba, north façade.

Pl. 19.21 Damascus, Madrasa al-Nasiriyya, north façade.

lateral wings, while the north and south sides of the courtyard are accentuated by *iwans*. Above the arcades, an upper storey with blank walls gives a slightly top-heavy appearance. The building demonstrates that the austere style of the Firdaus continued with little change towards the middle of the century, and that comparatively large dimensions and a high standard of stoneworking were not restricted to royal patronage.

In Damascus, a host of buildings is documented from the 620s/1220s and 630s/1230s.[52] Funerary *madrasas*

and mausolea were built by members of the Ayyubid family, by army officers *(amirs)* and by members of the civilian élite. Patrons came not only from Damascus and its principality, but from other parts of Syria as well. The typical Damascene *turba* continued in nearly the same shape as in the late 12th century, while the construction technique moved further towards the use of ashlar. On the mausoleum of the Madrasa al-Rukniyya

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[52] Humphreys 1989; Korn (in press), Vol. I, 117–18, Vol. II, 132–50.

in Damascus, al-Salihiyya, built *ca* 621-25/1224-28,[53] the drum is completely built of stone instead of the earlier brick. This can also be seen as an adaptation from Aleppo. In some cases, it is unclear to what degree other components, beside the *turba*, were part of a funerary *madrasa*, or whether teaching took place in the tomb chamber. An example is the mausoleum built for al-Amjad Bahramshah (the Ayyubid prince of Baalbek) at some time before 638/1231-41, which was added to the *turba* of his father Farrukhshah (pl. 19.18).[54] Both mausolea were part of *madrasa* foundations, but no remnants of other buildings have been recorded. The concentration on the domed mausoleum can be considered a typical feature of Damascus, since free-standing *turbas* were very uncommon in Aleppo.

As a contrast, influence from Aleppo seems to be very direct in other *madrasa* buildings. The school named 'Madrasat al-Sahiba' after the lady Rabi'a Khatun bint Ayyub, sister of Saladin, built before 628/1231 in al-Salihiyya, Damascus,[55] has a *muqarnas* portal in the centre of its façade which gives the impression of being a descendant of the Zahiriyya portal in Aleppo (pl. 19.19). For the first time in Damascus, shell-like ribbed *muqarnas* cells are employed. However, there are notable differences in other parts. An *ablaq* band crowns the façade, and the interior of the building is built on a strict four-*iwan* plan. Both features occur rarely in the architecture of Aleppo after the turn of the century.

In mosque architecture, the Umayyad mosque in the heart of the city was the binding prototype. The manner in which this model was copied on a smaller scale varied according to the wealth of the patron and the size of the building. Thus, the Friday Mosque of the Hanbalites in al-Salihiyya, begun in 599/1202-03,[56] displays close similarities in plan and elevation, with a prayer hall of three aisles parallel to the *qibla* wall, wider arcades on the central axis, lateral entrances located immediately in front of the prayer hall, and the minaret opposing it; the courtyard arcades even repeat the motif of the twin arcades in the second storey. However, the Ayyubid copy lacks one feature which to the modern viewer appears crucial in the building type of the Umayyad mosque: the transept with its large pediment in the courtyard façade. In turn this is prominent in the large Friday mosque built in the suburb of al-'Uqaiba in 629-32/1231-35 (Jami' al-Tauba; pl. 19.20).[57] Apart from this

congruence, the building has only two aisles in the prayer hall, and the position of the minaret on the northeastern corner of the building is influenced by the urban situation, not by the Umayyad prototype.

The last decades of Ayyubid rule in Damascus saw two contrasting attitudes. On the one hand, established conventions were followed with hardly any change at all, as can be seen in the example of the Jami' al-Jarrah outside the Bab al-Saghir.[58] From the appearance of the building alone one could date it only roughly to the first half of the 13th century, and could not tell that the older mosque, restored in 631/1233-34, had to undergo a complete rebuilding in 648/1250. On the other hand, some original creations can be identified which sought to use the customary style in a different way. The Madrasa al-Qilijiyya, built 643-51/1245-54,[59] took up the motive of the hanging keystone in the portal, but extended the symmetry to two axes, so that the square bay is vaulted with four little domes. In the tomb chamber, small *muqarnas* corbels are placed above the pendentives, to create the transition to a dodecagonal drum, so that the strict axiality of the earlier scheme is avoided. Another attempt to vary the known repertoire can be seen in the portal of the Maristan al-Qaimari, begun in 646/1248.[60] Not only is the colouristic effect enhanced by a stark *ablaq*, but the agitated outlines of the voussoirs of the portal niche and the rich *muqarnas* give a lively impression. Once again, the interior of the building is dominated by the strict symmetry of the four-*iwan* plan and the austerity of empty surfaces and sharp angles is relieved only by stucco roundels in the central *iwan*. The Madrasa al-Nasiriyya (pl. 19.21), built in 653/1255, is among the last religious foundations by an Ayyubid ruler in Damascus.[61] Its façade (the rest of the building is largely destroyed) deviates from the usual pattern which has a *muqarnas* niche on the central axis. Instead, two niches with pointed arches and barrel vaults occupy both ends of the façade, while a large rectangular window opens in between, framed with a rich moulding. What part of the building lay behind the window is not known, but at any rate the opening of the interior towards the street, and the stress on the lateral parts, constitute a radical change in the distribution of elements in the façade. This last example of forceful innovation, however, remained without consequence in late Ayyubid and early Mamluk architecture.

In sum, several elements can be named as characteristic of Ayyubid architecture in Aleppo and Damascus. Buildings were normally oriented towards the courtyard, with different components more or less variably arranged in the four wings.

[53] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 20-26; Meinecke 1983, 232, no. 74, Allen 1996-99, ch. 9, 'Madrasah al-Rukniyah *extra muros*' Korn (in press), Vol. II, 133-4, no. Dam/121.

[54] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 44-6; *Monuments Ayyoubides* 1938-50, 38-40; Moaz 1990, 125-8; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 143, no. Dam/165.

[55] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 9-12; Meinecke 1983, 216, no. 15; Moaz 1990, 315-29; Allen 1996-99, ch. 9, 'Madrasah al-Ṣāḥibah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 141, no. Dam/157.

[56] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1948], IV, 120-123; Meinecke 1983, 221, no. 36; Allen 1996-99, ch. 6, 'Jāmi' al-Hanābilah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 115-16, no. Dam/47.

[57] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1948], IV, 123-125; Allen 1996-99, ch. 9, 'Jāmi' al-Taubah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 143-4, no. Dam/166.

[58] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1948], IV, 126-7; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 146, 158, no. Dam/177, 229.

[59] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 1-4; Moaz 1990, 194-210; Allen 1996-99, ch. 11 'Madrasah al-Qilījīyah'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 152-153, no. Dam/210.

[60] Herzfeld 1942-48 [1946], III, 27-32; Meinecke 1983, 225, no. 51; Allen 1996-99, ch. 10, 'Bīmāristān al-Qaymarī'; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 155-156, no. Dam/219.

[61] Moaz 1990, 204-206; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 163, no. Dam/245.

Pl. 19.22 Baalbek, southeast tower of the citadel, portal.

Strict observance of the four-*iwan* plan is encountered only in a few examples in Damascus. Barrel vaults, cross vaults, and domes were used, sometimes interchangeably in similar positions, while saddle roofs were common for prayer halls and *riwaqs* in Damascus. A 'taste for stone'[62] was common to all Ayyubid buildings, with a high level of workmanship in stereometry and surface finishing. Less energy was spent on decorative detail than on sharp edges and smooth surfaces. The façades were usually dominated by the portal niche, where the decoration was concentrated. Continuous mouldings, *muqarnas*, star patterns, and inscriptions played a major part. In Damascus, and in Aleppo before about 1200, *ablaq* was a distinct feature. Interior decoration frequently boasted marble inlays, particularly on the *mihrabs*.

On the whole, it appears that the styles of Aleppo and Damascus were assimilated by each other, although individual monuments retained a local style. Aleppo rather than Damascus appears as the originator. Some provincial towns were also integrated into the stylistic exchange between Aleppo and Damascus. The *madrasa* in al-Ma'arrat al-Nu'man has already

been mentioned. In Hamah, a *madrasa* with a *dar al-Qur'an* was built in 584/1188-89 and received a twin portal of two doors under a pointed arch, with joggled voussoirs in *ablaq*, which betray that the architect was familiar with the current style in Damascus.[63] In Baalbek, the massive southeastern tower of the citadel was built in a fashion typical of the Ayyubid combination of residential and military functions.[64] Its portal niche (pl. 19.22), decorated with *muqarnas* and a hanging keystone between trilobed arches, could have been created by a master from Damascus, probably in the 1220-30s. Only the provincial centre of Bosra remained stylistically separate, due to the prevalence of basalt as the almost exclusive building material which imposed a certain technique of ceiling construction, and restricted the use of decorative elements. However, even here, vaulting techniques imported from Damascus (and certainly by masters from that city) were used for buildings commissioned by the ruler and his representatives, so that the Ayyubid period appears as a time of strong stylistic influence from the capital.[65]

Syria was connected with neighbouring regions of the Islamic world in terms of artistic exchange. The impact of Iraqi influence in the 11th and early 12th century can only be guessed, but is usually considered to have been considerable. This extends from the special case of sugarloaf domes to the use of *muqarnas* in general, and to geometric star patterns, which were possibly introduced into Baghdad in the late 10th century. The radiating force of prototypes in Baghdad can be gauged by the case of the Madrasat al-Firdaus in Aleppo, which in some of its architectural features was probably influenced by the *madrasa* of the Caliph al-Mustansir in Baghdad. Saljuq Anatolia was also influenced to a degree from Syria, in the form of façade decoration on important monuments such as the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya and the Sultan Han near Aksaray. This testifies to the active role of the Bilad al-Sham in artistic exchange. Relations with Egypt seem to have been hardly any more fruitful, despite political re-unification under the Ayyubids. If the courtyard with vaulted *iwans* became common in Egypt during the Ayyubid period, this can be ascribed to eastern influences, and to the general tendency towards vaulting; but nothing points to the activity of Syrian workshops within Cairo itself.[66]

Ayyubid Jerusalem

It is evident that building activity under the Ayyubids underlined the character of Jerusalem as a holy city. Patronage in Jerusalem was shaped by the role of the city as the most important Islamic

[62] Allen 1986, 23 and *passim*.

[63] Shihada 1970, 93-5; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 203, no. MSy/107

[64] Kohl in Wiegand (ed.), 74-8 (with a dating to the Mamluk period on the basis of a wrongly attributed inscription); Gaube in Sader, Scheffler and Neuwirth (eds), 319.

[65] Meinecke 1996, 38-43.

[66] Korn 1999, Korn (in press), Vol. I, 148-57

sanctuary after Mecca and Medina. The commitment of Ayyubid rulers to invest in its safety and prosperity differed according to the political situation in the empire.[67]

After the conquest of 583/1187, the first task was the restoration of the venerated sanctuaries in the Haram. The written sources describe how the Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock were purified from Crusader additions and alterations—primarily of crosses and images—and that the rock was washed and perfumed.[68] Similarly, the sanctuary of the 'Mihrab Da'ud' in the Citadel was restored to its original purpose.[69] In addition, in order to underline the character of Jerusalem as an Islamic city, new institutions were founded: a *madrasa*, a *zawiya*, a *khanqah*, a hospital, and a Friday mosque.[70] The latter are clustered around the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The main reason for this lay in the fact that empty buildings could be easily obtained in the Latin quarter. The new institutions were founded on former property of the Latin church.[71] The urbanistic effect, however, was an encirclement of the Holy Sepulchre by Muslim institutions.[72]

Most of these restorations and foundations probably involved little architectural work in the sense that masses of stone were moved. However, in the Aqsa Mosque and in the Dome of the Rock, costly materials were used such as glass mosaic, marble panels and polished marble columns with gilded capitals. The fact as such is not surprising, given the high reputation of the sanctuaries; but it gave the respective parts of the buildings a colourful appearance which appears unusual in comparison with other examples of Ayyubid architecture. As to the mosaic in the Aqsa mosque, it can be postulated that local artisans were involved in its creation, and that some of its decorative elements were inspired by a local (Latin Christian) source.[73]

Later alterations, too, have wiped out many traces of Ayyubid building activity. The mosaic inscription quoting the first verses of Sura *Taha* is all that remains from Ayyubid works in the Dome of the Rock.[74] The extant portal of the Khanqah al-Salahiyya is probably not Ayyubid, but of Mamluk origin.[75]

Pl. 19.23 Jerusalem, Qubbat al-Mi'raj, view from south.

The Madrasa al-Salahiyya has been re-converted into a church, leaving only the inscription over the portal as a memory of its former Muslim identity. Of the *maristan*, nothing is left but the name, which is now used to describe markets built in the early 20th century.

Nevertheless, the activities connected with the re-islamisation of Jerusalem can justly be named a building programme for two reasons. First, they followed a plan, because the complete set of institutions belonging to a Muslim city was achieved. Second, this plan was initiated by one individual, Saladin.[76]

For the generation after Saladin, the picture is different. There are remnants which allow the stylistic character of Ayyubid architecture to be specified more precisely than for the period under Saladin. Continuing the tendency of the earlier restorations, *spolia* were used freely on those buildings which are (partly) preserved from the period 589-600.1193-

Korn in Pahlitzsch and Korn (eds).

Imad al-Din 1888, 61-2, 65-8, transl. Massé 1972, 51, 54-8; Mujir al-Din 1388/1968, Vol. I, 331, 334, 339-40; see also Korn (in press), Vol. II, 64-65, nos Jer/1, 2

Busse 1994

'Imad al-Din 1888, 69, 442-443, transl. Massé 1972, 58-9, 396; Mujir al-Din 1388/1968, Vol. I, 340-41 391, Vol. II, 41, 47, 50,53, 59-60, 144; van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. I, 87-8, 91-103; Tamari 1968; Burgoyne 1987, 48-49, 517-18; Busse 1993; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 172-3, 176-7, 181-2, 216-17, Vol III, 170-73; Richards in Athamina and Heacock (eds), Frenkel 1999; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 65-68, nos Jer/4, 5, 10, 12. Pahlitzsch in Pahlitzsch and Korn (eds).

The situation was later made explicit by the Mamluk minarets flanking the domes of the church; see Walls 1976

Korn (in the present volume)

Ibid

Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem* Vol. I, 87-88, contradicting Creswell's dating to the Ayyubid period (*MAE* Vol. II, 162 note 1)

From the documented building activities, it can be demonstrated that from the conquest until the death of Saladin, no foundations were instituted by individuals other than the sultan himself. It would seem that Saladin wished to acquire the *baraka* of the holy city for the benefit of his soul; see Korn, in Vermeulen and de Smet (eds); Korn in Pahlitzsch and Korn (eds).

Pl. 19.24 Jerusalem, Bab al-Sakina, view from west.

Pl. 19.25 Jerusalem, Mathara, portal, front arch.

1203. This is particularly true for the Qubbat al-Mi'raj (pl. 19.23), which has an inscription dating it to 597/1200-1.[77] The baldachin structure is constructed from Crusader columns and capitals in such a way that its dating to the Crusader or Ayyubid periods continues to be debated. Other buildings are clearly of Muslim—most probably Ayyubid—origin, but extremely difficult to date because they consist largely of *spolia*. Examples are the double gate of Bab al-Silsila and Bab al-Sakina (pl. 19.24),[78] and the 'Summer' *minbar* on the Haram, which is also known as the 'Minbar Burhan al-Din'.[79] Other buildings combine *spolia* with purpose-made decorative elements.

This is the case with the *mathara*, the ablution place on the Haram al-Sharif, which was built by al-'Adil Abu Bakr in 589/1193 in front of the western Haram wall.[80] The portal (pls 19.25, 19.26), apparently the sole surviving part of the original building, is set back within a cross-vaulted niche. The back wall is framed by an archivolt of cushion voussoirs, and the door is flanked by columns with *muqarnas* capitals—the first time that these elements appear in Ayyubid architecture in Jerusalem. The frontal arch of the niche is plain, but rests on elbow corbels, the shape of which requires an explanation. It is identical with that of the Crusader capitals in the cloister of the Holy Sepulchre, which were described above. They were either made as close copies of the Crusader original—but it is difficult to find a reason for such copying in this particular case—or they were taken from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre as *spolia*, thus contradicting the widely accepted truth that the church was left untouched by the Ayyubids.

[77] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 37-54; Burgoyne 1987, 47-8; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 88-9; Folda 1995, 253-273; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 70-71, no. Jer/23.

[78] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. I, 119; Burgoyne 1987, 48; Burgoyne in Raby and Johns (eds), 118-19; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 414-15; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 69-70, no. Jer/19.

[79] Van Berchem, MCIA Jérusalem, Vol. II, 211-215; Burgoyne 1987, 319-320; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 69-70; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 71-72, no Jer/26.

[80] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. I, 103-8; Burgoyne 1987, 49, 113; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 423; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 68-9, no. Jer/13.

Pl. 19.26 Jerusalem, Mathara, portal, back wall.

Pl. 19.27 Jerusalem, Jamiᶜ al-Maghariba, north façade.

The Friday mosque of the Maghribis, on the southwestern corner of the Haram, was probably built at the end of the 6th/12th century.[81] The Ayyubid prince al-Afdal Ali had donated the quarter located at the foot of the western wall of the Haram, in which most Maghribis in Jerusalem then lived, to the community of the *Maghariba* as a pious foundation.[82] It can be assumed that the building of the Friday mosque which served this community occurred only slightly later. The Ayyubid dating is also evident from the position of the building which lies adjacent to the Crusader hall of the Jamiᶜ al-Nisa', and from the fact that the western portal of the Jamiᶜ al-Maghariba was later integrated into the early Mamluk Zawiya al-Fakhriyya. The portal in the north façade (pl. 19.27) features elbow corbels under the lintel, and the moulding of the blind arch above is bent sideways at both ends. Both features are typical of Crusader architecture of the 12th century, but

have no antecedents in the Zangid and Ayyubid architecture of Damascus and Aleppo.

Similarly, the *madrasa* donated by al-Afdal ᶜAli in the same quarter [83] contained features typical of the local tradition. The portal niche had an arch of cushion voussoirs, framed by a simple moulding acting as an archivolt which was bent sideways at the ends.

Under al-Muᶜazzam ᶜIsa, activity in and around the Haram continued. However, the work was done as part of a larger building programme, which in some way emulated that of Saladin, though on a greater scale of material expense.[84] Al-Muᶜazzam had been nominated as ruler of central and southern Syria by his father, al-ᶜAdil. It seems that paternal domination in Damascus was strong enough to divert al-Muᶜazzam's activities to Jerusalem, until al-ᶜAdil died in 615/1218. At any rate, several buildings are attested in Jerusalem for the early 7th/13th century, most which can be connected to al-Muᶜazzam. His name appears in inscriptions which are documented as coming from portals and door panels on the Haram,[85] and a fragmentary inscription from the Dome of the Rock suggests that he also ordered some works here, the character of which remains unknown.[86] The rebuilding of large portions of the city wall, particularly on the western and southern fronts,[87] also fits the parallel with Saladin.

' Burgoyne 1987, 49, pl. 9; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 400; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 69, no. Jer/14

' Korn in Pahlitzsch and Korn (eds), 82-5.

'' Mujir al-Din 1388/1968, Vol. I, 403; van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 57-59; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 437, Vol III, 158; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 72, no. Jer/28.

' Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 303-4; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 72-3, no. Jer 29

' For the south side, see Mujir al-Din 1388/1968, Vol. I, 302; van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. I, 131-41; Sharon in (ed.) Rosen-Ayalon); Burgoyne 1987, 49, Wightman 1993, 277-81; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 166, 245-6, 333-4, 383; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 75, no. Jer./37. For the western side, see Broshi 1982, Bieberstein and Bloedhorn, 1994, Vol. II, 86, 90, 93; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 71, no. Jer/25.

Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 216-17, Burgoyne 1987, 47, 260-3; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 39-40, 47, Korn (in press), Vol. II, 72, no. Jer. 2"

Mujir al-Din 1388 1968, Vol. II, 40

Pl. 19.28 Jerusalem, Madrasa al-Muʿazzamiyya, detail of north *iwan* with building inscription.

Pl. 19.29 Jerusalem, Qubba al-Nahawiyya, view from southwest.

Extant remains of buildings from the era of al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa allow conclusions to be drawn on stylistic development. The Hanafite *madrasa* built north of the Haram al-Sharif between 606/1209 and 614/1217-18 appears to be largely conventional.[88] Its plan is centred on an approximately square courtyard, with two *iwans* opening beyond wide pointed arches on the north and south sides. On the northern arch (pl. 19.28), the archivolt looks similar to that of the portal of Jamiʿ al-Maghariba, but here two inscribed fields fill the spandrels. This appears as a consistent re-formulation of the building type of the Syrian *madrasa*, expressed with elements of Crusader façade decoration.

Other works commissioned by al-Muʿazzam show a distinct originality, while in some way the local tradition is continued. Qubba al-Nahawiyya (pls 19.29, 19.30), built in 604/1207-08 next to the Dome of the Rock on the southwestern corner of its terrace,[89] enjoys enhanced visibility by means of a dome, which rests on a circular drum with a row of corbels under the cornice. While this element is in line with local tradition (the corbels under the dome appear on the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), hitherto unknown elements occur on the façades of the building. The windows of the domed part, arranged in groups of three, are topped by splayed roofings, with relief decoration either in the shape of intertwined bands, or of scales imitating a tiled roof.

On the façade of the Aqsa Mosque (pl. 19.31), which was rebuilt in 614/1217-18, the Ayyubid share is difficult to determine.[90] By their shape the pillars and arches could well be Crusader creations. The dome with inserted shells above the central bay, however, is certainly not; and the same is true for the upper part of the façade with its blind niches in different shapes and on different levels—although the paired columns and the chequered cornice have a 'Frankish' appearance.

Very few examples of Ayyubid architecture are preserved from the last decades of Ayyubid rule over Jerusalem.

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[88] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. 1, 168-173; Burgoyne 1987, 49; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 103-104; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 73-4, no. Jer/33.

[89] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 59-66; Burgoyne 1987, 49; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 67-68; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 73 , no. Jer/30.

[90] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 415-419; Hamilton 1949, 37-47; Burgoyne 1987, 49; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 54; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 76-7, no. Jer/43

Pl. 19.30 Jerusalem, Qubba al-Nahawiyya, windows in the north façade of dome chamber.

The Qubbat Musa (pl. 19.32),[91] built southwest of the Dome of the Rock in 647/1249-50 by al-Salih Ayyub, Sultan of Egypt, remains enigmatic as to its purpose and in its dedication to the prophet Moses. From the stylistic point of view, however, it is a somewhat unambitious commemorative building. Few features mark it off from the earlier architectural tradition: the lower part of the building is rather squat and broad in relation to the dome, and the double cornice which forms its upper edge should be noted. The ashlar dome rests on a low octagonal drum without corbels, and this does not contribute to a spectacular appearance for the building. The only decorative motif—four marble disks within one larger disk above the entrance—has not yet received an adequate interpretation. In all, the Qubbat Musa appears little different in type, proportion, and decoration from other Syrian commemorative *qubba*s. A similar statement could be made for the Qubba al-Qaimariyya[92] which was built at the end of the Ayyubid period as the tomb of a dynasty of Kurdish officers in the Ayyubid army. Here, the façades are divided by vertical bands, but the cubical basement, the circular drum and the ashlar dome are close to the Qubbat Musa.

Architecture in Jerusalem—between a foreign élite and a local tradition

On the whole, a few specific features of Ayyubid architecture in Jerusalem can be identified as typical. Apart from Crusader *spolia*, characteristic elements occur in the order of façades, in vaulting and roofing. Arches are accompanied by a narrow moulding which bends sideways at either end; corbels are frequently shaped as 'elbow corbels'; the typical dome construction has a circular drum, sometimes with corbels at

Pl. 19.31 Jerusalem, al-Aqsa Mosque, central bay of north façade.

Pl. 19.32 Jerusalem, Qubbat Musa, view from northeast.

regular intervals supporting the cornice; some archivolts have zigzag profiles, some consist of so-called 'cushion voussoirs'. All these elements can be found within Crusader architecture in Jerusalem. The use of these elements makes explicit the connection between Crusader and Ayyubid architecture in the city. It seems that the problem of discerning between Crusader and Islamic dating of some monuments is not accidental, but is

[91] Van Berchem, *MCIA Jérusalem*, Vol. II, 105-7; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. III, 64-65; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 78, no. Jer/48

[92] 'Asali 1402/1981, 109-114; Bieberstein and Bloedhorn 1994, Vol. II, 25; Korn (in press), Vol. II, 78, no. Jer/49.

indicative of the stylistic continuity between the two periods in a characteristic local style.

This view is corroborated by other evidence. The elements mentioned above rarely occur in other regions of the Bilad al-Sham.[93] On the other hand, Ayyubid architecture in Jerusalem lacks those features which were characteristic of the other regional styles. The three most conspicuous of these—*muqarnas*, star-pattern strapwork and *ablaq*—developed into essential elements of Ayyubid architectural decoration. They were to determine Islamic Levantine architecture for a long time after the fall of the Ayyubids.

Why was there no *muqarnas* within Ayyubid Jerusalem? Why did architects here stick to elbow corbels and zigzag archivolts? One possible explanation can be seen in the hypothesis that the architectural style of Jerusalem was so well established that it was widely recognised, and that the new rulers of the city chose to adopt it for some reason. This would imply that Ayyubid patrons did not bother if the dome of a *madrasa* looked similar to the dome of a Christian chapel, and the façade of a mosque similar to that of a church. It would mean that a visual connection between the aesthetics of Ayyubid and Crusader rule was not valued in a negative way. However, it is hard to believe that Ayyubid patrons intended an ostentatious reference to the immediate past, that the victorious Muslims chose to erect buildings which could barely be distinguished from those of the Latin enemy. In this respect, the attitude of Ayyubid builders in Jerusalem must be judged from examples of refined exoticism in Mamluk Cairo, where pseudo-Gothic windows appear on the same building with allusions to the architecture of al-Andalus. Equally, the use of Crusader *spolia* as an explicit *prise de possession* by the victorious Muslims must be distinguished from the use of identical architectural elements. It could well be asked whether the Islamisation of Jerusalem could not have been expressed more clearly by the use of *muqarnas* portals and *ablaq* masonry.

Another explanation lies in the identity of the builders. The architects and stonemasons who served the Crusaders were also employed after the Muslim reconquest. This would have been relatively easy if they were local—and not Latin—Christians. The elaborate capitals of Crusader origin, made by craftsmen from France and Italy, were not likely to be copied by these local stonecutters; they were taken from former Latin buildings as *spolia*. The parallels between Latin and Armenian church architecture in Jerusalem before 1187 corroborate the assumption that Eastern Christians played a significant role as builders in the city. The idiosyncrasies of Ayyubid architecture in Jerusalem are best explained in terms of continuous development within a local style. In any case, a relatively isolated school of architects in Ayyubid Jerusalem would account for the phenomenon that fashionable elements current in other regions of Syria were not adopted. Instead, a traditional repertoire continued to be used. While a foreign élite figured as patrons of architecture in Ayyubid Jerusalem, the people who actually built the monuments acted in a long established local artistic tradition. Most probably, they also belonged to the old *maqdisi* population.

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[93] The first example of an arch with cushion voussoirs in Damascus belongs to the Madrasa al-ʿAdiliyya al-Sughra, built in 655-56/1257-58 (Moaz 1990, 223-5); but the arch is probably due to an early Mamluk rebuilding. The ensemble of the Alaeddin Mosque in Konya seems more significant. The façade was designed by an architect from Damascus, probably around 1220; however, the marble inlay strapwork over the portal shows that this master was familiar with the architecture of Aleppo. A blind niche in the façade features a zigzag archivolt and a curled moulding, indicating that elements from 'Crusader' architecture were also integrated into the building. Finally, the unfinished *turba* in the courtyard has a portal with cushion voussoirs on its frontal arch.

Chapter 20
THE POTTERY OF AYYUBID JERUSALEM

Marcus Milwright

Introduction

This analysis of the ceramic repertoire of Jerusalem during the Ayyubid period is based on the finds from published excavations in and around the city.[1] The difficulties involved in exploiting this body of material should be acknowledged from the outset, however. Seen in archeological terms, the Ayyubid period in Jerusalem represents a short (and interrupted) phase spanning less than seven decades from 583/1187 to 648/1250. In general, the study of excavated pottery is not well adapted to the analysis of such brief, and interrupted, eras.

Nevertheless, there are good reasons for focusing upon the excavated pottery of a single location during this narrow time frame. First, 583/1187 marks a watershed in the history of Jerusalem. Saladin's victory brought Jerusalem into an expanding Muslim empire, and also resulted in a significant demographic shift with the virtual eradication of the Frankish presence. It is probable that these events would have resulted in an increase in the level of economic contact between the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the other regions of the Ayyubid sultanate.[2] Second, the 12th and early 13th century witnessed important developments in the production of glazed wares and handmade pottery. The extensive archeological exploration of the city, and the south of Bilad al-Sham (Syria) as a whole,[3] means that it is possible to evaluate the impact which major political events and technological developments in ceramic production had on the material culture of Jerusalem.

Before reviewing the archeological evidence in Jerusalem itself, some comments are needed concerning three important aspects of ceramic production in Bilad al-Sham during the 12th and early 13th centuries: first, glazed stonepaste wares; second, decorated lead-glazed earthenwares; and third, handmade wares. Of all the ceramics manufactured during this period in Bilad al-Sham, the greatest scholarly interest has been directed toward the glazed stonepaste wares of central and northern Syria.[4] Syrian stonepaste wares have been reviewed in more detail elsewhere,[5] and only a few relevant issues need to be highlighted here. In recent years the understanding of the evolution of stonepaste wares has improved as the result of archeological research in northern Syria and south-east Turkey, and the scientific analysis of selected pieces from excavations and museum collections.[6]

Chronologies of Syrian stonepaste manufacture have been offered by Robert Mason (1997) and Cristina Tonghini (1998, 38-55). Both authors identify a series of categories based on technological and stylistic criteria, but they present different interpretations of the available evidence. Without entering into too much detail on this complex issue, it is possible to make some general comments about the evolution of stonepaste pottery to the mid-13th century.

The first phase of stonepaste production in Syria has been dated to the period between the last quarter of the 11th century and *ca* 1125. These early stonepaste wares are

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[1] In addition to the archeological sources discussed below, some information on ceramics can be gleaned from the historical record. Pottery is occasionally discussed in written sources of the Ayyubid period (see Milwright 1999b), but I have been unable to locate any specific references to ceramics in Jerusalem. For references to pottery workshops and ceramics in Ottoman Jerusalem, see Cohen 1989, 76-77; Salameh 2000, 126-27.

[2] There is, of course, ample textual and archeological evidence for merchants passing between Crusader and Muslim states in the 12th and 13th centuries, but the issue addressed here is how the overall balance of trade might have changed in Jerusalem after 583/1187. For the trade in Muslim pottery in Crusader ports, see Pringle 1982, 113-14; Pringle 1986, 462-63.

[3] For a review and gazetteer of the published excavations and surveys in Bilad al-Sham, see Tonghini and Grube 1989; Milwright 2001.

[4] The term 'stonepaste' is used here to refer to the artificial ceramic paste composed of ground quartz, ground glass (or sometimes glass frit), and a small quantity of fine, pale clay. Other terms such as 'fritware', 'fritpaste', 'soft-paste' and 'faience' are also employed in the scholarly literature. For analysis of Syrian stonepaste fabrics, see Mason 1995.

[5] Porter and Watson 1987; Tonghini 1994; Mason 1995 and 1997; Makariou and Northedge 2001.

[6] For instance, Porter and Watson 1987; Mason 1994, 1995 and 1997; Redford 1995; Tonghini 1998.
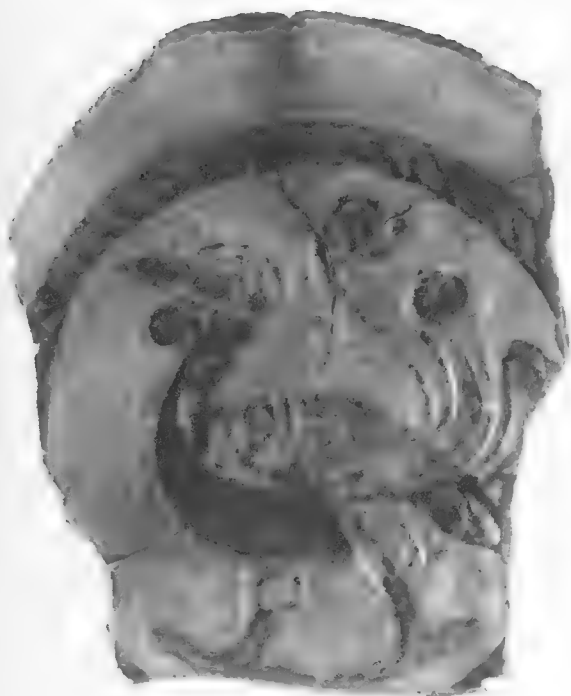
Plate 20.1 Fragment of a 'Laqabi' ware bowl. Syria, late 11th or early 12th century. Photograph courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
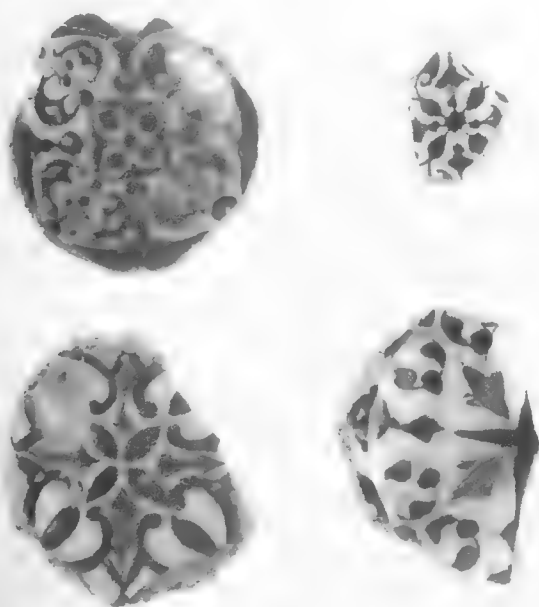
Plate 20.2 Syrian stonepaste shards with polychromatic painting under a transparent glaze. Second half of the 12th or early 13th century. Found in Fustat. Photograph courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Plate 20.3 Stonepaste bowl with colourless glaze and blue and black underpainting. Syria, first half of the thirteenth century. Reitlinger Gift, EA1978.2183. By permission of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum.

characterised by a hard, compact white body with a lead–alkali glaze,[7] and include well-known types such as 'Tell Minis' lustre and 'Laqabi' wares (pl. 20.1). 'Laqabi' wares may have been made in Raqqa, although other production centres are also probable.[8] A change occurs in Syrian stonepaste production in the early part of the 12th century with the introduction of a transparent glaze that is rich in sodium but contains little or no lead (Tonghini 1998, 46, appendix D: table 2. See also Mason 1994, 217-19, table 6.4). Lustre-painted bowls and vessels continue to be produced in Syria throughout the 12th and the first half of the 13th centuries, but potters also employed a number of other decorative techniques including underglaze painting and the use of coloured glazes (particularly turquoise and manganese purple). One type of glazed stonepaste from second half of the 12th century makes use of polychromatic painting under a transparent alkaline glaze (pl. 20.2). Examples have been found on excavations in Syria, Jordan and Egypt, as well as Jerusalem (see below).[9] Other examples of glazed bowls of this period employ a more limited palette, typically blue and black (pls 20.3, XCII).

See glaze analysis in Mason 1994, 217-19. A mixture of 12-24% PbO and 12-17% Na$_2$O was found in the glazes of early Syrian stonepaste wares

[8] Eustache de Lorey apparently discovered a kiln with wasters of 'Laqabi' pottery at Raqqa/Rafiqa. Reported in Lane 1938, 59, n.1. See also the kiln reported in Sauvaget 1948, 32-34, fig.7.

[9] For instance, see Arab Museum 1922, pls 89, 95, 96 (Fustat); Riis and Poulsen 1957, nos 616, 620, 621 (Hama); Milwright 1999a, II, catalogue pages 46.6, 9; 47.1 (Karak); Grabar *et al.* 1978, pl G 1 18d, 18f, 19g, 21c, 21d (Qasr al-Hayr East); Tonghini 1998, figs 62.g-l; 63.h (Qal'at Ja'bar); Milwright forthcoming (Raqqa/Rafiqa); MacDonald 1992, pl. 35 c (al-Rujum at the south end of the Dead Sea); Logar 1995, fig. 7.1 (Rusafa)

Plate 20.4 Figure 4. Stonepaste bowl with lustre painted over a transparent glaze and blue underpainting. Probably Raqqa, Syria, late 12th or early 13th century. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Gift of Charles Lang Freer, F1908.148

Petrographic analysis of Syrian stonepaste wares (Mason 1995 and 1997) has revealed the existence of a number of distinct 'petrofabrics', although not all have been correlated with excavated material from kilns. Damascus and Raqqa can be identified with some certainty as centres of glazed stonepaste production from the mid-12th century (and possibly earlier), while excavations at Qal'at Ja'bar (Tonghini 1998), Balis (Golvin 1980, 394) and Samsat (Redford 1995, 65-66) indicate that there were other important manufacturing centres along the Euphrates river in the 12th and 13th centuries. The best known phase of Syrian stonepaste production can be dated from the end of the 12th century to the middle of the 13th, and has been traditionally associated with the town of Raqqa (for a survey of 'Raqqa' wares, see Grube 1963). Most famous are the boldly decorated lustre wares (pl. XCIII), although a wide range of monochrome glazed and underglaze-painted wares has also been found during excavations in Raqqa (pls 20.4 and 20.5). Historical sources and the archeological evidence both point to a permanent cessation of industrial activity in Raqqa at the time of the Mongol invasion of Syria in 658/1259-60, and it seems likely that the other manufacturing centres along the Euphrates shared a similar fate. In the latter part of the 13th and the 14th century, the production of stonepaste wares in Syria appears to have been focused principally around Damascus and Hama.

Decorated lead-glazed earthenwares were also produced in great numbers at this time. Some decorated lead-glazed wares were traded over considerable distances. Sgraffito bowls have been recovered from 11th- and 12th-century contexts at Raqqa (pl. 20.6), and comparable material has appeared at sites such as Tal Shahin (Tonghini 1995, fig.10), Caesarea (Pringle 1985, fig.9.50), and the Serçe Liman
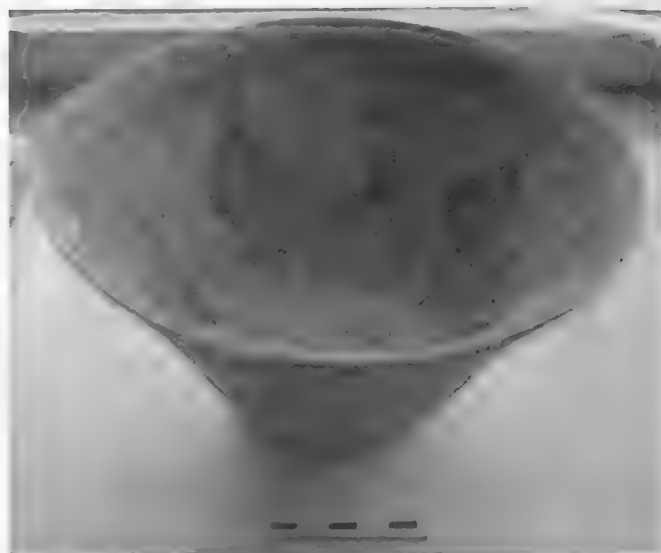
Plates 20.5a and b Stonepaste bowl with turquoise glaze and black underpainting excavated in Raqqa. Late 12th or early 13th century. Raqqa Archeological Museum. Photograph: author.

shipwreck (Jenkins 1992). Excavations conducted at al-Mina/Port St Simeon (Lane 1938), 'Athlith/Pilgrims' Castle (Johns 1934) and other coastal sites[10] have also revealed extensive evidence for the production and use of sgraffito and slip-painted wares in the Crusader kingdom. Importantly, the late 12th- and 13th-century ceramic assemblages include locally-manufactured items, 'proto-maiolica' from Italy, and sgraffito wares from the Aegean and Cyprus. Such imported glazed earthenwares were widely traded along the Syro-Palestine coast, and as far as the Egyptian markets of Alexandria and Fustat.[11] The distribution in the interior of Bilad al-Sham

[10] For instance, Pringle 1997 (Acre); Pringle 1985 (Caesarea); Salamé-Sarkis 1980 (Tripoli).

[11] Megaw 1968; Pringle 1982. For a discussion of the impact of imported sgraffito wares on Egyptian pottery production, see Kubiak 1998.

Plate 20.6 Shard of a sgraffito bowl excavated in Raqqa. 11th or early 12th century. Photograph: author.
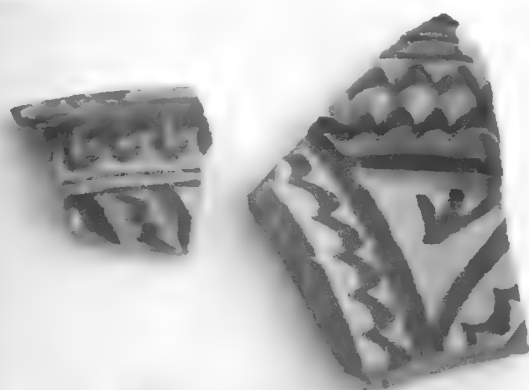
Plate 20.7 Shards of broadly incised sgraffito bowls excavated in Karak, Jordan. Late 12th or 13th century. Photograph: author.

appears to be more patchy, however (Pringle 1982, 109-11, fig.1; Pringle 1986, 458). Other types of sgraffito and slip-painted lead-glazed wares were produced in Palestine and Jordan during the late 12th and 13th centuries. One common sgraffito ware, believed to have been manufactured in the north of Jordan, is characterised by bold abstract patterns made with broadly gouged lines (pl. 20.7).[12]

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[12] For a more detailed study of this style of sgraffito, see Milwright 2003, 87-91.

Plate 20.8 Handmade jug with geometric slip painting. 13th or 14th century. Amman Citadel Museum, Jordan. Photograph: author.

The 11th and 12th centuries also witnessed the re-emergence of handmade pottery, first in the south of Jordan and later in rural communities all over Bilad al-Sham. The manufacturing process is characterised by the abandonment of expensive equipment such as the kick-wheel and kiln, the formation of vessels being done by hand, and the baking of the pots in an open fire or clamp. While the initial spread of this novel technology may have been achieved through the movement of professional potters (Johns 1998, 73), it seems likely that the methods were soon adopted by the occupants of villages as a non-commercial activity to provide for their own needs. The best known examples of handmade pottery are the jugs and jars ornamented with intricate geometric patterns painted in coloured slips (pl. 20.8), but plates and larger containers in this style have also been recovered in excavations (pl. 20.9). In addition, there are other handmade vessels with little or no painted decoration.

The social and economic factors behind this reversion to a more 'primitive' mode of manufacture remain unclear, but the chronology is now better understood as the result of recent excavations in the south of Jordan, and the analysis of handmade

pottery with geometric slip-painting presented by Jeremy Johns (1998). At the Red Sea port of Ayla handmade bowls decorated with simple slip-painted designs were recovered from 11th-century contexts (Whitcomb 1988, 212, fig.5.a, b), and similar objects appear in the 12th century at Gharandal (Walmsley and Grey 2001, 158, fig.10.7-9) and Wuʿayra (Brown 1987, 284). These simply decorated vessels seem to be the forerunner of the 'mature' style of geometric slip-painting that first appears in the second half of the 12th century, and becomes ubiquitous all over Bilad al-Sham in the following century. A related group of handmade vessels without painted ornament has also been found in 11th- and 12th-century contexts at Gharandal (Walmsley and Grey 2001, 153-58, fig.9.6-10), Khirbat al-Nawalfa (ʿAmr *et al.* 2000, fig.18.3) and Wuʿayra (Brown 1987, figs 8; 9.16-19). Handmade pottery of the types described above is reported in the greatest numbers from rural settlements, but finds from Hama (Riis and Poulsen 1957, nos 1000-39), Karak (Milwright 1999a, II, cat. pages 4-7) and Jerusalem (see below) suggest that some decorated handmade wares were made for sale in urban markets.

Pottery in Ayyubid Jerusalem: the archeological evidence

Jerusalem and its environs have been subject to extensive archeological research since the second half of the 19th century. Many of the published excavations have brought to light examples of Islamic pottery, but only a small number of the publications have reported contexts that can be dated within the chronological parameters of the Ayyubid period.[13] Of these the most important are those conducted at the Zion Gate (Broshi and Tsafrir 1977), the Damascus Gate (Wightman 1989), and the area known as the Armenian Garden (Tushingham 1985). Other probable Ayyubid deposits from within the boundaries of modern Jerusalem include material from Har Hozevim (Kletter 1996) and Khirbat al-Burj (Onn and Rapuono 1995; May 1999). These last two sites are of less importance for the present study because the published reports do not discuss the ceramics in detail and illustrations of these finds are not provided.[14]

One unusual addition to the archeological record is the presence of small roundels made from sgraffito and slip-painted bowls in a mosaic decorating an arch above a doorway into the chapel of the Franks in the Holy Sepulchre. The mosaic is probably mid-12th century in date. See Rosen-Ayalon 1976. Another site which was reported to have pottery from contexts dating from the Crusader to the Ayyubid period is the citadel in Jerusalem (C Johns 1950). On the basis of the recent revision of the stratigraphy by J Johns (1998, 84-5), the finds from the citadel are not included in this discussion
The Har Hozevim site consisted of an architectural complex incorporating domestic spaces and agricultural installations built in two phases, the first probably Crusader, and the second in the later 12th or 13th century. Finds from the second phase consisted of pot shards, lamp fragments and a 12th-century coin. Khirbat al-Burj (also known as Khirbat al-Kurum) was a

Plate 20.9 Large handmade jar with geometric slip painting. 13th or 14th century. Amman Citadel Museum, Jordan. Photograph: author.

The excavation in the area north-west of the Zion Gate revealed the core of an Ayyubid defensive wall, probably associated with the refortification of the city conducted by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa in 609/1212. Importantly, two interior walls (W3 and W4) were found to have been built over, and partially obscured a plastered cistern. The excavators conclude that the cistern was already out of use at the time of the construction of the walls. The construction date of the cistern remains unknown, but the find of a coin from the rule of Saladin a little over a metre down in the accumulated debris provides a reasonable dating for the associated pottery (Broshi and Tsafrir 1977, 30-32). The possibility that the accumulation of material in the cistern may have begun before the last quarter of the 12th century should not be discounted, but the few finds of pottery are consistent with a date in the Ayyubid period. The brief

village founded in the late 11th century. The excavators note the evidence of what appears to be earthquake damage to the site in the early 13th century. After an unspecified period, although perhaps in the same century, the area was given over to the production of metalwork and ceramics, including green-glazed wares and relief-moulded slipper lamps. This last phase of activity may have continued into the 15th century.
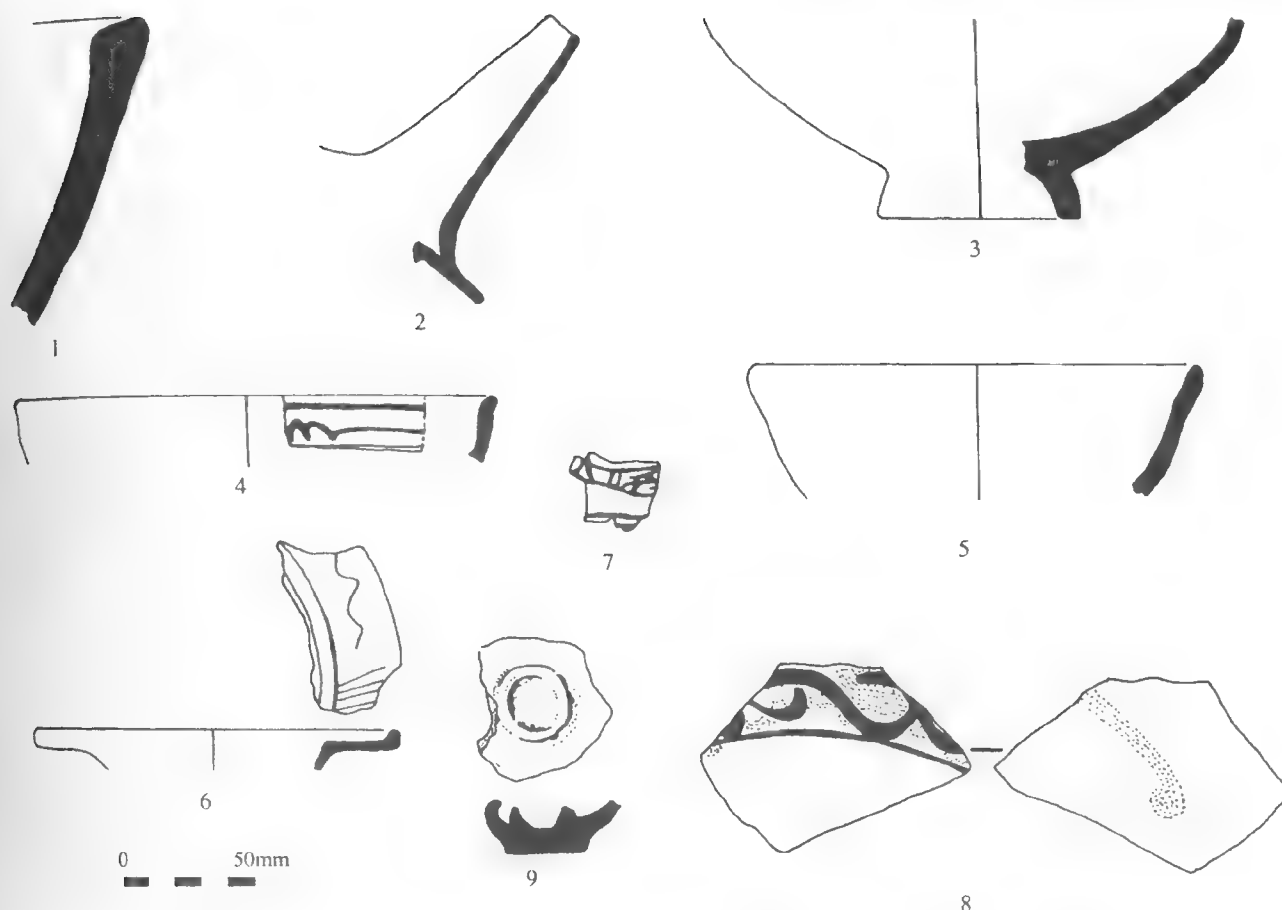
Figure 20.1 Pottery from the fill of wall 9, Damascus Gate, Jerusalem (after Wightman 1989). 1. Unglazed wheelthrown ware; 2. Brown glazed spout from jug; 3. Green glazed bowl; 4. Sgraffito bowl with green/yellow-green glaze; 5. Green glazed bowl; 6. Sgraffito bowl with yellow glaze; 7. Sgraffito with yellow glaze; 8. Sgraffito bowl with yellow glaze and splashes of green glaze; 9. Earthenware lamp with clear glaze.

descriptions of the shards given in the captions are somewhat unclear, but the finds include shards from handmade vessels with curvilinear and geometric slip-painting, an unglazed buffware water jug, a sphero-conical vessel,[15] a green-glazed earthenware bowl, and what may be a shard of an underglaze-painted stonepaste vessel.

The excavations of the Damascus Gate (St Stephen's Gate)[16] area led to the recovery of a large quantity of post-Crusader pottery. Unfortunately, the majority of the ceramics was from disturbed contexts containing mixed deposits from

the early 13th century to as late as the 18th century (Wightman 1989, 61-90). Only one area provided a reasonably secure context dating to the first half of the 13th century. The core of wall 9 in Area G contained a small group of shards, none of which predate the late 12th century (1989, 58-59, pls 42. 9-14; 43. 1-2). Wall 9 belongs to phase 3 of the constructional history of the Crusader barbican, which probably dates to the trucial period (626-36/1229-39). The dating of the potsherds from wall 9 is somewhat compromised by the presence of some later contamination,[17] but the close comparisons with the finds from the Armenian Garden (see below) provide enough justification for including the Damascus Gate ceramics in the present discussion (fig. 20.1). The unglazed wares comprise the spout of a wheelthrown jug made of fine, pale clay and a deep handmade bowl. One small lead-glazed 'beehive' lamp was recovered from the core of wall 9. The remainder of the group comprises plain

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[15] The function and places of manufacture of sphero-conical vessels remain subjects of debate. A typology and survey of the present state of knowledge are presented in Savage-Smith 1997.

[16] The names of the gates of Jerusalem changed frequently. In the 12th century, the entrance in the middle of the north wall (now known as the 'Damascus Gate') continued to be known as 'St Stephen's Gate' (Wightman 1993, 259 and fig. 81:1), originally named because of its convenience for the Church of St Stephen. After the fall of the Latin Kingdom in 1187, Christian pilgrims were not allowed near the north wall because of its military weakness, and the name was transferred to the east gate (now also known as the 'Lion's Gate'; Murphy O'Connor 1992, 23).

[17] Two artefacts, a pedestalled bowl and a tobacco pipe (1989, pls 42 12, 43.3) are post-Ayyubid in date, but the fieldnotes do not make it clear whether they came from the core of wall 9 or from a pit dug into the core of the wall at a later date (1989, 59)
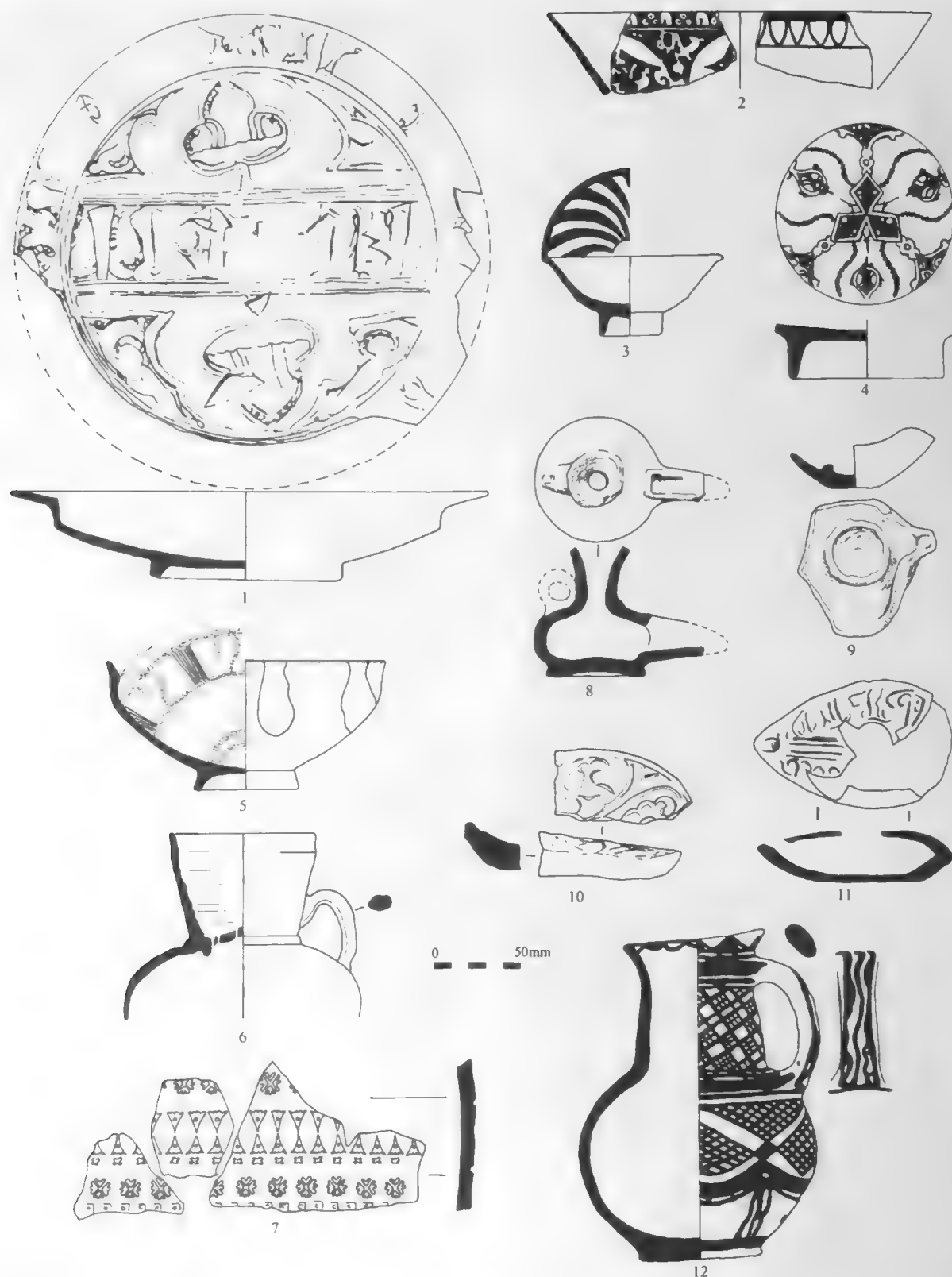
Figure 20.2 12th- and early 13th-century pottery from the Armenian Garden, Jerusalem (after Tushingham 1985). 1. Turquoise glazed stonepaste bowl with incised designs beneath the glaze; 2. Turquoise glazed bowl with black underpainting; 3. Clear glazed stonepaste bowl with black underpainting; 4. Clear glazed stonepaste bowl with red-brown, black and blue underpainting; 5. Yellow glazed sgraffito bowl; 6. Wheelthrown unglazed jug; 7. Unglazed shards with stamped decoration and red-brown slip; 8. Green glazed earthenware lamp; 9. Unglazed earthenware lamp; 10. Earthenware lamp mould; 11. Unglazed moulded earthenware lamp; 12. Handmade jug with orange-buff and dark red slip painting.

Plate 20.10 Shards of unglazed pottery vessels decorated with ornamental stamps excavated at Karak. Jordan. 13th century. Photograph: author.

lead-glazed earthenware bowls and sgraffito wares. The sgraffito wares divide into those with designs incised with a fine point and one example with broadly gouged lines.

More evidence is available from the third site, the Armenian Garden. An area of land owned by the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, the site is located just north of the south-west corner of the city walls (Tushingham 1985, map 1: site L). The excavators located a group of houses abutting the city wall (square IX) separated by a narrow alleyway from a large rectangular structure, identified as a *khan* (squares I-VI, XI-XVI. See 1985, map 7). The analysis of the stratigraphy by Tushingham indicated that the area had been occupied for a short period in the late 12th or early 13th century. His analysis relies on historical evidence relating to the renovation and repair of the city walls. Repairs were conducted by Saladin after 587/1191-92, and then by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa after 609/1212. The latter is known to have commissioned work on the walls in the south-western corner, making it possible that the buildings of the Armenian Garden were constructed soon after 609-11/1212-14. In 616/1219 al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa authorised the dismantling of the city walls, and in 624/1227 he ordered further destruction and depopulation of the city. According to this interpretation, the 'Ayyubid' phase of occupation can probably be fitted into a short period from 609-11/1212-14 until sometime between 616/1219 and 624/1227. The excavated contexts from this phase included sealed deposits (from cisterns G and H), as well as a larger quantity of less securely dated material (1985, 142).

Recently, the dating of the 'Ayyubid' phase at the Armenian Garden has been re-examined by Robert Mason (1997, 185). He points out that the repaired sections of walls

in this area are not very large, and that these sections may not be what is referred to in the historical record. In particular, Mason focuses on the coins found in the excavations. Importantly, the relevant contexts contain significant quantities of Zangid coins (see Tushingham 1985, tables on 173-74). Mason concludes that the *terminus a quo* of this phase of occupation can be pushed back to the middle of the 12th century (i.e. into the last decades of Crusader occupation). The absence of Mamluk coins from these contexts does provide reasonable evidence that the end of this phase of occupation occurred during the Ayyubid period.

A wide variety of ceramics was recovered from the houses and the *khan* at this site (fig. 20.2). The majority of the ceramics from the Ayyubid phase were unglazed wheelthrown vessels. Common forms were footed bowls, large bowls and basins, craters, cooking pots, flasks, lids, jars and jugs. Most were undecorated, but some had combed bands or attached ribbons of clay with finger impressions. Some of the smaller jugs contained filters with delicately pierced designs. Cistern G included an example of a handmade jug with geometric slip-painted decoration (1985, fig. 38.32. See also fig. 38.31). Less common were moulded jugs carrying relief decoration. These types of moulded jugs and jars are often associated with central and northern Syria,[18] although it is possible that these, and other types of relief-moulded pottery, were produced in or near Jerusalem.[19] One shard from a larger vessel is ornamented with rows of geometric stamps (fig. 20.2). This technique of decorating the exterior surface with repeated stamps is unusual in this period, but is found on sites in Syria and Jordan (pl. 20.10).[20]

The technique of mould casting was also employed in the production of slipper lamps. Small, amygdaloid lamps had been in common use during the Byzantine and early Islamic periods in Bilad al-Sham, but they continued to be made into the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Lamps of the 13th and 14th centuries abandon the flowing vinescroll ornament found in Byzantine and early Islamic types in favour of simple geometric and curvilinear designs. A ceramic mould used for the production of decorated lamps was also recovered from the Ayyubid deposits. In addition, unglazed

[18] Finds are reported from numerous sites in Syria. See Lane 1938, pl. XX.2 (al-Mina); Riis and Poulsen 1957, figs 857-59, 868-74 (Hama); al-ʿUsh 1963, nos 11-14 (Damascus); Grabar *et al.* 1978, fig. A4.9b-14b (Qasr al-Hayr East); Logar 1992, fig. 10.8-17 (Rusafa); Tonghini 1998, fig 23.i,j, l-n (Qalʿat Jaʿbar); Milwright in preparation (Raqqa/Rafiqa)

[19] A mould used for the manufacture of canteens ('pilgrim flasks') was found during excavations in the church of the Ascension. See Corbo 1965, fig.115.1. A lamp mould was also recovered during the Armenian Garden excavations (see below).

[20] For Syria, see Berthier 1985, pl.10.129a (Busra); Riis and Poulsen 1957, figs 855-56; Salamé-Sarkis 1980, fig 42, pl. LXXI 2 (Tripoli); Sauvaget 1948, fig. 8.11 (Raqqa/Rafiqa). For Jordan, see Milwright 1999.i, II, catalogue page 32.10-12 (Karak).

and lead-glazed saucer and 'beehive' lamps were found below the floors and in 'Ayyubid' occupation phases in the houses and the *khan*.[21] A 13th- or 14th-century kiln used for the firing of saucer lamps was found in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City (Avigad 1978; 1983, figure on p. 300), and it seems likely that most of the lamps from the site were manufactured in the vicinity of Jerusalem.[22]

The lead-glazed earthenwares consist mainly of slip-painted or sgraffito bowls. The slip-painted pottery is decorated with squiggles of slip paint or broadly-painted designs such as six-pointed stars. Such bowls are relatively common on contemporary sites in Palestine and Jordan (pl. 20.11). The sgraffito bowls are more varied in decoration, with incisions made with either a fine point or gouged with a wider tool. There are no examples of bowls with large figural designs like those found at al-Mina or other sites in northern Bilad al-Sham, but the Armenian Garden assemblage does include examples of imported sgraffito, most significantly a 'Zeuxippus ware' bowl, which was probably manufactured in the Aegean region (Megaw 1968).

Two phases of stonepaste wares are evident in the finds from this period of occupation in the Armenian Garden. The first group consists of monochrome glazed bowls, some of which have carved or incised decoration beneath the glaze.[23] The method of carving or incising a design into the body of the ceramic prior to the application of a transparent glaze has parallels in the incised monochrome wares from 12th-century Cairo and Iran (Philon 1980, 263-82: Soustiel and Allan 1995). The angular profile of the flange rim platter from the Armenian Garden is found also on late 11th- or 12th-century lustre vessels from 'Tell Minis' (Porter and Watson 1987, nos A23, A49, A53). The dating of the first group of stonepaste wares from the Armenian Garden to the early 12th century is confirmed by the fact that some were found beneath the lowest floors of the 'Ayyubid' occupation phase (1985, 144). The second group from the Armenian Garden consists of underglaze-painted stonepaste wares. Many of the bowls in this group have steep, flaring sides and a high foot ring. The decoration consists of: black under a turquoise (or blue-green) glaze; blue and black under a colourless glaze; or polychrome painting under a transparent glaze.[24] Recent petrographic analysis of stonepaste wares excavated in Jerusalem suggests that

Plate 20.11 Lead-glazed earthenware bowl with slip-painted decoration. Late 12th or 13th century. Amman Citadel Museum. Photograph: author.

the majority were manufactured in Damascus (Mason 1997, 184-86). This second group of underglaze-painted stonepaste wares can be fitted into a period from *ca* 1125-1200, with the majority dating after *ca* 1150.

Conclusion

The assemblage of ceramics available from the Zion Gate, Damascus Gate and Armenian Garden is small, and any wider conclusions drawn from it should, therefore, be regarded as preliminary. In addition, the revision of the dating of the 'Ayyubid' phase at the Armenian Garden means that it is no longer possible to differentiate with certainty between the material culture of the late Crusader and early Ayyubid periods on the site. It seems likely that future archeological research in Jerusalem will refine our picture of the manufacture, use and distribution of pottery in the city during the Ayyubid period.

Some general comments can be made concerning the overall composition of the ceramic assemblage from late 12th- and early 13th-century contexts in Jerusalem. Unglazed pottery forms the largest proportion of the finds. The inhabitants of Ayyubid Jerusalem needed pottery for storage, preparation and serving of food and drink, and it was unglazed pottery that performed many of these mundane tasks. Although some pieces—such as the large storage vessel with stamped decoration, relief-moulded jugs, and sphero-conical vessels— may have been imported from Syria, the majority would have been manufactured locally (presumably, by the same craftsmen who had supplied the city during the Crusader period). Lamps and monochrome lead-glazed earthenware bowls are further examples of cheap and functional items, the majority of which would have been produced in the city. Handmade ceramic vessels, with and without slip-painted decoration, make their appearance in small numbers in Jerusalem from the second half

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[21] Equivalent to the Baysan (Bet Shean) types 7, 10, 13, 14 in Hadad 1999. See also the lamp typology from Emmaus in Gichon and Linden 1984.

[22] Although the long spouted 'beehive' lamps (Tushingham 1985, figs 34.39 and 38 16) may be Egyptian and of Fatimid or Ayyubid date. Cf. types G and H in Kubiak's typology of lamps from Fustat (1970, 11-13, text figs 8, 9). Significantly, these long-spouted lamps are not recorded in the typology from Baysan. See Hadad 1999

[23] Glazes in this group may be cobalt blue, turquoise, green, purple or colourless. This type of incised pottery is placed by Mason (1997) into his group 1 (*ca* 1075 to 1100-1125).

[24] Polychrome painted vessels usually combine black, blue, turquoise/green and red-brown pigments under a colourless glaze

of the 12th century. This situation may be contrasted with sites east of the Dead Sea and Jordan Valley where handmade pottery is already the dominant type of ceramic found in excavated assemblages (Johns 1998, 69-70).

The Armenian Garden provides the most extensive evidence for the existence of glazed stonepaste wares in Jerusalem during the 12th and early 13th centuries. The incised bowl dates to the early 12th century, but the other stonepaste wares discussed above were manufactured from the second quarter of the 12th century onwards. The workshops of Damascus probably supplied most of the stonepaste wares bought in Jerusalem in the late 12th and early 13th century. Future archeological work in the city may help to establish how the volume of imports of high-quality Syrian pottery in Jerusalem changed before and after 583/1187.

Acknowledgements

Chapter 21
SCIENCE AS THE HANDMAIDEN OF POWER: SCIENCE, ART AND TECHNOLOGY IN AYYUBID SYRIA

Martina Müller-Wiener

The dynamics of the relationship between art, artifice and artificiality on the one hand, and technique and knowledge on the other, is a phenomenon which is not limited to the Islamic world. Interaction between all these fields comes about when, as a main criterion for the evaluation of art, the aim is the imitation of nature by the capability of automotion.[1] Next to the generation and control of motion—and that means of space—control of time is a second decisive aspect. The control of these two fundamental forces serves as a means to demonstrate the claim to an absolute and all-embracing power. Devices of ingenious and elaborate manufacture embody, testify to and represent this claim. They were employed within the spectacle of court ceremonial and in a diplomatic exchange of gifts, as well as in the public architecture of urban landscapes. In the present article, the example of Ayyubid Syria will serve to demonstrate this interaction between art and artificiality, between technology, science and ideology.

Knowledge, Arabic *'ilm*, is one of the concepts which has shaped and dominated Muslim culture and society. It comprises different dimensions, ranging from the abstract concept of religious knowledge to the numerous sections of total knowledge organized in the form of scientific disciplines, *'ulum*.[2] Within this framework, the Arabo-Islamic sciences (e.g.

law, grammar, poetry) were organized together with the non-Arabo-Islamic sciences (e.g. philosophy, astronomy, medicine). The 'rational' sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy or Greek humoural medicine, were grouped together with 'irrational' disciplines like alchemy, magic or astrology. However, the classification of different branches of knowledge was neither uniform nor static, but shows a plurality of values and a noticeable change in priorities during the first centuries of Islamic history. When the Ayyubids arrived on the stage in the 12th century, Arabo-Islamic sciences dominated the field. A considerable role in this development is attributed to the work of al-Ghazali, who held an instrumentalist and religious view of all secular knowledge, and who established a clear distinction between valuable and harmful knowledge.[3]

Throughout the Islamic world knowledge was perceived as an intellectual and spiritual force which dominated society; the notion that it strengthened political power and a sound exercise of that power was widely accepted. This is indicated by advice ascribed to the caliph 'Abd al-Malik, who is said to have admonished his sons to acquire knowledge and to advance thereby in power and rank.[4] Accordingly, Ayyubid princes liked to be seen as patrons of learning who attracted artists, literati and scholars to their courts. Even though al-Mu'azzam and al-Ashraf were notorious for their attempts to forbid the teaching of rational sciences in the *madrasa*s, under the rule of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa and al-Malik al-Nasir, the rational sciences flourished, and

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[1] According to classical art theory, the illusion of life was the main criterion in an evaluation of art. The defining feature of life was the capability of self-movement; Bredekamp 2002, 49. During the first centuries of Islam this attitude was still current. The quality of a painting was discussed in terms of its lifelikeness, expressed through movement. The most well-known example is the account of a contest between artists taking place at the Fatimid court. The painters produced depictions of a dancing girl who seemed to step into a niche or to come out of it respectively; Arnold 1965, 22.

[2] With regard to the problem of defining and classifying the concept of knowledge, see the comprehensive study by Rosenthal (1970). Heck (2002) concentrates on the role of the state and social groups in the construction of knowledge, pointing to the significance of language as the decisive element in its classification; Bakar (1998) conceives of the classification of knowledge in terms of categories of reason and revelation.

[3] In his fundamental article on the appropriation of foreign knowledge into Islamic culture, Sabra (1996, 19) describes this phenomenon as the third stage in a process of appropriation and naturalization in which the philosopher's view of knowledge was replaced by the instrumentalist view proposed by al-Ghazali.

[4] Rosenthal 1970, 327. This idea was based on the Platonic concept of the philosopher-king, which appears in Muslim *adab* in a statement ascribed to Diogenes. Asked when the world was in good shape, he replied 'when its kings philosophize, and its philosophers are kings'; Rosenthal 1970, 329.

Abu 'l-Fida, Ayyubid prince of Hama, studied astronomy and compiled an astronomical table *(zij)*.[5]

In the same way, the literary genre of 'mirrors for princes' stresses the importance of acquiring and patronizing knowledge. Persian examples of the genre such as the *Qabusnama* and the *Siyasatnama*, or the *Nasihat al-muluk* of al-Ghazali, which were popular in the Saljuq and post-Saljuq periods, represent patronage of learning as one of the obligations of the ruler, as well as a means to represent and exercise his power and influence.[6] The prince is admonished to pay attention to the counsel of wise men and, as the archetypal model for this kind of relationship, Alexander the Great and his advisor Aristotle are named. In folk tradition and in epic literature, the concept of knowledge is mirrored in the person of the ideal ruler who is gifted with special knowledge or in possession of miraculous devices, which inform him about things or persons remote in space and time.[7]

The place where the concept of the ruler as a patron of knowledge was celebrated in a dense conflation of symbol and reality was the princely court. At the court scholars, artisans and craftsmen were assembled to put their skills at the disposal of the ruler. From a pragmatic point of view, this meant a concentration of outstanding ability which allowed the production of superior artistic or scientific achievements. Ideologically speaking, it enabled the ruler to stylize himself as hero of culture, reshaping and renewing the human environment. Discussing this phenomenon with regard to the Byzantine court, Trilling created the term 'conspicuous virtuosity', implying a degree of virtuosity beyond even the best utilitarian work, and describing an activity which is primarily non-utilitarian and non-pragmatic. It was ideological in meaning, and moral or honorable in quality rather than being strictly useful either materially or economically.[8] The fruits of 'conspicuous virtuosity' were skilfully produced objects which referred to the power and prestige of the ruler, or even acted as a substitute for his actual presence. In this way, they represented much more than their actual selves. In terms of diplomatic gift-exchange, portable objects of superior workmanship established relationships and represented allegiance, alliance and hierarchy.[9]

Even though information about courtly life and ceremony under the Ayyubids is sparse, the objects which have survived together with evidence from contemporary sources implies that portable objects played a considerable role in official ceremonies. During processions, regal objects like the *ghashiya* (a ceremonial saddle cover) and banner were displayed to the public, and the granting of sets of robes of honour, as well as conspicuous consumption during official banquets, were constituent elements in the formulation of a shared vocabulary of courtly life.[10] On some occasions portable objects were used as a means to convey a specific message. This is illustrated by a lively account of Sibt ibn al-Jauzi. 'During the siege of Damascus in 643/1245, the Ayyubid prince al-Salih Isma'il ordered that a prayer-carpet, a basin and a jar should be presented to the commander of the besiegers to remind him of his status as a man of religion. Mu'in al-Din answered by sending a harp, a wind-blown instrument and a robe of red and yellow silk.'[11]

In this line of argument, the presentation of an artificial tree which in 1228 the Ayyubid sultan al-Kamil sent to Frederick II should be interpreted as a gesture heavily charged with symbolism.[12] The tree with branches and leaves of silver and with small birds that sang with the vibration of the leaves reminded the contemporary beholder of the well-known artificial tree, flanked by life-sized figures of horsemen, in the so-called 'palace of the tree' in ʿAbbasid Baghdad.[13] The viewer possibly even made an association with the artificial tree which stood in front of the throne of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos. However, the tree bearing golden fruit in the context of palatial architecture was also evocative of Muslim and Christian traditions concerning the temple and throne of the archetypal ruler Solomon.[14] By presenting the Christian

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[5] Even though under Ayyubid rule, the focus of patronage concentrated on the foundation of religious institutions and of *mansabs* (stipendiary posts) for the religious élite, study and teaching of the non-Arabo-Islamic sciences was not completely excluded from the *madrasas*. Among these, astronomy and medicine in particular flourished. See the introductory chapters on astronomy by King (1993, 386-95), and on medicine by Micheau (1993, 382-85). For patronage of learning under the Ayyubids as a means to gain political and social influence, see Chamberlain 1994, 95 ff. Makdisi (1981) emphasizes the pietistic motives of the founders. Mottahadeh (1980) and Berkey (1992) stress the informal character of learning, and the importance of the teacher-student relationship.

[6] The 'mirrors for princes' genre has not yet been the focus of attention for art historians. It presents not only a rich source of information on etiquette and life at court, but it is important in that it displays the development of the conceptual background in the process of the creation of an imperial image. An excellent introduction to the literary genre and its different traditions is given by Heck (2002, 225-39).

[7] Key figures are Alexander the Great and Solomon. Both are described as heroes of culture who embody imperial wisdom and a mastery of the cosmos, inventing crafts, and instructing mankind in fundamental activities. Both are reported to be in possession of magical devices such as a cup that never empties or a magic mirror enabling its user to see distant places. For Solomon, see Walker 1995, 822-24, Flood 2000, 87, Soucek 1976, 72-123, and Soucek 1993, 109-34. Discussion of the theme of Alexander is restricted to the *Eskandar-nama* and the Alexander romance (for a bibliography see Hanaway 1998, 612); a contribution of the present author on the theme of Alexander in 12th-century Syria is in preparation. In the Persian tradition, the mythical heroes of the *Shahnama* play a prominent role, even if in practice there was a considerable degree of overlap with the Solomonic tradition; see Melikian-Chirvani 1971, 1–41.

[8] Trilling 1997, 225.

[9] The importance of portable objects in the creation of a shared vocabulary of luxury, and as a means to communicate between courts is discussed by Hoffmann (2001, 25ff).

[10] On ceremonial, see Eddé 1999, 204 and on banquets see *ibid.*, 96, 192, 231-33. For the splendid entry of Daifa Khatun into Aleppo, see *ibid.*, 222.

[11] Sibt ibn al-Jauzi 1951-52, 756.

[12] Baer 1989, 45; Shalem 1998, 48.

[13] Le Strange 1897, 38.

[14] Flood 2000, 85-6, 90; various rulers in the eastern Islamic world were in possession of artificial trees (*ibid.*, 90 n.153; Saliba 1985, 150 n.18). A

emperor with a symbolically charged object like the artificial tree, al-Kamil defined their respective positions as members of the 'family of kings' on an equal footing.[15]

A further step towards a thorough understanding of the different layers of meaning in al-Kamil's gesture emerges from the various accounts of reception ceremonies. Liutprand of Cremona, who visited Byzantium as an envoy in 948 and 966, describes the throne of the Byzantine emperor and the artificial tree with chirping birds in front of it. He mentions particularly that he was neither terrified nor surprised by the spectacle, and admits to be ignorant of how the mechanism worked.[16] In his description of the reception ceremony at the ʿAbbasid Palace in Baghdad, al-Khatib al-Baghdadi used very similar expressions. He speaks of the marvellous decoration which included carpets, textiles, jewels and mechanical devices, and mentions that the spectacle inspired awe and fear in the ambassadors. In both cases next to the demonstration of wealth and power, the spectacle was obviously aimed at impressing and bewildering the spectators.[17] The psychological advantage is clear, as Trilling states. 'Few things put a rival more effectively at a disadvantage than a display of qualitatively superior technology, and there is no better test of qualitative superiority than its ability to baffle.' In the following, an attempt is made to pursue the argument one step further, and to interpret the policy of strengthening one's position by inspiring awe as an essential element in courtly ceremonial. The theoretical backbone of this notion will be found in a line of Muslim political thought, 'which envisions the state as a function of personal relations, where decision-making does not occur according to the rules of a legal code or administrative practice, but according to a code of conduct defining norms of behaviour between ruler and ruled.'[18] In this concept of political community through personal relations, the exercise of power is represented most distinctly by the concept of *haiba*, variously translated as 'dread' or 'awe'. The ruler's ability to inspire *haiba* in his subjects was considered as the primary tool for the formation of political community.[19] It is in this sense that in this context the display

of marvellous mechanical devices made of costly material should be interpreted, as just another means to inspire *haiba* by demonstrating the power to comprehend and control the forces of the physical world.

Another example of high technology was presented to Frederick II in 1232 by the Ayyubid al-Ashraf, brother and bitter rival of al-Kamil. Al-Ashraf entered into competition with his brother by sending an astronomical clock made of gold and studded with precious stones. Not only did the instrument simulate the course of sun, moon and the planets but it also functioned as a clock.[20] In terms of the exchange of diplomatic gifts, this again was a present with obvious imperial connotations, referring to a different aspect of royal iconography. Functioning as a sophisticated simulacrum which reproduced as accurately as possible the movement of the heavens, the instrument alluded to the cosmological dimension of rulership, thus giving expression to a widely disseminated concept. This is particularly reflected in contemporary specimens of inlaid metalwork which frequently show a composition which Baer has aptly termed 'the ruler in cosmic setting'.[21]

A detailed description of a comparable monumental water-clock, whose principal characteristic is the combination of an astronomical showpiece with an automaton in the shape of self-moving imitation animals and human beings, is given by the ingenious 13th-century inventor al-Jazari. In his *Compendium of the Theory and Useful Practice of the Mechanical Arts*, the author describes among other things the construction of a monumental water-clock, measuring twice the height of a man, which marked the passage of the hours of day and night by means of visual and audible signals. Rotating spheres in the upper part of the clock simulate the course of the celestial bodies.[22] Apart from this, his book comprises descriptions of vessels and figures suitable for drinking parties, pitchers and basins for phlebotomy and ritual washing, fountains, machines to raise water, locks, and a door made of cast brass for the king's palace. The Arabic term used by al-Jazari to denote the various devices he is describing is *hila* (pl. *hiyal*), understood in the sense of the Greek *mechane*, as discussed in the *Mechanical Problems* of Aristotle. According to the Aristotelian definition, a machine (*mechane-hila*) is 'any device, which allows one to

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golden palm-tree with fruits made of precious stones and pearls is mentioned in the *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Qaddumi 1996, 239). The Spanish Ambassador Clavijo mentions an artificial tree which was the height of a man in his description of the Timurid court (Lentz and Lowry 1989, 221).

[15] On the 'family of kings' see Dölger 1940, 397–420; Grabar 1987, 44–6; Flood 2001, 109 and 178.

[16] Trilling 1997, 228.

[17] In her discussion of ceremony at the court of the Spanish Taifa ruler Maʾmun ibn Dhi 'l-Nun, Robinson (2001, 194) points to the concept of 'mimesis' in official ceremony which was aimed at producing astonishment and bewilderment among the audience. 'The effect produced on a viewer by contemplation of such forms was one of bedazzlement and wonder, not pleasure.' In the same way, in antiquity the construction of automata served primarily as a means to inspire bewilderment, and to legitimate the ruler's position *vis-à-vis* his subjects, Schröder 1997, 357.

[18] Heck 2002, 226.

[19] Heck 2002, 214–15; Mottahadeh 1980, 175–90.

[20] Baer 1989, 44 fn 22; Shalem 1998, 48; Blume 2000, 49.

[21] Baer 1983, 258. In *The Wonders of Creation* by al-Qazwini, this concept is expressed as follows: 'The sun is the king, the moon his minister and heir apparent, Mercury his clerk, Mars his general, Jupiter his judge, Saturn his treasurer and Venus his concubine'; al-Qazwini 1848–49, 23.

[22] Hill 1974, fig.4 and 1981, 92–103. Elaborate clocks with zodiacal discs, opening and closing doors and moving figures, had a long history in the eastern Mediterranean, occurring almost exclusively in a royal context. In his discussion of the Bab Jairun clock at the Great Mosque of Damascus, Flood (2001, 137–38) points to the conceptual and ideological links between medieval monarchy, cosmology and horology. A dispute between the Saljuq Sultan ʿAbd al-Malik and the Mufti Abu'l-Maʿali over the determination of the end of Ramadan points to the importance attached to certain fields of reckoning time for religious purposes; Sayili 1960, 28.

overcome natural resistance, thus performing actions contrary to the natural tendency.' A close reading of the introductory chapter to al-Jazari's work shows that the author's use of a transparently Aristotelian terminology is quite deliberate, and runs parallel to pursuing a line of Aristotelian thinking. Thus he speaks of the devices and their construction as 'bringing forth from potentiality *(al-quwwa, dynamis)* into actuality *(al-fi'l, energeia)'*. Further research into the terminology used by other contemporary engineers clearly shows that they similarly refer to their work as dealing with 'philosophical models ... brought forth from nihility into existence'. A particularly significant statement is given by an earlier author, the 10th-century philosopher al-Farabi, who, in his *Enumeration of the Sciences*, devotes a full chapter to the science of *hiyal*, again using an obviously Aristotelian terminology. To summarize, therefore, it becomes clear that the mechanical sciences were 'unequivocally defined as the means by which one could bring forth ideas or principles that exist in potentiality into the observable actuality' and that any of the devices al-Jazari describes is supposed to be in theory an actualisation of some principle or other.[23] Against this background, devices such as the monumental astronomical clocks, which, in the eyes of the common contemporary beholder, must have appeared almost magical creations, were not just functional time-keeping devices but rather highly sophisticated working models of the cosmos, symbolizing the power to understand and to control the physical world.

This interpretation of devices such as the artificial tree or the various astronomical clocks as extravagant pieces of public or courtly art which expressed a certain aspect of courtly 'ethos' should be extended to another group of objects—astrolabes. Since the 11th century, astrolabes had been familiar to learned men throughout the Islamic world, having been used primarily to solve problems of spherical astronomy, and the mathematics of configurations of the celestial sphere above the observer.[24] While the majority of the extant instruments have an unostentatious and functional design, some pieces strike the observer by their external elaboration, scale and complexity. Clearly a decisive factor in their design was their public display. This is true for three of the most beautiful astrolabes ever made, which have elaborate figural decoration and silver inlay, all commissioned by Ayyubid patrons. A very large instrument signed by 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Sinan al-Ba'labakki, dated 619/1222-23, is dedicated to al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Sharaf al-Din 'Isa, ruler of Damascus from 576/1180 until his death.[25] One of the two pieces signed by

'Abd al-Karim al-Misri and dated 625/1227 names al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar al-Din Abu 'l-Fath Musa.[26] A third instrument in the German National Museum in Nuremberg[27] is signed by al-Sahl al-Asturlabi al-Nisaburi and is dedicated to an Ayyubid prince of Hama, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din.[28]

The astrolabe signed by al-Ba'labakki is remarkable first of all for its size; it measures 56cm in diameter. This makes the instrument a veritable showpiece. Because of its weight, it cannot be used in the usual way by lifting it with one hand. The impression of monumentality is enhanced by the elaborate decoration on the back of the astrolabe. The circular surface is divided into concentric circles, containing several scales. These are dominated visually by a broad band which contains personifications of the twelve signs of the zodiac and their respective planets inlaid in silver. A Kufic inscription below each of the representations gives the name of the respective sign. Further inscriptions name the patron, the makers, and the date of manufacture, as well as some specifications about the markings. The inscription referring to the patron begins with the phrase *bi rasm khizana maulana al-sultan*—'by order of the library/treasury[29] of our lord the sultan.' The appearance of this dedicatory phrase is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it is frequently found on the illuminated opening pages of books, which gives us further evidence for the close connection between artistic and scientific production in different media.[30] Secondly, it indicates the location where the instrument was probably kept, and on view for a restricted circle of learned men, students and travelling scholars.[31] The astrolabe of 'Abd al-Karim al-Misri also has an elaborately designed back. Alas,

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he was a staunch Hanafi with no objection to non-Islamic sciences. (See Richards in this volume for a biography—ed.). I would like to thank David King for generously letting me use his unpublished catalogue of astronomical instruments.

[26] Oxford, Museum of the History of Science, inv. no. 37148.

[27] Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, no. W1 20.

[28] There were three Ayyubid princes of Hama who held the title al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din: 'Umar (reg. 574-87/1178-91), Mahmud (reg. 626-42/1228-45), and Mahmud (reg. 683-98/1284-99). Mayer (1956, 82-3) dates the instrument to the second half of the 13th century, ascribing it to Taqi ad-Din III. Kolbas (1981, 8) pleads for Taqi al-Din II. King (1993, 432) gives an approximate date for the instrument between 1280 and 1380.

[29] Depending on the context, *al-khizana* is variously to be translated as 'treasury' or 'library'. This indicates an ambiguous role for a *khizana* as a place for collecting as well as for active work, research and education. King (1993, 432) translates the term as 'treasury'. Based on the quotations and observations given in notes 28 and 29 the present author prefers the reading of 'library'.

[30] This view tallies with the observation made by Caiozzo (2003, 144-46). In her detailed study of the iconography of astronomical and astrological imagery in the Middle Ages, she emphasizes the close connection between decoration on metalwork and the illustrations of astrological manuscripts, though without suggesting a reason for this. Perhaps the role of instrument-makers and instruments might provide an explanation?

[31] Astronomical instruments as the celebrated possessions of libraries are mentioned in the sources, for example a silver celestial globe made by al-Sufi for 'Adud al-Daula which was displayed in the Fatimid library in Cairo (Wellesz 1959, 4-5). A copper celestial globe purportedly once owned by

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[23] The preceding paragraph is based mainly on an article of Saliba (1985). For the quotations, see 1985, 141-47.

[24] On the principle and use of the astrolabe, see the article by Hartner 1967 in Pope and Ackerman, *Survey of Persian Art* (1967, 2530-54).

[25] Istanbul, Deniz Müzesi, no. 264. Al-Mu'azzam was the brother of al-Kamil and al-Ashraf, the patrons already mentioned in connection with the artificial tree and the astronomical clock. Contrary to the rest of his family,

the rete[32] is a later replacement. In the present context the instrument is of particular interest because of a rather lengthy inscription on its front. The prominent *thuluth* script runs around the rim, giving the full title of its patron and owner as al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Fath Musa.[33]

Another somewhat original astrolabe is signed by al-Sahl al-Asturlabi al-Nisaburi and is dedicated to an Ayyubid prince of Hama, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din (pl. XCIV). The intricately worked design of the rete, the inscription and the fine scrollwork on the suspension apparatus *(kursi)* are all inlaid in silver, with fine engraved lines giving details. The rete, the movable, 'celestial' part of the instrument, depicts a group of human figures as well as real and fantastic animals swirling around the axis of the astrolabe,[34] a design which is highly reminiscent of the animated equipment of the monumental water-clocks described by al-Jazari. The circular arrangement of fantastical figures spinning around the celestial north pole simulates the movement of the heavenly bodies, giving animation to a concept which is expressed in literal terms on yet another astrolabe. 'Look at the celestial sphere, it will show you marvels: therein is displayed the wisdom of the merciful One. Its motions are diverse, by the individual who moves, and it has meanings above all meanings'.[35]

Apart from the highly decorative and meaningful design of the rete, the astrolabe of al-Nisaburi is remarkable with regard to its construction. According to calculations by Stautz, the positions of the stars given on the rete, as well as those given on the back of the instrument, correspond to *ca* AD 800.[36] This means that, from a practical point of view, the astrolabe of al-Nisaburi was completely useless. Picking up on the argument pursued above, a possible explanation for this rather unusual feature might be found in the writings of the 13th-century astronomer al-ʿUrdi. Describing the astronomical instruments he built for the Maragha observatory, he says 'As for the instruments that we invented and completed, we brought forth some of them into actuality in full form ..., while others we made only models for them.'[37] One might speculate whether al-Nisaburi's astrolabe was made as a model, either to illustrate an ancient written source, or to demonstrate the theoretical principles of the organisation of the cosmos.

However, neither the size nor the intricately worked design of these three instruments were dictated by practical necessity. Whereas the monumental inscription of ʿAbd al-Karim's astrolabe undoubtedly calls for public display, the size of the instrument of al-Baʿlabakki was rather impractical, and as for the instrument of al-Nisaburi, practical aspects have been entirely ignored. This implies that next to practical use, public visibility was a determining factor in the design of the instruments. Consequently these astrolabes should be interpreted in a line with the astronomical clocks and mechanical devices as objects of 'conspicuous virtuosity', which demonstrated high technical skills and superior artistic workmanship. As examples of high technology, they promoted the practice and patronage of learning as an elevating activity. As objects of public or courtly art, their animated design served as a visible and—in the case of the water-clocks—audible manifestation of the ruler's claim to power by referring to his capability to comprehend and to control the fundamental forces of space and time.

Ptolemy and then in the possession of the Umayyad Khalid b. Yazid was in the library of Abu 'l-Qasim ʿAli ibn Ahmad al-Jurjani in the 11th century (Sezgin 1978, 15, 84). Hefening and Pearson (1987, 184) mention the same globe as once in the possession of the Fatimid library.

[32] The rete (Arabic *ankabut* 'spider' or *shabaka* 'net') is the 'celestial', movable part of the astrolabe on which the fixed stars are indicated as protuberances or pointers. For the construction and function of the rete, see Hartner 1967, 2542-45.

[33] The full text reads: *mimma amara bi ʿamalihi maulana al-sultan al-malik al-ashraf al-sayyid al-ajall al-kabir al-ʿadil al-mujahid al-murabit al-mu'ayyad muzaffar al-dunya wa 'l-din mu'izz al-islam malik al-nuslimin murin al-imam mughith al-anam rukn al-daula jamal (?) al-milla majd al-umma (?) sayyid al-muluk wa'l-salatin kahf al-juyush fi 'l-ʿalimin qatil al-kafira wa'l-mushrikin qahir al-khawarij wa'l-mutamarridin qamiʿ al-mulhidin ... ... al-baghi wa ... damigh al-mutamarridin fi 'l-bilad pahlawan-i jahan khusrau-yi iran shahriyar-i turan sultan al-ʿiraq hafiz al-jumhur wa hami al-thughur ghiyath al-umam malik al-ʿarab wa 'l-ʿajam shah-i arman nasir amir al-mu'minin abu 'l-fath musa ibn al-malik al-ʿadil abu bakr ibn ayyub nasarahu 'llah.* This reading of the inscription differs in some minor points from the reading by King in his unpublished catalogue.

[34] The idea of designing an astrolabe rete with zoomorphic features was not altogether new. An early example of this type is the astrolabe of al-Khujandi, dated 374/984-85, which has bird-headed and leaf-shaped starpointers (Kuwait, private collection). Later examples, for instance the instrument of Muhammad b. Hamid al-Isfahani (d. 558/1162-62, Teheran, Muze-Iran-Bastan, no. 8458 2458), show zoomorphic starpointers of a mnemonic type, referring to the name of the respective star. The originality of the astrolabe of al-Sahl lies in the choice of figures represented as well as the way in which they are arranged within the frame. The representation of the figures follows, with the exception of two of them (albeit in a rather superficial manner), the traditional iconography of the constellations introduced by al-Sufi in his *Book on the Fixed Stars (Kitab suwar al-kawakib al-thabita)*. Unlike the representation of zoomorphic starpointers on other astrolabes, which tend to show just the upper part, or even only a limb, of a figure, the seven human figures, four animals and two fantastic creatures are depicted in their entirety, with parts of their body or their garments serving as a starpointer. The framework of the rete, which serves as a support for the figures, is reduced to a minimum, whereas the figures are themselves connected to each other, forming a sort of net. The resulting design is very much reminiscent of representations on celestial globes.

[35] An astrolabe with gear mechanisms signed by Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Rashidi al-Isfahani, dated 618/1223-34 (Oxford, Museum of the History of Science [inv. no. 48213]; translation by Margoliouth in Gunther 1932, 119).

[36] King 1993, 432.

[37] Saliba 1985, 144.

Chapter 22
AYYUBID ARCHITECTURE IN CAIRO

Bernard O'Kane

The Ayyubids ruled in Cairo for less than a hundred years, a period which was characterised by internecine and Crusader warfare, plagues, famines, and not infrequent squandering of the public purse by rulers either dissolute or desperate to survive.[1] Within these constraints, the wonder is perhaps not that we have so few monuments surviving from the Ayyubid period, but that there are so many. Although the constant warfare was a huge drain on resources, it did bring at least one significant benefit to building operations—a ready supply of labour. Ibn Jubair noted that the citadel was being worked on by 'the foreign Rumi prisoners whose numbers were beyond computation. There was no cause for any but for them to labour on this construction. The sultan has constructions in progress in other places and on these too the foreigners are engaged so that those of the Muslims who might have been used in this public work are relieved of it all, no work of that nature falling on any of them.' The second major Ayyubid citadel at Cairo, that of al-Salih Najm al-Din on the island of Roda, was also the work of foreign prisoners, as was his *madrasa*.[2]

As usual, the surviving buildings are much fewer than those known from the sources. For instance, of the twenty-five *madrasas* known to have been built by the Ayyubids in the Cairo area (i.e. including Fustat), we have the remains of only two. None of the six mosques, three *zawiyas*, three *ribats*, two hospitals and numerous commercial establishments, or the single *khanqah*, has survived. But the extant monuments do include two of Cairo's iconic buildings, the citadel and the tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i, which, together with the *madrasa* of al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub, became touchstones that encouraged embellishment and emulation or challenged subsequent patrons to surpass.

The number of *madrasas* shows clearly the importance of this institution to the Ayyubids. The waning of Fatimid caliphal power in the latter decades of their reign meant that several *madrasas* had already appeared in Alexandria before the coming of the Ayyubids. Saladin lost no time, even when only the *wazir* (vizier) of the Fatimids, in founding two *madrasas* in Fustat, one Shafi'i, the other Maliki, these being the two most populous *madhhabs* of the time.[3] The proliferation of *madrasas* was formerly seen as a counterweight to previous Fatimid propaganda, but it has been suggested that the Ayyubids used it as a tool to a variety of ends. Christians had attained great prominence in government circles under the Fatimids, and the establishment of *madrasas* was one way in which the Muslim community could reassert itself in the face of a large and active Christian population.[4] These *madrasas* were well, or even lavishly endowed,[5] and the stipends from their *waqfs* were a way of rewarding *'ulama'*, many of whom were imported into Egypt by the Ayyubids, and of ensuring their continued loyalty.[6] The importance of the *'ulama'* to the Ayyubid polity was further underlined by their preferment for important governmental positions, rather than those trained within the *diwans*, as had been the case previously under the 'Abbasids and Fatimids.[7]

The Citadel (pl. 22.1)

Even after Saladin had overthrown the Fatimids, his position in Egypt was precarious, not so much from Fatimid sympathisers as from Nur al-Din. In 1172 Saladin excused himself on the

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[1] For an historical summary of the period, see Chamberlain, 'Crusader Era', and Raymond, *Cairo*, Chapter 3. The portion of Maqrizi's *Kitab al-Suluk* relative to the Ayyubids has been conveniently translated by Broadhurst 1980.
[2] Broadhurst 1980, 264.

[3] Leiser 1985, 41.
[4] Leiser 1985, 45-7.
[5] Al-Khabushani, the director of Saladin's *madrasa* at the tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i, had a salary of 40 *dinars* a month, about four times the normal. Leiser 1985, 42.
[6] Chamberlain 1998, 232 and Leiser 1985, 42.
[7] Rabbat 1997, 280.

Pl. 22.1 Cairo. The Citadel (12th-19th centuries AD).

grounds of Cairo's instability from Nur al-Din's request to join him in besieging Karak, knowing full well that the latter's suspicions would be aroused. The following year Saladin's brother, Turanshah, was dispatched to conquer Yemen; it was to be a fallback for Saladin and his family if Nur al-Din did decide to attack.[8] As it turned out, just when Nur al-Din's preparations to invade Egypt were complete, he suddenly died. The citadel in Cairo was not begun until two years later, but the decision to build it was no doubt due to a combination of factors. Nur al-Din's repair of the major citadels of Aleppo, Damascus, Hims and Hama, including residential quarters at the first two, undoubtedly provided a model, and one that was followed by virtually all the Turkish or Kurdish rulers of the Jazira and Syria in his time.[9] Defence was advisable against a number of quarters. These included the Crusaders, who had advanced very close to Cairo in 1169, Fatimid sympathisers (although they were probably the least of Saladin's worries), and, most importantly, given the near conflict with Nur al-Din, other ambitious family members or local rulers. In addition, there would have been a stigma to continued residence at the Fatimid palaces, or Dar al-Wizara.[10] An imposing citadel and palatial residence sent a strong message of a new order of increased power to the surrounding population. The message is made clear on the foundation inscription of Saladin, which notes that it combines utility, beauty and comfort, but in the context of the Victory Sura which opens the inscription, and the phrase 'Reviver of the Dominion of the Commander of

the Faithful', which is appended to Saladin's name.[11] What is surprising is the location and size of this inscription: high up on the wall, on a plaque only 1.25m wide. True, it would have been visible to everyone as they passed the main gate, but given its dense and, it must be said, pedestrian script, reading it from the ground would have presented great difficulty, as it does today.[12]

The Citadel gave Cairo its first bent entrances, a military improvement from the earlier Fatimid gates. But the lack of archeological excavations within the Citadel, and its continuous habitation, mean that we have little knowledge of the Ayyubid buildings that were within the Citadel.[13] Arguably of more importance was the effect on the urban growth of the city, which now stopped expanding towards the north; the Citadel drew buildings towards it from the southern end of the Fatimid city, and also due west towards the canal. The crossroads *(saliba)* of this with the *qasaba*, the main artery continuing south

Broadhurst 1980, 46-7
Bacharach 1991, 123-5. Rabbat 1995, 16-7
Raymond 2001, 83

[11] *Muhyi daulat amir al-mu'minin.* Rabbat 1995, 71. Saladin had used this title earlier, in 576/1180-1, in an inscription relating to a gate and attached wall: van Berchem, *MCIA, Le Caire,* 727. A foundation inscription of Saladin dated to 573/1177-8 on the Bab al-Barqiyya, newly revealed in 2003 (unpublished), also carries the title.

[12] Slightly later Ayyubid inscriptions on citadels, such as that at the Lion Gate of the Aleppo citadel (al-Malik al-Zahir, 606/1209-10), were much larger and closer to the ground. See Allen 2003 (http://www.sonic.net/~tallen/palmtree/ayyarch/images/acit6.jpg). Allen also noticed that the serpent gate has traces of an effaced original inscription, presumably also of al-Malik al-Zahir (/images/acit14.jpg).

[13] The most celebrated Ayyubid structure within the Citadel is probably Joseph's Well, an extremely impressive technical achievement. For the textual evidence for the internal Ayyubid structures, which included a Dar al-'Adl, see Rabbat 1995, 78-80 and 85-6.

towards Fustat from Bab Zuwaila, thus became another prime architectural locus.

The Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafiʿi

Saladin's successor al-ʿAdil, like his brother before him, spent most of his time campaigning in Syria. Apart from continued work on the fortifications of the city, al-ʿAdil's only known foundation in Cairo was a small *madrasa* at Fustat. It is therefore not surprising that it was his son al-Kamil, governor of Cairo in al-ʿAdil's absence, who erected the most memorable building of al-ʿAdil's reign. Why should al-Kamil have decided to lavish his attention on Imam al-Shafiʿi's mausoleum? Several reasons can be adduced. Saladin had already enhanced the area by erecting a *madrasa* at the site, about which Ibn Jubair had the following to say:

> Over against it [the tomb of al-Shafiʿi] was built a school the like of which has not been made in this country, there being nothing more spacious or more finely built. He who walks around it will conceive it to be itself a separate town. Beside it is a bath and other conveniences, and building continues to this day.[14]

Ibn Jubair also says of the mausoleum itself that it was 'a shrine superb in beauty and size'. This probably indicates that the tomb was rebuilt, or at the least renovated, by Saladin, and incorporated into the plan of his *madrasa* at the site. Certainly, the asymmetrical entrances into al-Kamil's buildings can be best explained by passages leading to the *madrasa* which we know was on the site now occupied by the adjacent 19th-century mosque. Saladin's foundation may have been designed to call to mind the *madrasa* tomb complex of Syria and to supplant the *ziyara* to the mausoleums of the ʿAlids which the Fatimids had cultivated so assiduously.

When Saladin's son al-ʿAziz died suddenly after a fall from a horse in 1198, he was buried beside the tomb of al-Shafiʿi. The pilgrimage guides that abounded for the cemetery stressed the holiness of the gravesites and the efficacy with which prayers were answered there. Al-Kamil buried his mother at the site. He himself was first interred in Damascus immediately after he died there; but the reinterment of his body within the tomb of al-Shafiʿi was presumably the result of his previously expressed wish, suggesting that he was acutely aware of the *baraka* to be accrued from burial in the vicinity of the saintly champion of religious orthodoxy. Indeed, many graves that were previously at the site had to be moved to make way for the new construction.[15]

Pl. 22.2 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafiʿi (608/1211). Detail of exterior.

His erection of a spacious mausoleum also made pilgrimage to the site easier, and correspondingly increased the possibilities for *baraka*, as pilgrims would be more inclined to pray for a patron whose family cenotaphs were conspicuous within its walls.[16]

At the time of its erection the domed mausoleum of Imam al-Shafiʿi was one of the biggest in the Islamic world.[17] Its diameter of 15m was equalled in the contemporary Islamic world by the *qibla* dome chamber of the Isfahan Friday Mosque, and surpassed only by the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Marv (17.28m) and the Dome of the Rock (20.4m). Of course, its wooden dome is less of a technical achievement than the masonry examples, but it bears equal witness to the desire for its donor's munificence to be as conspicuous as possible. Such was the unprecedented size of the dome that the designer took no chances by making the lower walls extremely massive (2.75m thick), much more than was actually needed. We do not know for certain whether the present dome reflects that of the original, since Qaʾitbay made major repairs to the zone

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[14] Broadhurst (Ibn Jubair) 1952, 40.

[15] Taylor 1999, 42.

[16] Various fragments from wooden cenotaphs now in the Islamic Museum of Cairo suggest that the interior might have had a much more cluttered appearance than it does now. See Weill 1931, 1-2, 32-40.

[17] The most thorough account of the building is still Creswell 1952-9 Vol. 2:64-76.

Pl. 22.3 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i (608/1211). Detail of cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i (574/1178-9).

of transition, and therefore probably replaced the dome at the same time.[18]

The siting of the adjacent *madrasa* explains the asymmetrical entrances to the building. The one on the side opposite the *qibla* is the largest, although it is off-centre. It is aligned with the cenotaph of al-Shafi'i; presumably this was the axis of the mausoleum at the time of Saladin, and in the rebuilding of the mausoleum by al-Kamil its area was expanded to the west, which was the location of the cenotaphs of the patron and his mother.

Despite the lack of a major entrance, the exterior is still commanding. One advantage of the extreme thickness of the walls was that it permitted successive setbacks that successfully lighten and disguise the zone of transition. The slim bevel of the lower square is echoed in that of the larger one in the intermediate zone; the frieze of stylized shells that surrounds the latter has an added refinement on one of these bevels, consisting of loops in the surrounding vegetal frieze[19] (pl. 22.2).

It is at the top of the lower square and on this zone of transition that we have an early example in Cairo of stucco

which is—or reflects—the work of Maghribi craftsmen. The vertical panels that interrupt the geometric frieze which crowns the lower story have either dense geometric or arabesque ornament. Some of the latter includes Kufic in which the uprights are extended to form an interlacing frame in the form of a polylobed arch, a scheme that is similar to the decoration of many of the Almohad gates of Morocco.[20] Another Maghribi trait, that of mirror-writing, can be seen for the first time in Cairene epigraphy on one the spandrels of the north corner[21] (pl. 22.2).

The interior of the mausoleum has been much restored. The question of whether the zone of transition reflects the original is a controversial one.[22] Creswell noted

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[ ] The comparable decoration of the Wadayya gate is not stucco (*pace* Creswell 1952-9 Vol. 2, 75) but stone. For the most comprehensive readings of the epigraphy of the Wadayya gate at Rabat see now Ali 2001. The closest Maghribi stucco decoration is that of the Almoravids at the Qarawiyyin mosque at Fez (Terrasse 1968, pls. 42-3), work that was so ornate that it was considered offensive to the ascetic tastes of the new dynasty and which was covered up by them. The virtuoso talents of the stucco workers trained under the Almoravids must have been frustrated by the lack of opportunities to show what they were capable of, and their descendants must have relished the opportunity to be given free rein to their skills.

[ ] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, pl. 23a.

[ ] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 70.

In another major repair in by 'Ali Bey al-Kabir in 1772 the outer lead sheeting and the inner shell were replaced. Creswell 1952-9, 73

Creswell 1952-9 Vol. 2, pl. 23a.

Pl. 22.4 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i (608/1211). Detail of cenotaph of Imam al-Shafi'i (574/1178-79)

that the splayed *muqarnas* of the top tier has no parallel until the late 13th century, and that an exact match is found only in a mid 15th-century building (the Qadi Yahya mosque at Habbaniyya), causing him to attribute them to Qa'itbay's restoration of 1480. Against this, Behrens-Abouseif has noted that the profile of the dome resembles that of the mausoleum of al-Salih Najm al-Din, and that such a zone of transition would be very archaic for the Qa'itbay period. A wooden zone of transition of unprecedented size may indeed, as Behrens-Abouseif suggests, have necessitated unprecedented solutions, but part of the problem is that the comparative material in both the Ayyubid and Qa'itbay periods are largely masonry domes. The dome of the Qadi Yahya mosque which Creswell noted to be an exact match is indeed virtually identical, even to the detail of the unusual faceting of the single unit of *muqarnas* in the centre of the upper tier.[23] Just as important, it is of the same material—wood. Even if it would have been archaic for the Qa'itbay period, it may have been thought that a wooden model, even from some thirty years previously, may have provided the best model for the restoration. The alternative, that the architect of the Qadi Yahya dome suddenly reverted to a model over two centuries older, is less likely.

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[23] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, fig. 32

The *qibla* wall has three *mihrabs*, a scheme frequently found in late Fatimid mausoleums. Its re-use here shows that no sectarian meaning can be attributed to it. They are now decorated with inlaid marble in a scheme probably dating from the restorations of Qa'itbay; the original Ayyubid decoration is unknown.

The main material of Ayyubid interest in the interior is the variety of woodwork (pls 22.3-22.7). Of primary importance is the wooden cenotaph, dated to 574/1178-9, which Saladin donated at the time of the founding of the adjacent *madrasa*. This uses cursive script for the first time in Cairo, in the pyramidal upper section (pl. 22.3), although Kufic is found on the more extensive inscriptions on each of the lower rectangular sides (pls 22.3-22.4). The carpenter, 'Ubaid, known as Ibn al-Ma'ali, composed and crafted the cursive inscription that surrounds the top of the cenotaph, although it is otherwise inconspicuous, being barely one third of the height of the Qur'anic inscriptions below it. Well might he celebrate his virtuosity: this is one of the finest examples of medieval woodcarving to have survived. The geometric basis of the pattern is hexagonal, but with slightly different approaches on each of the upper, lower, wider and short panels. For the lower cube the long sides have five six-pointed stars, each surrounded by a hexagon with one elongated side; on the narrow sides
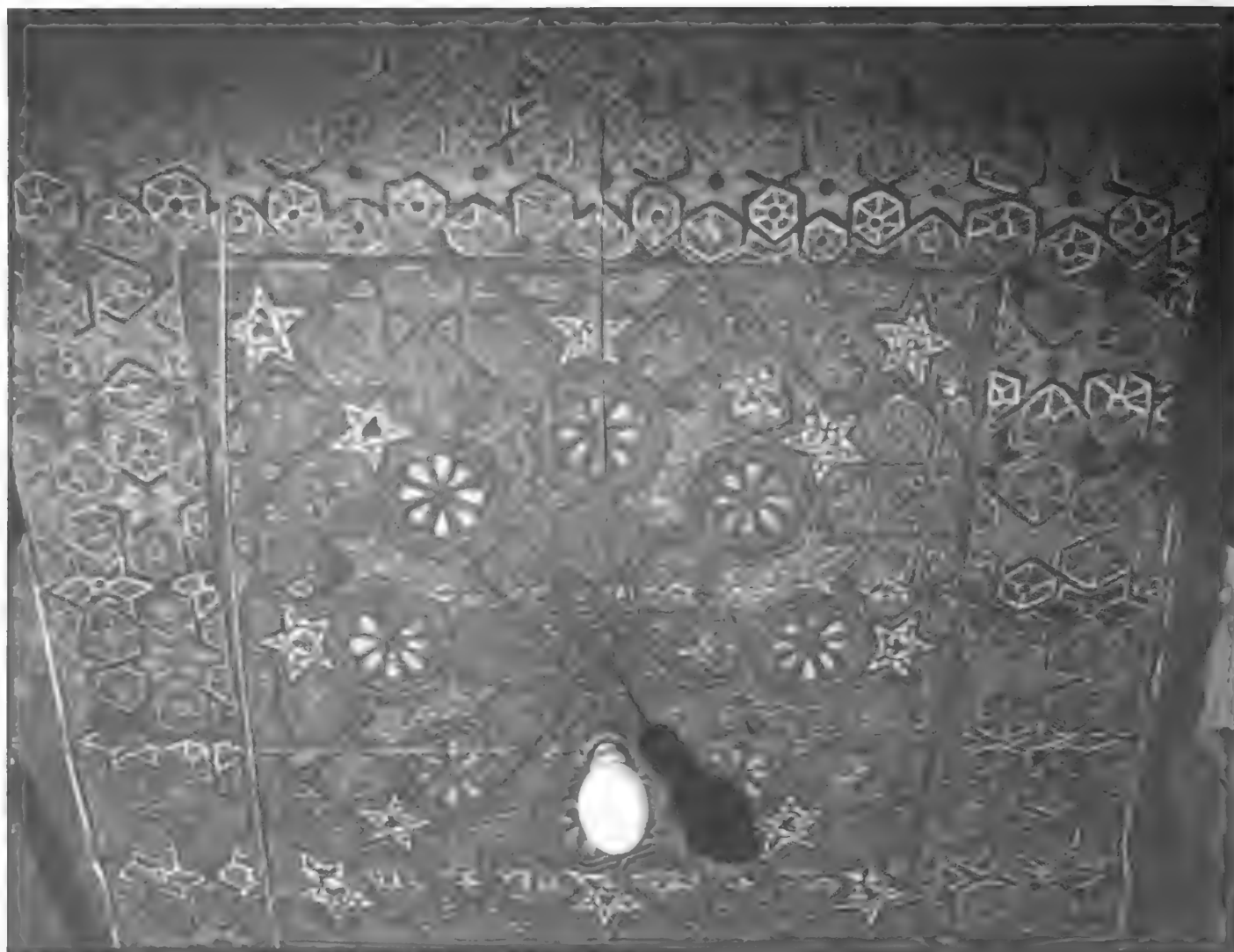
Pl. 22.5 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafiʿi (608/1211). Ceiling of east doorway.

the single five-pointed star at the centre of the composition is surrounded by smaller regular hexagons.

The upper pyramid is more complex, with a twelve-sided star in the centre within which is an off-axis six-pointed star: the arms of the latter are decorated with a continuous pearl band. The arabesque decoration is where the skill of the carpenter can be most appreciated. At first it appears to be symmetrical, but more careful examination reveals differences within every polygon (pl. 22.4). It is surprising that the motif of the grape still appears frequently, and even occasionally pairs of cornucopiae, motifs that had previous enjoyed a brief renaissance in late Fatimid woodcarving.[24]

The cenotaph of the cenotaph[25] shows further developments. The central star is again a twelve-sided one, but the pentagons that surround it are of unequal size as they are connected to the eight-pointed stars that flank it. The apparent intersection of star patterns was seen earlier on the portable *mihrab* of Sayyida Ruqayya, but there the pattern was simpler as all the stars were six-sided, framed by hexagons of equal size.[26] The carving has now also undergone development, the framing bands of the polygons displaying a continuous vegetal scroll in very light relief.[27] The carving within the polygons is even more delicate, with thinner stems and more background space visible. Only a fragment remains of what must have been a magnificent openwork Kufic inscription which ran around the fours sides.[28]

The main entrance from the exterior seems to have been the one opposite the cenotaph of Imam al-Shafiʿi in the north wall. It has a ceiling of coffered octagons, the inner ones

Whether this suggests that the craftsman, probably a member of the Syrian family of carpenters responsible for the *mihrab* (1167-8) of the Maqam Ibrahim at Aleppo (Maʿali b Salam) and the *minbar* (1168-9) for the Aqsa mosque, had spent time in Egypt, or whether one should attribute the late Fatimid pieces to Syrian craftsmen, remains to be investigated
Her name is not known, probably because she was of servile origin

Weill 1931, pl. 16
Although a late-Fatimid parallel can also be found for this in the portable *mihrab* of Sayyida Nafisa (Weill 1931, p. 14)
Cf that of a wooden lunette from the Sayyida Nafisa, which has also been attributed to the Ayyubid period (Weill 1931, pl. 26).
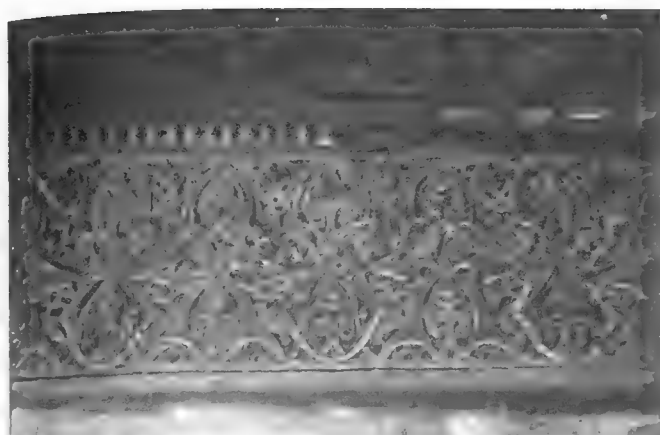
Pl. 22.6 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i (608/1211). Arabesque frieze.

Pl. 22.7 Cairo. Mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i (608/1211). Kufic frieze.

with eight-pointed stars enclosing a lobed rosette. This is at the beginning of a series in Cairo that stretches well into the 14th century.[29] The smaller entrance in the east wall has another decorated wooden ceiling; at its centre is an eight-pointed star from which radiate lobed rosettes (pl. 22.5).

Running all around the dome chamber, including even the entry and the *mihrabs*, is a band of arabesques (pl. 22.6). It was difficult to appreciate the complexity of this design until it was cleaned and repainted some years ago. Like the stucco on which it may have been based, it is in deep relief. Another frieze (pl. 22.7), this time consisting of a Kufic inscription encircles the four walls of the dome chamber at the height of brackets which once supported the lighting system, and even runs along the sides and front of the brackets. These brackets are therefore original, and are another early surviving example of a feature that was to become standard in large Mamluk dome chambers.

The Funerary Enclosure of Abu Mansur Isma'il (613/1216)

The portal and *iwan* in the cemetery, some way to the south of the mausoleum of Imam al-Shafi'i, known as the mausoleum of *amir* Abu Mansur Isma'il, is a structure whose function is controversial. It consists of a stone portal with a corridor behind, and an *iwan* (the earliest surviving in Cairo) 21m away. The portal is of interest on account of its outstanding decoration (pl. 22.8), consisting of a frieze of square billets above a *naskhi* inscription on a floral ground. The billets, the central two of which have *al-mulk li'llah* in a delicate Kufic while the others contain arabesque and geometric decoration,[30] are at first sight symmetrically arranged, but a closer inspection shows subtle changes between each pair. The Qur'anic inscription below is
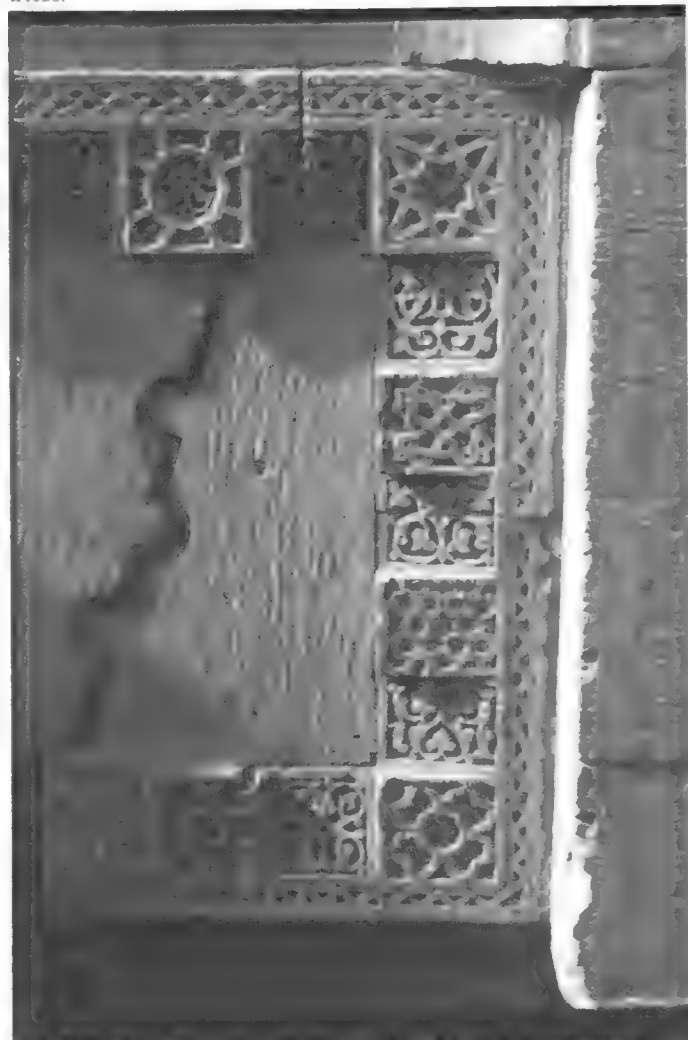
Pl. 22.8 Cairo. Funerary enclosure of Abu Mansur Isma'il (613/1216). Detail of portal.

equally a masterpiece of carving, with letters of rounded profile upon an unusually crisp vegetal scroll that recalls the cenotaph of the mother of al-Kamil. Such a detailed background was never again attempted in Cairene stone-carved epigraphy.

The inscription identifies the building as a mausoleum (*turba*); although now in its rightful place within the portal to the monument, it had been earlier moved to the cenotaph within the *iwan*. Van Berchem had earlier noted that its measurements indicated that it had originally been over the portal, an argument accepted by Creswell. But Creswell added

Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 68

The arabesques are recessed, the geometric billets raised
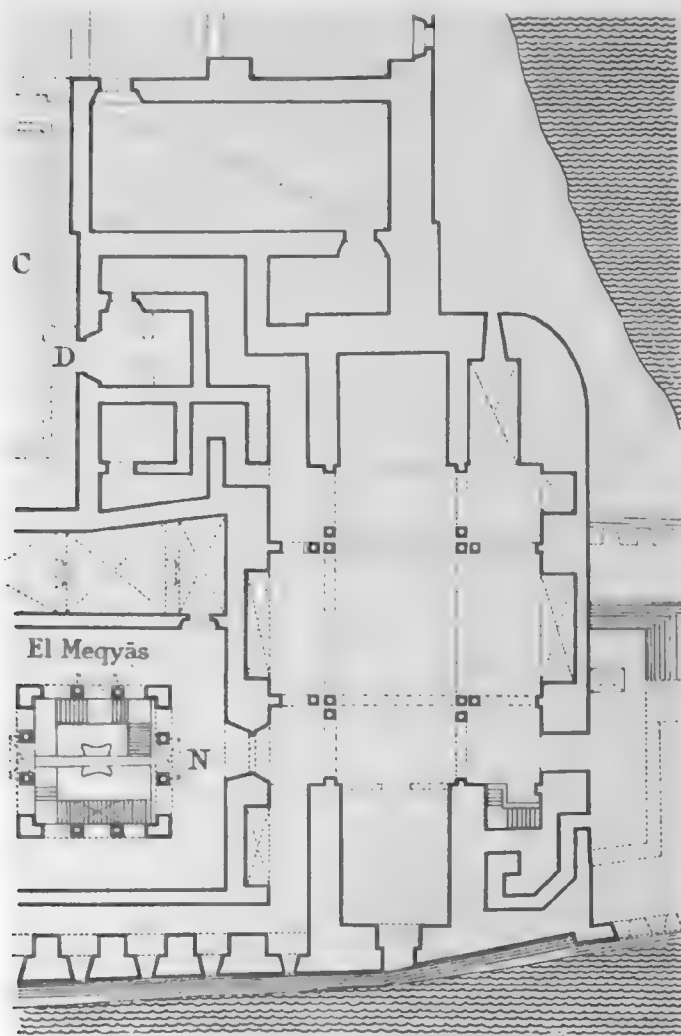
Fig. 22.1 Cairo. Roda Island, Citadel, plan (after Creswell).

'the fact that the slab has been *moved* deprives it of any evidence that the building in which it now rests [ie. the *iwan*] was ever now connected with the portal.'[31] It must be admitted that the portal is some way from the *iwan*, is not quite in exact alignment with it, and has an internal doorway that led to the north as well as to the south, making the reconstruction of a burial courtyard with an *iwan* problematical.[32]

Yet Creswell accepted that the style of the *iwan* is of the same period as the portal, and in fact himself surmised that portal and *iwan* were part of a complex that included a two-*iwan* *madrasa* with a domed mausoleum of the founder to the right of the portal.[33] But Abu Mansur Isma'il had already founded a *madrasa* within Cairo, the Shafi'i Madrasa of al-Sharifiyya.[34]

Even though a wealthy *wazir*—he was the supervisor of the *hajj* pilgrimage—there is no known instance of a non-royal Ayyubid patron building more than one *madrasa* in Cairo. And had the complex consisted of a *madrasa* and tomb, then, as is the case with all the known foundation inscriptions on complexes in Cairo which include both functions, a common doorway would most likely have mentioned the foundation of the *madrasa* only, as it was the institution most likely to draw merit, and least likely to raise objections.[35] Creswell noted that there is not a single instance in Egypt and Syria where an *iwan* is used as a mausoleum. While this is certainly a strong point, it ignores examples from a region not far beyond—Anatolia—where the *iwan* tomb is also a rarity, but where four 13th-century examples exist.[36] The earliest, at Seyidgazi, is ascribed to the mother of 'Ala' al-Din Kaiqubad, and therefore possibly contemporary with the *iwan* of Abu Mansur Isma'il. Perhaps we should regard *iwan* tombs as an experiment that never really caught on, as evidenced by this and the few that are known from Anatolia and slightly later in Iran.[37] It is probably best to view this ensemble as a fashion that similarly failed to take hold, but which, as the foundation attests, should be seen as a funerary enclosure.

The Citadel on Roda Island

Despite its destruction, we have sufficient information from the sources to understand the extravagance of this construction. Why was it needed? On purely military grounds, it could hardly have rivalled the Qal'at al-Jabal (as the Citadel of Saladin was called). Several reasons have been suggested: al-Salih's mistrust of the troops stationed in the Citadel and, the corollary, a need to feel safe in a base manned by his own *mamluks*;[38] a necessity to isolate these same *mamluks* from the resentment they stirred up in the army;[39] a desire for a defensive and palatial complex in a suburban setting near to water; and the yearning for a legacy as the founder of a new centre of administration.[40]

[31] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 79
[32] This will remain so unless it ever becomes possible to reconstruct the plan through excavation
[33] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 80
[34] Maqrizi, *Khitat* Vol. 2, 373

[35] All the inscriptions in medieval Cairo that use the word *turba* are found on mausolea, frequently within complexes; the one that appears on an entrance to a complex, the mosque and tomb of Ahmad al-Mihmandar (dated 1325), begins: *amr bi-bina hadhi'l-turba wa'l-masjid al-mubarak*, i.e. mentioning both functions of the complex.
[36] Aslanapa 1971, 146.
[37] A 14th-century example is the *iwan* at Garladan, near Isfahan: see Wilber 1955, cat. no. 56; for 15th-century examples at Marv, see Golombek and Wilber 1988, cat. no. 98.
[38] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, pls 39a, c; for the Jerusalem examples see in Auld and Hillenbrand 2000, 21.
[39] Rabbat 1995, 86, although given al-Salih's iron grip on the reins of power one wonders whether he could not have achieved the same end by a reorganisation within the earlier citadel.
[40] Rabbat 1995, 86.
[41] MacKenzie 1992, 76.

Fig. 22.2 Cairo. Salihiyya complex (641/1242-3; 1250).
Reconstruction (after Hampikian).

According to Maqrizi, al-Salih was passionately
addicted to polo playing,[41] and the huge space sequestered
for the Roda citadel would certainly have allowed for this. It
even had space for a game park,[42] another pastime eminently
suitable for the outstanding horsemanship that being an avid
polo player requires.

Thanks to the drawing and description of the part of
the palace in the *Description de l'Egypte* we have the plan of a *qa'a*
(reception hall) from the palace.[43] It consisted of two vaulted
iwans facing each other and a dome in the centre which, to
judge from its oblong base and flimsy supports of groups of
three columns, must have been wooden (fig. 22.1). The vaulting
of the *qa'a* relates it to the only other vaulted example in Cairo,
the Qa'at al-Dardir, which may also be Ayyubid.[44] Some idea
of the vanished splendour of the rooms of the citadel may be
gained from the four enormous columns that form the main
support within the mausoleum of Qala'un, which came from
the Roda citadel.

As mentioned above, one reason for the affordability
of al-Salih's constructions was the availability of Crusader
prisoners to work on them.[45] A rare example of their
involvement in the style of architecture on which they worked
is seen in a doorway from the courtyard that leads to the *qa'a*
mentioned above; the slim engaged colonettes and capitals of
the portal are thoroughly Gothic.[46]

The Salihiyya (641/1242-43) (pl. 22.9)

After Saladin's coup, his troops and *amirs* were quartered within
the old Fatimid palaces. Only seventy years later was this
arrangement transformed, when a large portion of the eastern
palace was demolished to make way for al-Salih's *madrasa*
(1242-3). This had an unusual plan, consisting of two parallel
courtyards, each with two *iwans*, each *iwan* being assigned to
one of the four legal *madhhabs*. Earlier in 1225, not far away, al-
Salih's father, al-Kamil, had constructed a *madrasa* for teaching
hadith with a single two-*iwan* courtyard.[47]

Creswell used this *madrasa* as the starting point for
an excursus on the origins of the cruciform plan of Cairene
madrasas, insisting on their primacy. Yet, as Hillenbrand has
pointed out, the earliest examples are Anatolian Saljuq ones

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[41] Broadhurst (Maqrizi) 1980, 296. MacKenzie (1992, 76) notes in this
context al-Salih's revitalization of the Qaramaidan, and the polo grounds at
Bab al-Luq.

[42] 'Part of this area was enclosed by a fence, which preserved the sultan's wild
game;' Ibn Sa'id, *apud* MacKenzie 1992, 74.

[43] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 86.

[44] O'Kane 2000, 152-3. The documents from this period show that the design
of *qa'as* at the time was in a state of flux, with the most frequently occurring
types being the single-*majlis*, *majlis-iwan* and single-*iwan qa'as*. Sayed 1987.

[45] See n. 1 above.

[46] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 87. The only other example in Cairo is in the
curlicue window grilles of the Qala'un complex, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, pl. 66c

[47] Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 80-3. The monument is currently under restoration;
preliminary soundings seem to indicate that the monument did have student
cells on its northern side. This arrangement was doubted by Creswell on
account of a Mamluk *amir's* bath of 1261 that replaced a house.

Pl. 22.9 Cairo. Salihiyya complex (641/1242-43). Overall view.

Pl. 22.10 Cairo. Salihiyya complex (641/1242-43). Entrance portal.

of which Creswell was ignorant, and these in turn were quite possibly dependent on now lost Iranian or, possibly, Syrian models.[48] We can similarly find in Anatolia a model for the plan of the Salihiyya. Even if does not have a passageway between its two courtyards, the Çifte Madrasa at Kayseri (602/1205) is a close analogue.[49] But here too, it is possible that a now lost Iranian or Syrian example provided a model for both the Salihiyya and the Kayseri Çifte *madrasa*s.[50]

The façade is the most impressive element of the remaining *madrasa* (pls 22.9-22.10). Recent excavations within the mausoleum of al-Salih have revealed that 11.25m of the original façade were destroyed to make room for the dome chamber, so that the whole of the original façade would have

had a length of just over 100m.[51] This is indeed an impressive figure, and given that each window (there were twelve to either side of the central bay) was carefully carved in a style different from its neighbour, and that the whole formed a carefully graduated crescendo towards the central portal, this was certainly one of the most impressive façades of its time in the Islamic world. The minaret that topped the central portal was not at all necessary in the context of the *madrasa*, but was both an appropriate visual climax to the sweep of niches on either side, and an attention grabber. No wonder the façade was aligned with the street rather than the *qibla*: the desirability of advertising one's patronage was not lost on al-Salih's successors who, since they could not match his buildings in width, competed with it in height instead. Al-Salih's munificence was also advertised by the inscriptions with his name and titles both in the band above the portal and within the arched panel above it (pl. 22.10). It was the first readily visible Ayyubid foundation inscription of their remaining buildings in Cairo.

[48] Hillenbrand 1994, 183-6

[49] Aslanapa 1971, 130

[50] Golvin's theory that its unusual disposition could have been the result of the transformation of a *qaa* of the Fatimid palace which existed on the site has been rebutted by the discovery of the remains of the Fatimid palace during recent excavations beneath one of the courtyards. It can be seen that the palace followed the street, not the *qibla* orientation O'Kane 2000

[51] Hampikian 1997, 59-60, fig. 49c

The tomb that Shajar al-Durr built for her husband al-Salih after his sudden death was not envisaged in the original layout, as has sometimes been thought; it occupies part of the space of the former living quarters of the Malikite *shaikh* of the *madrasa*. It juts out six metres into the street, another attention-grabbing technique which was to be used by Baibars, Qala'un and al-Ghauri in their complexes on other parts of the same street. Prominent on the exterior are several examples of the seal of Solomon, a motif also present in Ottoman Jerusalem.[52] The recent restorations uncovered the crypt, decorated with a fine painted plaster Qur'anic inscription running around its walls. Its interior has two notable features: a zone of transition that incorporates three tiers of *muqarnas*, instead of the two normal under the Fatimids; and a *mihrab* revetted with marble, common earlier in Syria, but the earliest surviving example in Cairo.[53] Cairo also lagged behind Syria in complexes like this which combined a mausoleum with another religious institution,[54] but Shajar al-Durr's model soon became the norm within Mamluk Cairo. The mausoleum also played a prominent role in Bahri Mamluk history, for it was a vital part of the inauguration ceremonies of every sultan.

Shajar al-Durr herself, possibly during the period of her regency, incorporated a mausoleum in her own complex near the mausoleum of Sayyida Ruqayya. It also included a *madrasa*, a palace, a bath and a garden. The *madrasa* seems to have had an *iwan* that faced outwards, possibly towards a garden, as in the case of the Firdaus Madrasa at Aleppo.[55] Her mausoleum is notable for the hood of its *mihrab*, which is decorated with a mosaic consisting of a *shajara ' l-durr* (tree of pearls)[56] (pl. 22.11).
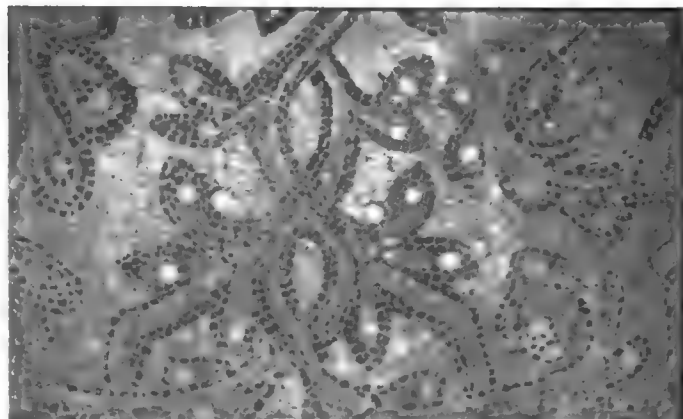
Pl. 22.11 Cairo. Mausoleum of Shajar al-Durr (1250). Detail of *mihrab* hood.

Summary

Ayyubid architecture in Cairo has elements both of rupture and continuity. The style and forms of decoration for the most part continued Fatimid models. This is seen for instance in the stylized scallop shell which was employed on the tombs of Imam al-Shafi'i, al-Salih and Shajar al-Durr, and the Salihiyya Madrasa, and in the geometric interlace of the balustrade of Imam al-Shafi'i, which follows those on the crowns of many Fatimid *mihrabs*. The same mausoleum also employs the triple *mihrab* which was commonplace in Fatimid examples. Although signed by a craftsman possibly of the same family as the Aleppan master of the *minbar* made for al-Aqsa Mosque, the carving and geometric design of the woodwork of the cenotaphs of Imam al-Shafi'i and the mother of al-Kamil developed naturally out of the portable *mihrabs* of Sayyida Nafisa and Sayyida Ruqayya.

The most obvious rupture is in the introduction of new building types such as the citadel, the *khanqah*, the *ribat* and the *zawiya*,[57] or in their great expansion, as was the case with the *madrasa*.[58] The *iwan* appeared, probably for the first time in Egypt,[59] and became an integral part of *madrasas* from this time onwards, its importance underscored by the first four-*iwan madrasa* in which one *iwan* was allotted to each of the four *madhhabs*, a feature that was to become commonplace under the Mamluks.

The element of size was clearly of more importance to the Ayyubids than to the Fatimids. The Shafi'ite *madhhab* to

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Creswell 1950- Vol. 2, pls 39a, c; for the Jerusalem examples see in Auld and Hillenbrand 2000, 21.

' Ibn Jubair describes the interior of the Mashhad al-Husain as follows: 'There too are various kinds of marble tessellated with coloured mosaics of rare and exquisite workmanship such as one cannot imagine nor come near to describing. The entrance to this garden [mausoleum] is by a mosque like to it in grace and elegance, with walls that are all marble in the style we have just described.' (tr.) Broadhurst 1952, 37. Saladin instituted a *madrasa* within this shrine (MacKenzie 1992, 112-3); the marble revêtment may have been carried out at the same time.

Hillenbrand 1994, 190-1

Behrens-Abouseif 1983

' One building that has not been discussed here is the mausoleum of the 'Abbasid caliphs (Creswell 1950-9 Vol. 2, 88-94). Those reading this volume will be familiar with the concept of inhumation and re-interment, since Jerusalem was so often a favoured destination for this practice. There is a possibility that the body of the caliph Abu Nadla (d. 1242) was moved there after his death. The mausoleum contains the cenotaphs of two sons of the Mamluk sultan Baibars, and one can surmise that Baibars may have built it as a family mausoleum even if he was eventually buried in Damascus (a view first put forward in Ibrahim 1978, 82 n. 23). Baibars had a burial enclosure within the *qarafa al-sughra* (Behrens-Abouseif 2000, 57; I am grateful to the author for this reference), i.e. in this vicinity, although its exact location had not been pinpointed—could this be it?

[57] On the latter three categories see MacKenzie 1992, 140-2

[58] The two hospitals of Saladin at Cairo and Fustat should also be mentioned here; they were extravagantly praised by Ibn Jubair (tr.) Broadhurst 1952, 33-4. They were not strictly a new institution, since Ibn Tulun had built one earlier at Fustat, but his of course had long been moribund

[59] A building known as the *iwan* was a major component of the Fatimid palace, but it is not known whether it was in the shape of the hall known to art historians, or whether it was a synonym for a palace. Grabar 'Iwan', *EI* Vol. IV, 287

which they adhered did not permit building more than one Friday mosque in each town. The plethora of available mosques thus eliminated the option of building a new congregational one, so that the citadel, the tomb[60] and the *madrasa* became the beneficiaries of this new monumentality. The length (100m) of the decorated façade of the Sahiliyya, for instance, was made even more striking by orienting it with the street pattern rather than the *qibla*, reinforcing a dichotomy that would be characteristic of all subsequent intra-mural Cairene monuments.

The Ayyubids made a decisive administrative break with the past and, with al-Salih's reliance on *mamluks*, brought about the means of their own overthrow that was to determine the history of the city for many centuries. Their Citadel was an equally important force for change; by being at the same time the focus of administration, the military, and the ruler's residence, it initiated the urban settlement of the areas between Cairo and Fustat and altered forever the future growth of the city.

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[60] Two 13th-century pilgrimage guides, which only exceptionally pointed out monuments to pilgrims, noted that the mausoleum of Yahya al-Shabihi was considered large (Rāgib 1977, n. 93); how much more imposing then must the tomb of Imam al-Shafi'i have been to all visitors, being visible from far off in every direction.

Chapter 23
THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK

Johannes Pahlitzsch

After the Franks surrendered Jerusalem to Saladin, in accordance with the conditions of the capitulation, all the residents of the city—Latin, Greek Orthodox, Armenian or Syrian Orthodox Christians—had to pay a ransom of ten *dinars* for a man, and five for a woman. All those who could not pay were to be taken as slaves.[1] However, while the Franks were forced to vacate the city completely once they had paid the ransom, Oriental Christians refused to leave. They turned to Saladin and humbly asked, according to the sultan's secretary, 'Imad al-Din:

> to stay on without being molested. And they offered service and served with all their might, carrying out every task with discipline and cheerfulness. They paid "the poll tax (*jizya*) out of hand and having been humbled."[2] Their mouths begged for what would afflict them and their affliction grew while their (mouths) were still open. Thus they entered protection (*dhimma*) and came under the security (of the ruling Muslims).[3]

In this way the Oriental Christians, immediately and of their own accord, took their place within Islamic society as 'protected people (*dhimmis*)'. 'Imad al-Din's language suggests, however, that while Oriental Christians accepted their new status, they regarded it as an affliction.

The term *dhimmi* applies to all non-Muslims classed as *ahl al-kitab*, 'People of the Book'. It therefore applied not only to the Christians but also to Jews, who resettled in Jerusalem under Ayyubid rule after having been expelled by the Crusaders.[4] Within the group of Christians, a differentiation has to be made between denominations that recognised the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451 and the non-Chalcedonian churches. To the former group belongs the Greek Orthodox Church, including the Georgians and the Melkites (that is, Arabic-speaking members of the church of the Byzantine empire, as a rule designated by Latin sources referring to Jerusalem as *Syri* or *Suriani*), as well as the Latin church. The group of non-Chalcedonian confessions, to name the most important, consisted of Mono- or Miaphysites, that is the Syrian Orthodox (Jacobite), Armenian and Coptic churches on the one hand, and the Apostolic Church of the East, the so-called Nestorians, on the other.[5] Even if the *dhimmis* were second-class citizens, they were granted, with certain restrictions, freedom to practise their religion and extensive internal autonomy. Since their status was defined as a religious community, leadership and dispensation of justice rested with the respective spiritual leaders.[6]

In general, the Ayyubids had a tolerant attitude towards the People of the Book. In the same way as Nur al-Din, Saladin had reinstituted the old discriminatory dress code and other comparable ordinances, but this legislation, rather than being a sign of repression of the non-Muslim population, was more an expression of strict compliance with the *shari'a* (Islamic law) propagated by both of these rulers.[7] Nor was extensive

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[1] See the lively reports of 'Imad al-Din 1888, 56–61 and *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* 1982, 69–73. The anonymous author of the so-called *Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens II* 1974, 149–50, who experienced the conquest as an eye-witness, explicitly cites these four Christian groups as residents of Jerusalem at the time; Lyons and Jackson 1982, 267–77.

[2] Sura IX: 29.

[3] 'Imad al-Din 1888, 61. Abu Shama (599/1203–665/1264) 1288/1872–73 Vol. II, 115, designated the Oriental Christians, in contrast to the Franks, as *al-nasara al-sakinun bi'l-quds*, that is, Christians residing in Jerusalem.

[4] On the Jewish community of Jerusalem, see section B below. Other denominations belonging to the People of the Book, such as the Samaritans or the Zoroastrians, had no settlements in Jerusalem at that time.

[5] Cf. in general von den Brincken 1973; Hamilton 1980, 159–61. The *Suriani* were also designated in Greek sources as '*Syroi*', see, for example, Theodosios Goudeles 1993, 138. On the misunderstanding of the term 'Monophysites' and the replacement of this with the designation 'Miaphysites', see Pahlitzsch and Weltecke 2001, 135 n. 52.

[6] On the status of the *dhimmis* see Tritton 1930; Fattal 1958; and also Cahen 1965, 227–31.

[7] Sivan 1967, 120; Bosworth 1979–80, 26–27.

persecution perpetrated by Saladin's successors. The demand for an intensified anti-Christian policy, raised again and again by individual Islamic jurists *('ulama')* in an appeal to the *shari'a*, was usually dismissed by those in power.[8] If, however, an anti-Christian mood prevailed, following attacks by Crusaders for example, propaganda by the *'ulama'* could indeed lead to attacks against Christian *dhimmis*. Thus it was that following the conquest of Damietta in 1219 in the course of the Fifth Crusade, anti-Christian riots broke out in Cairo in which native Christians were accused of supporting the Crusader armies.[9] While, as a rule, the Ayyubids tried to protect the Christians, they nevertheless exploited this anti-Christian mood during the Fifth Crusade in order to impose higher taxes on them—and also on the Jews—to help in financing the war against the Franks.[10] It is ultimately true of the situation of the *dhimmis* in the Ayyubid period that Islam could be both tolerant and intolerant. It was possible for the Ayyubids and the *'ulama'* to adopt either position with support from corresponding traditions: which tendency came to the fore depended on the historical situation.[11]

A: Christians

I Chalcedonian Christians

(a) Latins

After the Franks had left Jerusalem, only ten members of the order of the Hospital of St John were allowed to stay on for a single year to nurse any sick who remained in the Order's hospital.[12] With the armistice concluded by Richard the Lionheart with Saladin in the autumn of 1192, for the first time Latin pilgrims were again granted permission to visit Jerusalem. With all haste, members of the Crusader armies visited the most important Christian shrines, though through fear of assault they would move about only in large groups. Only two Latin priests and two deacons were authorized by Saladin to remain permanently in Jerusalem in order to perform religious rites in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre alongside the '*Syri*' (i.e. Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox), who were already serving there.[13]

Following the withdrawal of the armies of the Third Crusade, the situation evidently eased. To be sure, the pilgrims were still refused quarters in Jerusalem itself, so that the former stables of the Hospitallers in front of the Damascus Gate by the ruins of St Stephen's Church had to serve them as lodgings, but life and limb were no longer threatened.[14] Wilbrand of Oldenburg, who spent time in the Holy Land in 1211/12,

reported that upon entering Jerusalem, pilgrims were counted 'like sheep', received by an agent of the sultan, and immediately led to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. There they had to pay a fee of eight and a half 'drachmas' in order to be able to enter the church.[15] However, with the arrival of the armies of the Fifth Crusade in 1217, the political situation worsened.[16] Apparently it became too dangerous for Latin Christians to travel through areas under Ayyubid rule, so that Magister Thietmar had to disguise himself as a Georgian monk and his intention was to avoid Jerusalem. Despite this, he was captured by the Muslims, brought to Jerusalem and imprisoned outside the gates of the city. He had already begun to fear for his life when, instead, he was released in a surprising way. The prisoners included a Hungarian aristocrat, presumably from the Crusader contingent of King Andreas of Hungary, who knew that several of his countrymen, who were Muslims, were in Jerusalem in order to study. At their intercession, the prisoners were released and Thietmar could continue his journey. In contrast to this detailed portrayal of his own experiences, Thietmar's description of Jerusalem seems to be timeless with no indication of change. The only difference is that he wrote of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in clear contrast to Wilbrand of Oldenburg, that it 'is always closed, unlit and unhonoured, if not perchance opened by virtue of donations for the pilgrims.'[17] In Jerusalem, native Christians were also exposed to Muslim reprisal in times of intensified Christian-Muslim confrontation.

Although in 1229 Jerusalem had again come under Frankish dominion as a result of the agreement concluded by Frederick II with Sultan al-Kamil, the Holy City remained of secondary importance to the Franks. The Frankish nobility as well as the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Gerold of Lausanne (1225-39), preferred to remain within the security of Acre rather than settle in the largely unfortified Jerusalem. In addition, the patriarch categorically rejected the pact negotiated by Frederick II, since the Haram al-Sharif remained in Muslim hands. In this way, Gerold let slip a chance to return Jerusalem to the status of ecclesiastical administrative centre of the Kingdom. As a consequence, most of Jerusalem's other religious institutions also preferred to maintain their headquarters in Acre. This was particularly the case, since, in accordance with Frederick's pact, villages in the environs of the city, and thus the erstwhile property of the Latin churches and monasteries, remained in Muslim hands. However, Gerold did send the abbot of the Mount of Olives and the dean of Jaffa to Jerusalem as his vicars.[18]

[8] Sivan 1967, 121-23.
[9] Sivan 1967, 124-27.
[10] Sivan 1967, 127; Gottschalk 1958, 82-83.
[11] Noth 1978, 203-204.
[12] Riley-Smith 1967, 108.
[13] Richard of Holy Trinity 1864, lib. 6, Ch. 34, 429 and 432-438 (English tr. 374-79); Hamilton 1980, 311. See Lyons and Jackson 1982, 359-61.
[14] *La Citez de Iherusalem* 1874, 211-12.

[15] Wilbrand of Oldenburg 1873, 185.
[16] In June 1217 Sultan al-'Adil had left Egypt with his army in order to secure Palestine, which was threatened, assuming that the Crusade was directed towards the Holy City. For this reason, Ayyubid war preparations concentrated on the area around Jerusalem: Gottschalk 1958, 54; Dahlmanns 1975, 135-36. The first Crusaders arrived in Acre with Duke Leopold VI of Austria and King Andreas of Hungary in September 1217: Powell 1986, 123-35.
[17] Thietmar 1873, Ch. 8-9, 20 and 25-7; Kedar 1986, 325-27.
[18] Hamilton 1980, 258-61; Humphreys 1977, 202-4; Little 1989, 183-85.

Following the expiration of the pact in 1239, the dispute over Jerusalem continued between Franks and Muslims until at last the Crusaders took over the city at the end of 1243, apparently intending their occupation to be permanent. This time all of Jerusalem, including the Haram al-Sharif, went to the Franks; and the entire Muslim population had to vacate the city. At this time the new Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Robert of Nantes, who first came to Syria in 1244, seems to have had a serious intention of restoring his see to Jerusalem. He soon undertook a pilgrimage to the city, and even Pope Innocent IV attempted to raise money for the rebuilding of Jerusalem's fortifications. But with the sacking of the city by the Khwarizmians in August 1244, all this came to an end.[19]

(b) Greek Orthodox
Greeks and Melkites

When the Crusaders conquered Jerusalem in 1099, the Greek Orthodox hierarchy was considered by them to be part of the One Church comprising east and west. The Franks thus felt justified in incorporating the existing structures of the Greek Orthodox Church into the newly created Latin patriarchate of Jerusalem. By the appointment of Latin bishops, the Greek Orthodox hierarchy was superseded, and Greek Orthodox clergy were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Latin bishops and the Latin patriarch, or go into exile in Constantinople.[20] Given this background, the statement of the Coptic *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum* appears completely credible that, during the siege of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Melkites were ready to open the city gates to the sultan. With this act they would have contributed to the bloodless surrender of the city by the Crusaders.[21] Consistent with this is also the fact that Saladin allowed a nameless 'Byzantine princess *(malika rumiyya)*, entirely dedicated to the worship of God, who lived there as a nun', to leave Jerusalem unmolested, with all her riches intact, unlike the Franks.[22]

The Muslim takeover of Jerusalem appears not to have made a lasting impression on the Melkites. In a colophon in a Syrian manuscript, it is merely noted in matter-of-fact language that the transcription was completed on 3 October 1187, that is the day after the taking of Jerusalem.[23] Saladin's good relationship with the Melkites apparently resulted in four priests being assigned to the care of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and being exempted from payment of the poll tax.[24]

In addition, as compensation for the construction of a mosque in Constantinople, a number of the Latin churches were transferred to them.[25] To a certain extent, therefore, the Melkites without doubt had succeeded in regaining their pre-crusade position. This is confirmed by the report of Wilbrand of Oldenburg. According to him, in addition to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the tomb of Mary and the Monastery on Mount Zion (all of them being in good condition) were supervised by the Melkites.[26] It is clear that there was no demise of Christian life in Ayyubid Jerusalem.

It was even possible for the episcopate, expelled by the Latins, to perform the duties of its office again without restriction in Ayyubid Palestine, although several bishops evidently preferred life in exile in Constantinople to service in remote areas which did not belong to the territory of the Byzantine empire.[27] At first, however, the Ayyubids did not allow the patriarchs to return. By the beginning of the 13th century, this prohibition by the Ayyubids no longer seems to have been in place. After the exiled patriarchs lost their privileged status in Constantinople following the Latin conquest of the city in 1204, they returned to Jerusalem; this was sometime around 1206/07.[28]

The Greek Orthodox Christians also did not remain unaffected by the increasing tension between Muslims and Franks in Palestine in connection with the Fifth Crusade. In 1217 the Patriarch of Jerusalem issued a directive that, owing to the campaign by the Franks against the Ayyubids, pilgrimage to Jerusalem had to be suspended for the time being.[29] The pact by Frederick II in 1229 appears not to have resulted at first in any fundamental change for the Melkite church. It seems that the Latins no longer had the power to oust the Greek Orthodox patriarch and his clergy from the churches they had taken over after 1187, as was still the case in the 12th century. The use of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and presumably several other holy sites as well was evidently shared by Melkites and Latins. It was not until 1239 that the situation of the Greek Orthodox church of Jerusalem worsened. After the expiry

[19] Humphreys 1977, 261, 266 and 274–75; Hamilton 1980, 263; Jackson 1987, 39–42, 47–9 and 55–60; Little 1989, 185–86.

[20] For the Greek Orthodox Church under Crusader rule in general, see Pahlitzsch 2001.

[21] Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' 1968–1970, 78–79 (Arabic), 132–33 (English). Counter to Jotschky 1999, 187–92, see Pahlitzsch 2001, 245.

[22] 'Imad al-Din 1888, 56.

[23] Assfalg 1963, Vol. 5, no. 83, 183–84.

[24] Abu Shama 1288/1872–73 Vol. 2, 115. For further sources on the takeover of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Orthodox, see Röhricht 1898, 462–63.

[25] Roger of Wendover 1886 Vol. 1 1886, 153–54; Lilie 1993, 237. According to Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad 1964, 209 (English tr. 201–2), Saladin refused requests by the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II to transfer the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and all other churches in the Holy Land to Orthodox priests even as late as May 1192. However, as has been shown above (note 13), Melkite clerics were active there in the autumn of 1192, as Latin priests were admitted to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The question whether this means that the Melkites were admitted to the Holy Sepulchre only after May 1192 has to remain open. Abu Shama, note 24 above, gives the impression that the admission of the Melkites took place immediately after Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem.

[26] Wilbrand of Oldenburg 1873, lib. 2 Ch. 6, 185, Ch. 8, 187, Ch. 9, 188.

[27] According to the commentary of Theodoros Balsamon (died after 1195) on the 16th Canon of the Council of Antiochia, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon* 1853 Vol. 3, 156–57.

[28] Pahlitzsch 2001, 256–58.

[29] Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894 Vol. 2 1894, 361–62, whose date of 1216 probably needs to be corrected by one year in view of the fact that the Crusaders first arrived in Palestine in the summer of 1217.

of the pact negotiated by Frederick II, a phase of political instability began, culminating in the plunder of the city by the Khwarizmians in 1244 and the murder of the Greek patriarch Athanasios II in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[30]

(c) Georgians

Since its foundation with royal support in 1038, the Monastery of the Holy Cross outside the walls of Jerusalem was the centre of the Georgian congregation of Palestine. While Georgians obviously played only a minor role under Crusader rule, their status improved considerably after 1187. Under Queen Tamar's rule (1184-1213), Georgia had become a major power in the Middle East. According to the official chronicle of the Georgian kings, Tamar was especially interested in the Georgian monasteries abroad, first and foremost in Jerusalem.[31] She offered 200,000 *dinars* to Saladin for the Holy Cross which he had taken as booty at the battle of Hittin—to no avail, however.[32] She also sent envoys to him to request that confiscated possessions of Georgian settlements in Jerusalem be returned.[33] In this case her efforts seem to have been successful. Jacob of Vitry, who ascended to the bishopric of Acre in 1216 shortly after Tamar's death, reports that many Georgians travelled to the Holy Sepulchre. They were allowed to raise their flags and were—in contrast to other Christian pilgrims—exempted from the usual dues. In fact, they threatened the Ayyubid lord of Jerusalem, al-Muʿazzam, after he had the walls of the city razed in 1219 without previously asking them.[34] According to the Armenian historian Kirakos of Ganjak, the special position of the Georgians was based on the good relations between the Armenian Prince Ivane, who was in Tamar's service, and the Ayyubids. After having been released from Ayyubid imprisonment, Ivane had married his daughter to Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf.[35] Obviously, the Georgians' situation in Jerusalem had considerably improved after 1187. It is telling that—in contrast to Armenian and Syriac sources—no complaints are to be found in Georgian

chronicles concerning the collapse of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and the loss of the Holy City.[36]

II Non-Chalcedonian Christians

(a) Syrian Orthodox, Copts and Ethiopians

In contrast to the Greek Orthodox, the Syrian Orthodox community profited from Crusader rule. At first, the Latins considered them to be heretics, but for precisely this reason they granted them complete autonomy in their internal affairs. The rights of the Syrian Orthodox hierarchy were not violated, and they were able to continue their rites without hindrance. The Syrians therefore experienced Crusader rule as tolerant and they co-operated willingly with the Latins.[37]

After the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187, the situation for the Syrian Orthodox changed completely. The anonymous author of the so-called *Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens* gives an eye-witness account of the events as being extremely dramatic, completely in opposition to the above-mentioned Melkite scribe—churches were plundered, priests and laymen were enslaved. However, while on the one hand he notes only that the Armenians, Greek Orthodox and Syrian Orthodox were permitted freely to leave the city against payment of ransom, he does not mention that native Christians certainly could remain in Jerusalem as *dhimmis*.[38] It seems possible the report of the anonymous chronicle reflects that Saladin had a hostile attitude specifically towards the Syrian Orthodox Christians. The Syrian archbishop of Jerusalem, Athanasius Slibo (died 1192/93), was forced by Saladin to leave Jerusalem, most likely because of his close relationship to the Crusaders. He was thereupon sent to Latin-dominated Antioch by his brother, Patriarch Michael, as his '*vicaire*'. His successor, Ignatius V Sohdo, also took office in exile. Whether he was ever able to return to Jerusalem is not known.[39] The Monastery of St Mary Magdalene was likewise lost to the Syrian Orthodox and was finally turned into a *madrasa* which was named after its founder as al-Madrasa al-Maimuniyya in 1197.[40] Whether any Syrian Orthodox Christians at all stayed in Ayyubid Jerusalem is not known. It can, however, be assumed that Syrian Orthodox pilgrims soon visited the Holy City again, even if evidence supporting this is first found in the Mamluk period.[41]

[30] For Athanasios II see Pahlitzsch 2001, 262-70.

[31] K'art'lis Ckhovreba 1991, 85-6. For the Georgians see Pahlitzsch 2003, 112-16.

[32] Bahaʾ al-Din ibn Shaddad 1964, 209 (English tr. 202).

[33] Bahaʾ al-Din ibn Shaddad 1964, 234 (English tr. 230). In later times, a number of legends about Tamar emerged that expressed her special ties to Jerusalem. The 13th-century report by a Frankish knight, written in the Holy Land and addressed to the Bishop of Besançon, may well be based on facts, as the detailed description of the situation in Northern Syria set forth in this letter is, according to Metreveli (1991, 307-9) quite believable. According to the report, the letter's author had heard that the King of the Georgians was heading towards the Holy Land with a huge army and had already conquered many forts and cities of the infidels. His objective, it was said, was to free Jerusalem and to bury the mortal remains of his mother, the '*regina potentissima Thamar*' where she had wanted to be interred, that is near the Holy Sepulchre. The letter is published in *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* 1893 no. 868, 233-34.

[34] Jacob of Vitry 1597, ch. 80, 156-57; Von den Brincken 1973, 109.

[35] Kirakos of Ganjak 1870, 82-83; Humphreys 1977, 131.

[36] Pahlitzsch 2003, 129.

[37] The rapprochement went so far that in 1141 the orthodoxy of the Syrian denomination was officially recognised in a synod held by a papal legate in Jerusalem, Pahlitzsch and Weltecke 2001, 140-41; MacEvitt 2002, 178-81.

[38] *Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens* 1974 Vol. 2, 150.

[39] Michael the Syrian 1905 Vol. 3, 409. About Athanasius it was said regarding his death in Antioch that '*il fut honoré … même par les Francs*', ibid. 1905 Vol. 3, 412.

[40] Palmer 1992, 93-94; Pahlitzsch 1997, 90-91.

[41] Burchardus de Monte Sion 1873, 20, who was in Palestine in 1283. Bar Hebraeus (1226-1286) 1993, 121-23 (Syriac), 105-6 (English tr.), discusses the question whether in general one should undertake a pilgrimage to earthly Jerusalem and settle there; see Kaufhold 2003, 163.

During the Frankish interregnum between 1229 and 1244, the situation once again improved for the Syrian Orthodox Christians. As the Muslims had to give up all their religious institutions in Jerusalem which lay outside al-Haram al-Sharif, this also included al-Madrasa al-Maimuniyya.[42] It is remarkable that the Franks did not transfer the Church of St Mary Magdalene and the monastery belonging to it to Latin monks, who in any case did not return to Jerusalem in great numbers, but to the Syrian Orthodox church. Bar Hebraeus (1226–1286) mentions that the then Syrian patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius II David (1222–1252), visited Jerusalem in 1237 and stayed at the Monastery of St Mary Magdalene, where at that time seventy monks were living.[43] The restitution of St Mary Magdalene proves that the good relations between the Syrian Orthodox church and the Latins persisted throughout the 13th century as well.

After Jerusalem had again fallen under Muslim rule in 1244, St Mary Magdalene was transformed back into the Madrasa al-Maimuniyya, but probably not before the middle of the 14th century.[44] Perhaps the same happened to the Syrian Orthodox community as to the Franciscans, who, starting in the 1340s, were confronted with an increasingly anti-Christian policy, and finally, in 1365, were forced temporarily to give up their settlement on Mount Zion.[45] In fact, the new Syrian Orthodox settlement in Jerusalem, the Monastery of St Thomas, is first documented as the seat of the Syrian Orthodox bishop in 1353.[46]

According to Latin and Greek Orthodox definition, Copts and Ethiopians were also Monophysites. Both churches were closely linked, since the Coptic patriarch appointed the head *(abuna)* of the Ethiopian church. Before 1187, the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St Mary Magdalene in Jerusalem also served as the centre for the Coptic and Ethiopian communities. After 1187, it can be assumed that, thanks to the good relations of the Ayyubids with their Coptic subjects and the Ethiopian kingdom, pilgrims of these denominations soon made their way once again to Jerusalem.[47] At what point Coptic and

Ethiopian communities again formed in Jerusalem remains an open question. At the start of the 13th century, however, the Copts appear to have disposed of their own chapel in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[48] The presence of Coptic clergy and pilgrims in addition to at least one Ethiopian monk is documented for 1237, as the Syrian Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius II, visited Jerusalem at that time. During this visit a dispute arose between the Antiochene and the Alexandrian patriarchs over the illegitimate appointment of a Coptic bishop for Jerusalem by the Alexandrian, as Jerusalem belonged to the area of jurisdiction of the Syrian patriarchs of Antioch. In this context an Ethiopian monk called Thomas turned to Ignatius of Antioch instead of the Patriarch of Alexandria to ask for his consecration as the new *abuna* of the Ethiopian church. Whether this Thomas lived alone or in a community and was permanently in Jerusalem, or whether he was only temporarily visiting as a pilgrim is not known. On the other hand, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Cyril ibn Laqlaq, justified his illegitimate appointment of a Coptic bishop for Jerusalem with complaints by Coptic pilgrims about insufficient pastoral care by the Syrian priests.[49]

(b) Armenians

As long as Jerusalem came under Frankish dominion, the Armenians could be considered as being the best positioned group amongst the Oriental Christians; indeed, Armenian princes in North Syria represented important allies of the Crusaders.[50] The importance of Jerusalem for the Armenian church, as well as the close connections with the Franks, is illustrated by the rebuilding of the Cathedral of St James in Jerusalem in about 1165, together with a '*magnum hospitale*' next to the church, which served as accommodation for the pilgrims.[51]

Against this backdrop, it can be understood why the conquest of Jerusalem by Saladin found such a strong echo in the Armenian sources. The defeat of the Franks apparently represented a decisive setback for the Armenians, as is illustrated

[42] On the lamentations of the *imams* and *mu'adhdhins* who had to leave their mosques, see Gottschalk 1958: 158-59.

[43] Bar Hebraeus 1874 Vol. 2, 653-54. Kaufhold (2003, 157) does not, however, believe that these monks actually lived in Jerusalem. In his opinion, they came to Jerusalem instead as pilgrims in the entourage of their patriarch.

[44] The pilgrim Francesco Pipinus in 1320 merely reports '... and there is a church constructed in honour of the blessed Mary Magdalene,' indicating a retransformation after this, since in contrast, he describes St Anne's with the following words: 'and there is a beautiful church built in honour of the blessed Anna and a very beautiful monastery as well, that the Saracens occupy'; Francesco Pipinus 1896, 76 and 74.

[45] Although in 1335 the church on Mount Zion was still ceded to them for the establishment of a monastery, after 1365 they had temporarily to give up possession of it in reaction to the crusade by King Peter I of Cyprus. In 1372 they were allowed to return to Mount Zion; Lemmens 1925, 57-64; Moorman 1968, 436-37.

[46] Zotenberg 1874, 201; Pahlitzsch 1997, 92.

[47] The Coptic History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria describes the position of the Copts under Saladin as decidedly good, Sawirus ibn al-Muqaffa' 1968-1970: 97-98 (Arabic), 164-66 (English tr.). In contrast a Dutch traveller

who visited Cyprus 1598 reports that, following Saladin's takeover of the city, Syrian Orthodox and Coptic Christians were expelled from Jerusalem and as a result settled in Cyprus: Cobham 1908, 197; Meinardus 1995, 116. However, according to the Dominican Steffano Lusignano who wrote his history of Cyprus in 1573, only some of the oriental Christians left Jerusalem after the Muslim conquest, while others were allowed to stay: Cerulli 1943 Vol. 1, 31-7. Cf. also Cerulli 1943 Vol. 1, 45-61; van Donzel 1998, 42-5. In addition, the idea that the Ethiopian kings might reroute the Nile if the Muslim rulers of Egypt treated the Christians poorly appears to have affected relations in favour of the Christians as late as the 13th century; cf. Bosworth 1972, 209-10; van Donzel 2000, 304-7.

[48] Pahlitzsch 1997, 84 n. 10.

[49] For these events, see Bar Hebraeus 1874 Vol. 2, 653-64; Cerulli 1943, 62-76; Hamilton 1980, 349-51; Weltecke 2004.

[50] For the Armenians in Crusader Jerusalem, see Prawer 1976; Hintlian 1989, 18-24. For the history of Cilician Armenia, Dédéyan 1997; Ghazarian 2000, 123-26

[51] Johannes of Würzburg 1994, 133.

by the great sympathy expressed by the Armenians not only of Cilicia but also of Greater Armenia. The Armenian historian Kirakos of Ganjak, for example, connects the loss of the city with a solar eclipse, and in colophons of Armenian manuscripts the tragic loss is often mentioned, usually interpreted as a punishment for sinfulness.[52] The most impressive sign of grief, however, was certainly the lament over the conquest of Jerusalem by Catholicos Grigor IV Tgha in a text comprising 2,400 verses.[53]

However, this by no means meant that under Ayyubid rule the Armenians were compelled to give up their settlements in Jerusalem. Even if Saladin's document, which is preserved in the library of the Armenian patriarchate of Jerusalem and in which the rights of possession of the Armenian congregation are confirmed, is obviously a pious forgery, their possessions, above all the Church of St James, did remain in their hands.[54] So it is that the historian Smbat, in a list of clergy belonging to the Cilician kingdom, also mentions the Armenian archbishop of Jerusalem in fourth place. Since immediately previously King Leon I (1199-1219) had been characterised by Smbat as a benefactor and special patron of monasteries and places of pilgrimage, and, in addition, in 1227 King Het'um I appears to have donated a wooden door for the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, it can be assumed that the Jerusalem congregation was supported by the Armenian royal family.[55] But here, too, specific comments regarding Armenian pilgrims are not found again until the post-Ayyubid period.[56]

(c) Nestorians

We know nothing about the Nestorians in Ayyubid Jerusalem. But since they resided in the city both under Frankish dominion as well as at the end of the 13th century and even appear to have established a bishop's seat there at that time, it can probably be assumed that they were also present in Jerusalem in this period. Like the Armenians, the Nestorians mourned the end of Christian rule in dirges.[57]

B: Jews

After being expelled from Jerusalem by the Crusaders, following Saladin's conquest of the city the Jews returned. From the beginning of the 13th century onwards, it is possible to speak of a positive wave of immigration. The newly-founded Jewish community was composed of Jews of the most diverse origins. Groups from Palestine, Egypt, Yemen, the Maghrib and France moved together to Palestine under the direction of their spiritual leaders. The great mobility of the Jews even across political borders is exemplified especially strikingly by the family of the physician Elijah ben Zakaria. After 1187, the family moved first of all from Egypt to Jerusalem.[58] Abu Zirki, one of the sons of Elijah, was also a doctor and found a position with the Ayyubid governor, probably not least due to his father's good connections. After some time, the father returned to Cairo, while another son settled in Frankish Acre. During numerous trips between Palestine and Egypt, the various family members visited one another and otherwise maintained an active correspondence.[59] But tensions also resulted from the heterogenous composition of the community, in particular between Oriental Jews and those from Western Europe. In addition, economic conditions in Jerusalem were difficult for the rapidly expanding Jewish community. Yet this was not the only reason that the new Jewish community which, according to Joshua Prawer, had been 'created amidst fervour and excitement', quickly dissolved again thereafter. When al-Mu'azzam razed the city walls in 1219 in anticipation of the Fifth Crusade, all the Jews as well as the Muslims probably left the city for fear of the Crusaders. After the defeat of the Crusaders in Damietta in 1221, some families did indeed return, but the new community was poor and dependent on donations from their fellow-religionists in Egypt, and in 1229, with the takeover of Jerusalem by Frederick II, they were forced to vacate the city once more. Not until the second half of the 13th century did a Jewish community begin to re-emerge in Jerusalem.[60]

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[52] Kirakos of Ganjak 1870, 75-76; Dédéyan 1998, 106-10.

[53] See Weitenberg 1996, 63-64; van Lint 2002.

[54] Hintlian 1989, 39. Regarding the document allegedly drawn up by Saladin, see Sanjian 1979, 11-12, with illustrations. Richards (1988-89, 459) notes that in Sanjian, despite the spurious inscription, Saladin's alleged document is reproduced in illustration No. 2.

[55] Smbat 1980, 73-74. Cowe 1984, 325; Hintlian 1989, 42-4.

[56] Weitenberg 1996, 71. In addition, for the years 1253-54 an anonymous Greek pilgrim report mentions that an Armenian church was located in the so-called House of John the Theologian: Külzer 1994, 187.

[57] Meinardus 1967, 125; Nöldeke 1873, 489-510.

[58] On the return of the Jews to Ayyubid Jerusalem, see Prawer 1988, 64-92.

[59] Motzkin 1970, 344-49; Prawer 1988, 81-4.

[60] See too Ashtor-Strauss 1956, 305-26; Schein 1990, 22-39.

Chapter 24
BIOGRAPHIES OF AYYUBID SULTANS

D S Richards

Saladin

In the whole sweep of Islamic history, few individuals have been so much written about and discussed and had such a high profile in European imagination as Saladin, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty and the celebrated warrior of the *jihad* against the Crusaders. Nevertheless, the essence of the man and the mainspring of his career remain matters of dispute, subject, inevitably, to the limitations of the available sources, which are mainly panegyrical in tone. Here an effort will be made to concentrate on the man himself, or rather on what is reported of his character and aims, despite all the problems of interpretation.[1]

He was born in 532/1137-8 at Takrit, north of Baghdad, to Ayyub, a Kurdish *amir*, and was named Yusuf. In the west he is generally known as Saladin. This designation comes, through various medieval versions, from his 'honorific', Salah al-Din, which one may translate as 'Righteousness of the Religion'. Ayyub, along with his brother Shirkuh, made an adventurous and precarious career in the politics and wars of the Saljuq sultanate. The two brothers eventually moved to Syria to join the service of the Zangid dynasty. It was there that Saladin grew to manhood in the orbit of Nur al-Din Mahmud.

His early years were clearly much influenced by Nur al-Din, to whom he is said to have been very close, especially as he was accomplished at polo, a sport of which Nur al-Din was very fond. He served as prefect *(shihna)* of Damascus, although perhaps only for a short period. This was possibly in 550/1155. The statement by Ibn Abi Tayyi[c] that he followed his brother Turanshah in that office after the death of the latter (in 576/1180) is rightly dismissed as anachronistic.[2] In accordance with the persistent fiscal practices of the age, he may well have received some revenue from licensed brothels in Damascus. This is possibly the background to the accusation in a Frankish source.[3]

There is general agreement that Saladin was an unwilling participant in the successive expeditions to Fatimid Egypt which were led by his uncle Shirkuh in the years 558-64/1163-69. Apart from the suggestion that in his youth he had been less than serious-minded, it is no doubt true that his experiences during lengthy sieges in Bilbais and then Alexandria were unpleasant and not calculated to make him eager to repeat them.[4] By all accounts, however, he acquitted himself well in his capacity as second-in-command to Shirkuh. After the death of the latter, Saladin succeeded as vizier of the Fatimid Caliph al-[c]Adid. Conscious of divine support and new responsibilities, Saladin is said to have repented of former laxity, such as the drinking of wine, and determined on a more pious life. Any willingness to accept the historicity of much of this is weakened by awareness that such a narrative line allows our sources to make a moral point about trust in the mysterious ways of God, who knows best what is good for us, and to rehearse again the commonplace of the future hero's timely change of heart and stiffening of moral purpose.

Saladin had to defend himself against accusations that he was an ambitious usurper. Kurdish-Turkish rivalries and racial tensions, which were a feature of Saladin's career and of the Ayyubid dynasty in general, played a part in this. His Kurdish origin was used by his Zangid opponents against Saladin himself when he was depicted as an upstart and usurper of the rights and position of his Turkish masters. The

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[1] Contrasting views of Saladin's career will be found in Gibb 1973 and Ehrenkreutz 1972. The former is respectful in tone. The latter decidedly follows the advice of Schultens in the preface to his 18th-century edition of Ibn Shaddad: '*Ut virtus in hoste quoque laudanda, ita vitium in iis, quibus faves, notandum*' ('As virtue must be praised in an enemy, so must a defect be recorded in those one favours'). Lyons and Jackson 1982 offers a balanced picture.

[2] Abu Shama 1997 i, 318-320 (quoting Ibn Abi Tayy).

[3] Nicholson 1997, 27.

[4] 'The hardships we have encountered are enough'(Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 275-6).

ambition and the will to succeed, which are obvious especially in the career of his uncle Shirkuh and were shown by other members of the family in the last third of the 12th century, were undoubtedly shared by Saladin.

As far as is known, Nur al-Din had not reacted negatively to the elevation of Shirkuh to the Fatimid vizierate in addition to his existing command of the Zangid expeditionary force. Signs of disapproval were visible, however, after Saladin became vizier, especially according to the account of the admittedly pro-Zangid historian, Ibn al-Athir. Perhaps Nur al-Din did become aware of the dynastic implications for the Ayyubids. There is no doubt that misunderstandings arose over Egypt's financial contributions to the prosecution of Nur al-Din's campaigns and over the efficacy of combined operations in Syria and Palestine, whether or not one accepts the excuses put forward on behalf of Saladin, that there were threats to internal security in Egypt and the danger of Crusader attacks. Even Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad reports an admission, from Saladin himself, that relations had become soured.[5] Any threat of direct intervention to oust Saladin, who by 567/1171 had abolished the Fatimid caliphate and thus lost any claim to an authority independent of the Zangids, was removed by the death of Nur al-Din in May 1174.

It is quite impossible to judge the sincerity of Saladin's subsequent claims. He maintained in his public pronouncements that he was the true heir to Nur al-Din's mission, above all in his dedication to the *jihad*, and that this mission was being compromised by Nur al-Din's direct heirs. This vision of the relationship between the two leaders is strongly pressed by the historian Abu Shama. In a comment on a passage of Ibn al-Athir that is hostile to Saladin, Abu Shama wrote:

> Had Nur al-Din known of the glorious victories that God Almighty had in store for Islam at the hands of Saladin after his death, he would have been contented, for [Saladin] built on the foundation of *jihad* against the polytheists that he had laid down, and [Saladin] carried that on in the most perfect and complete way (God have mercy on them both).[6]

The claim that Saladin made certainly served as the justification for the expansion of power that took him to Damascus, then to Aleppo and on into Mesopotamia. Admittedly dynastic ambition on the part of the Ayyubid family had already been demonstrated in ventures west and south. A *mamluk* of Saladin's nephew led a force into Libya in 568/1172-3 and Saladin's eldest brother, Turanshah, raided and reconnoitred Nubia the same year. Then in Rajab 569/February 1174 the latter set out on the conquest of the Yemen. If one is minded to accept Ibn

al-Athir's statement that the Ayyubids were seeking possible refuge from any hostile action of Nur al-Din, it should not be overlooked that the same historian, somewhat contradictorily, said that the expedition to Yemen had Nur al-Din's permission.[7] However, dynastic ambition was not necessarily incompatible with the claim to be carrying on Nur al-Din's fundamental mission. Throughout the rest of Saladin's life, zeal for the *jihad* and the paramount need to create a power base sufficient to mount a conclusive challenge to the Crusader states justified military action against those who did not recognise this over-riding imperative. This had also been true for Nur al-Din himself and continued to remain so in later Ayyubid policy and practice.

One must also stress that the call to *jihad* against the Crusader presence in the Levant cannot be dismissed as mere propaganda. A real sense of enthusiasm, which had wide public support, had been created over a considerable period, notably by Nur al-Din. The initial and understandable caution of princes concerning Saladin was overcome in the case of the Zangids and others, and they committed troops to the lengthy struggle under Saladin's leadership. Much of the credit for achieving this must be put down to the character and example of Saladin. Even his Frankish enemies recognised his morality and his trustworthiness. Of course, there were critics on the Muslim side. For the most part they concentrated on the expansionism, necessary for building up Saladin's power base, and the delay in bringing his forces, once assembled, to bear on the enemy. This criticism demonstrates paradoxically how strongly the *jihad* ideal had taken root. However, a high moral purpose must rely on the available means. Our own day has seen the practical problems and inconsistencies of an 'ethical foreign policy'.[8]

Saladin's own character was the source of his success. It is certainly the case that he was able to win the devotion of his followers and those among them who left written records have given later generations a problem in that they tended to describe their hero in hagiographical terms. Is there any chance of discerning the true man behind the exemplary image? A quality that was greatly stressed is generosity. Without doubting its genuineness—indeed, Saladin's attitude may almost be described as recklessly improvident at times—one must also admit that it was not always altruistic. He used generosity as a weapon to win people over. William of Tyre recognised early on the significance of this trait when he described Saladin as 'of an extremely generous disposition' and 'generous beyond measure'.[9] A corollary of this was an impatience with the details of administration. Saladin's humanity and magnanimity are revealed in various anecdotes. He also had a reputation for being faithful to his word, a quality which showed its worth in negotiations for the surrender of castles and in diplomatic

[5] Ibn Shaddad 1964, 47.
[6] Abu Shama 1997 ii, 310-311.

[7] Ibn al-Athir 1965 xi, 396.
[8] See further Sivan 1968, chapters 3 and 4; C Hillenbrand 1999, 117-195.
[9] William of Tyre 1976 ii, 358-9, 405.

dealings. Against this it is necessary to set in the balance some severity in the treatment of prisoners. In some cases this may have been caused by Saladin's fury and disgust at the massacre of the Muslim defenders of Acre after the bungled ransom negotiations in 587/1191.

There is still some scholarly debate about the wider nature of the *jihad* movement of this period. Was there a concommitant religious revival, Sunni in character, which was not only on the larger level directed against Shi'ite heterodoxy but also on the individual level underlined the need for what was known as 'the greater *jihad*', personal moral and spiritual improvement? Nur al-Din is claimed as an exemplifier of this religious revival, which nourished his active campaigning against the Crusaders. Saladin followed his lead in this and also effected the abolition of the Fatimid caliphate.

Saladin is portrayed in conventional terms as a pious Muslim. He was a student of *hadith* in the sense that, like most educated persons, he kept up a formal transmission of *hadiths*, both hearing and passing them on. On one occasion Baha' al-Din engineered a transmission session on horseback between battle lines, simply so that that fact could be recorded as a special oddity. As far as adherence to a school of law is concerned, Saladin was a Shafi'i like the overwhelming majority of his family. When he came to power in Damascus he took the post of *imam* at the Umayyad Mosque from the Hanafis and restored it to the Shafi'is.[10] In doctrinal matters he followed the theology of al-Ash'ari, that is to say, a modestly intellectual approach. He avoided both the literalism of majority theology, rejecting all anthropomorphist tendencies,[11] and the rigorous dogmatism of the Mu'tazilis.

In standard fashion, Saladin is shown as a patron of learning, welcoming scholars and divines at his gatherings, his *majalis*. It is noteworthy that Ibn 'Asakir, who had a great respect for Nur al-Din, compared Saladin's assemblies of his early years at Damascus unfavourably with those of the former. They were disordered, lacking in seriousness, although 'Imad al-Din states otherwise.[12] Unlike Nur al-Din, Saladin was fond of poetry and was said to have been a good judge of verse,[13] although his taste and his mind in general have more recently been dismissed as conventional.[14] As it happens we have a description of a scholar's confrontation with Saladin, which gives a rare natural picture of Saladin in a somewhat inconsequential conversation but also shows his authority. The eminent Hanbali scholar Nasih al-Din 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Najm (554-634/1159-1236) met Saladin in Jerusalem two years after the reconquest.[15] The sultan asked him about Ahmad

ibn Hanbal's attitude to the dyeing of hair and was told that it was disapproved of. One wonders whether Saladin was in some way self-conscious about gray hair. He was fond of some verses of Ibn al-Munajjim:

> People do not dye their gray hairs because they
> are ugly.
> Uglier than that is when they are clearly falling
> out.
> But youth has died and blackened now are
> Its remaining vestiges in grief for its passing.[16]

Saladin then asked his visitor about Muslim property that had been seized by the infidels. In Hanbali law such property when recovered became state property and did not revert to the original owners. This was plainly a lively issue. One lawyer present objected to the exposition and a dispute ensued:

> He shouted a lot and the sultan cried out, rather
> disconcertingly, 'Be quiet!' He fell silent, as did
> we for a while. 'Finish what you have to say,' said
> the sultan.

As the conversation continued freely, a new topic arose:

> The sultan mentioned [the Prophet's] Companions
> of great physical stature. He said, 'They used to be
> called kissers of ...,' and he hesitated. 'Of women up
> in their camel litters,' I said. 'Quite so,' he replied.[17]

The hesitation is suggestive. Did Saladin attempt a piece of antiquarian lore and not quite be able to recall it? The narrative continues:

> I had the impression that a person present envied
> me the way the sultan quizzed me and paid
> attention to what I said. He asked, 'Who are the
> four Companions of one family who saw the
> Prophet?' 'Abu Bakr, his father Abu Qahafa, his son
> 'Abd al-Rahman and his grandson Muhammad,'
> I replied. At this point the sultan said, 'Bring
> something in.' They laid a very modest meal two
> hours after the evening prayer and we ate with him.
> One of his retinue said to me, 'This is for your sake.
> For more than a month he has not eaten at night.'
> The sultan then began to praise my father and said,
> 'His first child came after he was forty.' He knew
> all about my father's career.

[10] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 44.
[11] 'Imad al-Din 1888, 484.
[12] 'Imad al-Din 1888, 480.
[13] Al-Bundari 1979, 334.
[14] Lyons and Jackson 1982, 373.
[15] Ibn Rajab n.d. ii, 194.

[16] Ibn Taghribirdi 1936 vi, 56.
[17] The Arabic text should be corrected here. For *al-tacn* read *al-zucan*.

In the manner established since the early Saljuq period and notably followed by Nur al-Din, Saladin showed his piety and his patronage of the *'ulama'* by founding institutions of learning. In Cairo he created two *madrasa*s for the Shafi'i law school. One was in the vicinity of the mausoleum of al-Shafi'i. The other, which was initially called al-Nasiriyya, was established in 566/1170 near the Mosque of 'Amr on the site of a prison. He favoured other schools of law also by founding the Qamhiyya Madrasa for Malikis in the same year and by founding the Suyufiyya for Hanafis, the endowment deed for which, dated 572/1177, was studied by al-Maqrizi.[18] In Jerusalem Saladin transformed the Church of St Anne into a Shafi'i *madrasa* which bore the name of al-Salahiyya[19] and instituted a Sufi convent *(khanqah)* in what had been the residence of the Latin Patriarch. He also established a hospital and carried out various restoration works in the Haram, on the Dome of the Rock and the Aqsa Mosque. In the military context Saladin's important work was the scheme to surround the whole complex of Cairo with a defensive wall and the initial stage of construction of the Cairo Citadel.

The triumph of the battle of Hattin and the conquests that followed, including that of Jerusalem, were the culmination of great efforts. However, the claim that 'he purified the coastal regions of the Franks'[20] overlooks the sequel of the Third Crusade. This re-established a Crusader presence which lasted for another century. Saladin's struggle with the Third Crusade and his success in holding the Muslim forces together until stalemate brought a negotiated peace represent an equal triumph but one that exhausted him physically and mentally. The final period of Saladin's life that followed the conclusion of the peace settlement, his decline into illness and his death have been touchingly described in the well-known account by Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad.[21] Another personal account, less widely known, is that given by 'Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi in the autobiographical sketch he wrote for his son.[22] This account does not have the privileged intimacy of Ibn Shaddad's but is a precious witness nonetheless.

After 585/1189 when al-Baghdadi came to Damascus, he found there 'a large number of notables from Baghdad and other lands who had been brought together by the liberality of Saladin.' Some years later al-Baghdadi paid a visit to Jerusalem and then sought out Saladin outside Acre. He probably did not meet him on that occasion but was told by al-Qadi al-Fadil that Saladin was 'preoccupied *(mashghul al-qalb)* by the Franks' seizure of Acre and their slaughter of Muslims there.'[23] After

peace had been made (September 1192), al-Baghdadi again travelled to Saladin who was now at Jerusalem. He wrote:

> I beheld a great prince who filled one's eye with awe and one's heart with love, accessible yet distant, easy and pleasant. His companions modelled themselves on him and would rival one another in doing good, as God Almighty said, 'We have removed any rancour from their breasts.' [Qur'an 15: 47] The first evening I attended upon him, I found an assembly crowded with scholars who were discussing various branches of learning, while he was listening and participating well, and tackling the question of how to construct the walls and dig the moats, showing understanding of this and producing all sorts of novel notions. He was concerned about building Jerusalem's walls and digging the moats, taking personal charge of this and carrying stones on his shoulders. Everybody, rich and poor, powerful and weak, followed his lead in this, even 'Imad al-Din the secretary and al-Qadi al-Fadil. He would ride out to engage in this before sunrise and until midday. He then returned to his residence, had a meal, rested and then rode out again in late afternoon until the evening. Most of the night he would spend planning what he would do the next day. Saladin made a written order for thirty *dinars* a month in my favour drawn on the administration of the mosque [probably the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus] and his sons issued me with pensions so that I acquired a regular hundred *dinars* every month.[24]

Saladin died on Wednesday 27 Safar 589/3 March 1193[25] and was buried initially in his quarters at the Damascus citadel. His son al-Afdal thought long about a permanent resting-place for his father and was advised to build a mausoleum at the Masjid al-Qadam, south of the city. This was close to Saladin's wish, expressed when he was dangerously ill at Harran in 581/1185-6, that he should be buried south of the Midan al-Hasa alongside the highway, to have the blessings of passers-by and of troops departing on campaigns. The original suggestion was that a Shafi'i *madrasa* should be built in conjunction with the mausoleum. The buildings that were begun were demolished by al-'Aziz when he besieged his brother al-Afdal in 590/1194. Subsequently, al-Afdal explored the possibility of a construction in the environs of the Umayyad Mosque. A suitable place was purchased and building began. On Thursday 10 Muharram 592/14 December 1195,

[18] Al-Maqrizi 1853 ii, 363-6.

[19] *RCEA* 1931 ix, no. 3453.

[20] Al-Safadi 1931 xxxx, 104.

[21] Ibn Shaddad 1964, 234-47; Richards 2001, 230-45.

[22] Extensively quoted in Ibn Abi Usaibi'a nd, 683-696. See p 694, al-Baghdadi's works include 'a volume of history which contained his autobiography written by him for his son, Sharaf al-Din Yusuf.'

[23] Ibn Abi Usaibi'a nd, 686-7.

[24] Ibn Abi Usaibi'a nd, 688.

[25] 'Imad al-Din 1888, 455; Ibn Shaddad 1964, 246. The date often given, 4 March, was a Thursday in 1193.

Saladin's corpse was carried on the shoulders of his *mamluks* and other officers first to the mosque for prayers and then to the mausoleum. Al-Afdal, who had walked before the bier, helped to lay his father to rest and sealed the tomb. He then held a three-day session of remembrance in the mosque.[26] Al-Qadi al-Fadil provided an inscription for Saladin's tomb:[27]

> O God, bestow Your favour on this soul and open
> the gates of Paradise to him. This is the final victory
> he desired.

Al-ᶜAdil Abu Bakr

Al-ᶜAdil is commonly said to have been born at Damascus in the year 540/1145, although the year 538/1143-4 is also mentioned. Another version claims that he was born in 534/1139-40 at Baalbek while his father, Ayyub, was governor of that town for the Atabeg Zangi. However, Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi questioned him about the year of his birth and al-ᶜAdil replied, 'At the conquest of Edessa', referring to the year in which Zangi took it from the Crusaders, that is, 539/1144.[28]

In one source it is claimed that al-ᶜAdil accompanied his uncle Shirkuh and his older brother Saladin during one of their expeditions that led to the conquest of Egypt.[29] However, the first time his presence is generally noted is in connection with the expedition to Upper Egypt to deal with the rising, led by Kanz al-Daula in 570/1174, which aimed to restore the former regime of the Fatimids. Although Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad says that al-ᶜAdil was the commander of the Ayyubid force, which claim is repeated by Ibn Wasil, this is not supported by ᶜImad al-Din's account.[30] Al-ᶜAdil's activities come into fuller focus when he was appointed as Saladin's deputy in Cairo. This appointment followed immediately upon the campaign in Upper Egypt and al-ᶜAdil continued to act as Saladin's *na'ib* in Cairo until 579/1183.

There can be little doubt about the importance of al-ᶜAdil's role alongside Saladin in the governing of the empire. His activity as advisor, administrator and general grew steadily during his brother's reign and there is a sense that his own ambitions and abilities were waiting patiently in the wings. His advice was often sought and his presence on the battlefield was frequently welcome. He could at times give the lead but always diplomatically. His role in the struggles with the Third Crusade was particularly crucial. There is no doubt that he

played a leading part in the tortuous negotiations that led to the peace agreement of Shaᶜban 588/September 1192. However, he was careful not to act without his brother's sanction in such matters as his possible role in Syria after any peace settlement. He guarded against any sign of undue ambition. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi delivered a categorical judgment when, writing of the part al-ᶜAdil played in the talks with Richard I of England, he noted 'Were it not for him, peace would not have been arranged.'[31] The Shiᶜite historian from Aleppo, Ibn Abi Tayyiᶜ, also had no doubt about the significance of al-ᶜAdil's advice and support to Saladin. He gave his judgments on the basis of testimony from his father, from other civilian administrators of the regime and some anonymous opinions. The following statement illustrates this well. 'The sultan could not do without al-ᶜAdil or his advice ... he used to put off his business until he received an answer from [al-ᶜAdil], with the result that he would miss advantages that could have accrued to the state and the *jihad*.'[32]

Al-ᶜAdil and his several nephews were subject to various attempts made by Saladin to devise a distribution of his widespread lands that would be workable, satisfy the interests of his extended family and provide a lasting framework for continued Ayyubid rule after his inevitable demise. These attempts saw al-ᶜAdil at various times during Saladin's lifetime based in Egypt, in Aleppo, in Kerak and in 'the eastern lands', that is, in the Jazira and beyond.

In 579/1183 Saladin removed his son, al-Zahir, from Aleppo, which had appeared to be destined as a permanent appanage for him, and replaced him with al-ᶜAdil. The reasons for this change are not clear but Ibn Abu Tayy (perhaps an unreliable source here, with anonymous informants only) claims that Aleppo was al-ᶜAdil's reward from his brother for a timely financial loan.[33] After the last attempt to reduce Mosul by force, when he had fallen dangerously ill, Saladin made some testamentary distribution of his lands. His sons were allotted unspecified shares, but the importance of his brother was recognised in that al-ᶜAdil was made the sultan's *wasiy* or executor, and clearly was meant to have a general oversight over the arrangements. The next year fresh dispositions were made and al-ᶜAdil moved to Egypt again to act as the guardian and regent of the young prince, al-ᶜAziz ᶜUthman. Al-ᶜAdil's own holdings increased in 584/1188-9 with the grant of Kerak and Shaubak and other places in Jordan. Finally, in 588/1192, Saladin agreed that his brother should take over the eastern possessions that had been al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din's as far as Maiyafariqin, and that he should keep his Transjordanian holdings. The negotiations had been carried through by al-ᶜAdil ostensibly on behalf of al-Muzaffar's son and heir, even at the risk of annoying an importuned Saladin, but it was al-ᶜAdil who in the end made

[26] See Abu Shama 1997 iv, 367-9 (1870 ii, 214), where he quotes from the lost work of ᶜImad al-Din, *ᶜUtba al-Zaman*. Cf Ibn Wasil 1953 ii, 422-3.

[27] Al-Safadi 1931 xxix, 136.

[28] Ibn Wasil 1953 iii, 270; Ibn Khallikan 1977, 78; al-Dhahabi, quoted by Ibn Taghribirdi 1936 vi, 160; Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 594, and cf. Abu Shama 1947, 111.

[29] Ibn Khallikan 1977, 74.

[30] Ibn Shaddad 1964, 47-8; Ibn Wasil 1953 ii, 17. For ᶜImad al-Din, see Abu Shama 1997 ii, 338-9.

[31] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 595.

[32] See Abu Shama 1997 iii, 192.

[33] See Abu Shama 1997 iii, 192-3.

the biggest gains—and at the expense of Saladin's eldest son, al-Afdal. Ibn al-Athir makes a general comment that every place that al-Afdal ever held was taken from him by al-ʿAdil and he gives chapter and verse for this.[34]

The changes in al-ʿAdil's territorial possessions did not end, of course, with the death of Saladin. His powerbase grew steadily through diplomacy, a variety of coalitions and his quite natural seniority in Ayyubid family affairs. As Ibn Khallikan put it, 'While the sultan was alive and after his death, he held authority in a series of places. His confrontations with al-Afdal, al-ʿAziz and al-Zahir [sons of Saladin] are well-known and there is no need to expatiate on them at length. The end result was that he became independent ruler of Egypt.'[35] It was in Rabiʿ II 596/February 1200 that al-ʿAdil deposed Saladin's young son, al-ʿAziz ʿUthman, and had himself proclaimed sultan in Cairo and the suzerain of the Ayyubid empire. Well over a year later, in Muharram 598/October 1201, Damascus was brought under his direct control and the claim for overall suzerainty made a reality.[36]

The remainder of his reign as leading member of the Ayyubid family may be briefly summarised. He moved relentlessly to establish his own sons in all the important centres. The only place where any hold on power survived in the hands of Saladin's direct descendants was Aleppo, where al-Zahir remained as prince. The shift in power was otherwise complete. This shift is underlined by the later historian al-Maqrizi, and expressed through an anecdote he quotes from Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir. Saladin is imagined to have gone up to the Citadel in Cairo with his brother, looked around and then said, 'I have built this citadel for your children.' Al-ʿAdil replied, 'My lord, upon you, your children and your children's children has God bestowed this world', to which Saladin said, 'You have not understood what I said. I am great (*najib*) but will have no great children. You are not, but your children will be great.' No reply of al-ʿAdil is recorded. Al-Maqrizi then comments on other examples of such shifts of dynastic power to collateral lines.[37] It is convenient to state here that al-ʿAdil's three leading sons, al-Kamil, al-Ashraf and al-Muʿazzam, managed to co-operate for a while, particularly in combating the Damietta Crusade. Under the year 615/1218 Ibn al-Athir wrote glowingly of their co-operation. 'After [al-ʿAdil's] death each one of them was established in the kingdom his father gave him. They agreed excellently well and there was between them none of the dissension that normally occurs between the sons of princes after their fathers. On the contrary, they were like one soul. They trusted one another and would make visits alone

without troops and with no fear.'[38] This was clearly written before their disputes became apparent.

During al-ʿAdil's reign, in the northern parts of the empire, in the Jazira and Armenia, territorial gains were made at the expense of the Zangids and the Artuqid dynasties, although al-ʿAdil involved himself directly in this military activity but rarely. The would-be expansion of the Georgian kingdom was also successfully contained. There was a decided diminution in operations against the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine. This has been explained by exhaustion of morale after the trials of the Third Crusade and a decline in the spirit of *jihad*, by the economic and financial weakness that resulted from that struggle, or by a prudent policy of wary co-existence in order to avoid provoking a new full-scale European expedition. No major internal or external threat arose until the very end of al-ʿAdil's reign, which saw the arrival of the Fifth Crusade. His years of experience and what is described as his native cunning and diplomatic skills had gained for him an unassailable position in the state. In his final years he held no particular territory of his own but was content to exercise a general oversight over his obedient family, residing in Damascus in the winter and in Cairo in the summer.[39]

Unlike his brother, Saladin, and other members of the Ayyubid family, very little building activity is credited to al-ʿAdil. In Damascus he contributed to the building of the *madrasa* that had been begun by Nur al-Din and was to be finished by al-Muʿazzam. It was known as the Greater ʿAdiliyya, an ambiguous name that could refer to Nur al-Din. The Lesser ʿAdiliyya was founded by a daughter of al-ʿAdil called Zahra Khatun. New paving of parts of the Umayyad Mosque was carried out in 606-7/1209-11 and substantial rebuilding of the citadel is recorded. 'When al-ʿAdil took Damascus, he demolished it and distributed its reconstruction to the *amirs*. He built it with twelve towers, each of which was the size of a citadel and dug a moat to which he channeled water. It was rebuilt as fine as possible from the money of the *amirs* to whom the construction was allotted.'[40]

In many ways al-ʿAdil is a somewhat colourless character. Not a great number of anecdotes have gathered around his name. What is frequently stressed is his moral strictness, a trait that one may be tempted to describe as 'puritanical'. According to Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, he set up salaried officers to encircle Damascus and prevent the passage of forbidden items, especially wine. In the same source it is claimed that 'he purified all his realm of wickedness, prostitutes, gambling, effeminates, uncanonical taxes and arbitrary exactions.'[41] This is for the most part repeated by al-Safadi but he adds, with a touch of scepticism, 'He [Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi] bears the responsibility for this conjecture.'[42] An unusual

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[34] Ibn al-Athir 1965 xii, 351.

[35] Ibn Khallikan 1977 v, 74-5.

[36] The complicated politics and constitutional developments of this period of Ayyubid history have been well described and analysed by Humphreys 1977, 41-123.

[37] Al-Maqrizi 1853 ii, 203-4.

[38] Ibn al-Athir 1965 xii, 352.

[39] Ibn Khallikan 1977 v, 78.

[40] Ibn Shaddad 1956, 39, 77, 240, 243.

[41] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 594-5.

[42] Al-Safadi 1931 ii, 235.

fact mentioned is that al-ʿAdil suffered in the rose-flowering season from what appears to have been an allergy affecting his nose. He was unable to reside in Damascus in that period and would pitch a tent at Marj al-Suffar.[43]

A summary character sketch is preserved from the otherwise lost *Life of al-ʿAdil* by al-Muwaffaq ibn al-Labbad (who died in 629/1231-2). Two aspects of al-ʿAdil's character that Ibn al-Labbad mentions are his reputed gluttony and his appetite for an active sex life. However, it is stressed that this latter activity did not stray beyond sanctioned limits.[44] He had eighteen sons (at the greatest count) and at least four daughters.[45] These women formed diplomatic marriages within and without the family, alliances that were typical of all its branches. One of his daughters, Ghaziya Khatun, married her cousin, al-Zahir of Aleppo, who then, after his wife's death in 613/1216-7, married her sister, Daifa Khatun. This redoubtable lady, who later became the effective authority in Aleppo,[46] no doubt having learnt much from her father, was a prototype for the celebrated Shajar al-Durr in Cairo.

Al-ʿAdil had few illnesses in his life. His physician told Ibn al-Labbad that he had taken his livelihood from al-ʿAdil for many years but had only treated him once.[47] When illness did finally come upon him it was at a decidedly inconvenient time, just as the crusading forces had gathered at Acre and shifted their strategy to make an attack on Damietta in May 1218. On news of crusader success against Damietta's defences, al-ʿAdil, borne in a litter, tried to hurry back to Egypt but only reached ʿAliqin, a village near Damascus. His death there was concealed[48] in a manner that prefigured similar operations several decades later to conceal the death of al-ʿAdil's grandson, al-Salih Ayyub, who also died at a critical moment, when the Crusade led by Louis IX descended upon Damietta once again. Al-ʿAdil died on Friday 7 Jumada II 615/31 August 1218.[49] His corpse was taken to Damascus the following Sunday. As al-ʿAdil was brought for burial in the Citadel, Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi was sitting alongside the sultan's son, al-Muʿazzam, and witnessed his outburst of grief. The sultan's remains lay in the citadel until 619/1222 when they were transferred to the ʿAdiliyya Madrasa.[50]

Al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa

One of the many sons of al-ʿAdil, al-Muʿazzam Sharaf al-Din ʿIsa was born in Cairo in 576/1180-1 according to most authorities, although 578/1182-3 is also mentioned. Al-Safadi,

who is alone in stating that he was born in Damascus, does give a more precise date, 5 Rajab 576/24 November 1180.[51] During the lifetime of his father, al-Muʿazzam served as his deputy in Syria, based in Damascus, and after his death he was the effective ruler of the central portion of Ayyubid lands. His possessions are described as stretching from the borders of Homs to al-ʿArish and included Kerak and Shaubak. However, he mostly recognised the suzerainty of his older brother, al-Kamil, whose name was proclaimed in the *khutba* and appeared on coins. He had a palace in the Damascus suburb of al-Qabun, which had belonged to al-Muzaffar Taqi al-Din ʿUmar and was purchased from his heirs. He also had a residence in Nablus.[52]

Despite a degree of wariness in the relations between the leading sons of al-ʿAdil—al-Kamil, al-Ashraf and al-Muʿazzam—they showed sufficient common purpose to co-operate successfully to meet the threat of the Fifth Crusade. Subsequently al-Muʿazzam found himself squeezed between the ambitions of his other two brothers. Ibn Wasil attempted to explain how he was able to maintain his position.[53]

> His standing army was about 3,000 mounted men and none of his brothers had an army to compare with it in its finery and excellent equipment. With this small force he resisted and rivalled his two brothers, al-Kamil and al-Ashraf. Al-Kamil feared him because he suspected that the Egyptian army inclined to him and loved him, because they knew of his support and consideration for his troops. Despite the fact that his army was approaching 12,000 and despite the great size of his realm, al-Kamil did not dare to march to Syria and believed that, if he did so, most of his troops would desert to al-Muʿazzam and cut him off from Egypt.

Al-Muʿazzam had a reputation as an active warrior, zealous in the *jihad*, and at the same time as a devotee of scholarship and intellectual pursuits. Unlike all other branches of the Ayyubid dynasty, who were Shafiʿis by persuasion, he was an adherent of the Hanafi school of law, and his sons followed his example in this. When his father criticised him for deserting the *madhhab* of his family, he is said to have retorted in jest, 'My lord, are you not pleased that there should be one Muslim amongst you!'[54] Al-Muʿazzam studied Hanafi law with Jamal al-Din Ahmad al-Hasiri (died 636/1238-9), working on 'The Great Compendium' *(al-Jamiʿ al-Kabir)* of al-Shaibani (died 217/832) for which he wrote a commentary. According to al-Dhahabi, 'he wrote a commentary on it in several volumes with the

[43] Ibn Kathir 1977 xiii, 80.
[44] Quoted in Ibn Taghribirdi 1936 vi, 166-9. Cf. al-Safadi 1931 ii, 236.
[45] Al-ʿAsqalani 1978, 273-328.
[46] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 119.
[47] Quoted in Ibn Taghribirdi 1936 vi, 166-7. Cf. al-Safadi 1931 ii, 236.
[48] Ibn Wasil 1953 iii, 275-6.
[49] This date is confirmed by the corresponding solar-year date, 31 Ab (August) given by Ibn Nazif 1982, 76.
[50] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 596-7.

[51] Ms Selden Arch. A 28, fol. 65b.
[52] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 111, 193, 213.
[53] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 209.
[54] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 211.

assistance of others.'[55] He was always active in his support for the Hanafi school. Having come across attacks on Abu Hanifa in al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's *History of Baghdad*, he composed a riposte entitled *al-Sahm al-Musib fi'l-Radd ʿala al-Khatib* ('The Well-aimed Arrow; a Reply to Ibn al-Khatib'). Ibn Wasil read a copy of this book in Jerusalem and found it to be excellent.[56] However, it appears that al-Muʿazzam did not accept Hanafi law slavishly. Ibn Wasil's father told of his *faux pas* when he said to al-Muʿazzam that the Atabeg Zangi had overlooked the advice of Hanafi lawyers that property at Maʿarrat al-Nuʿman, which had been recovered from the Franks, should be appropriated by the treasury rather than restored to the original Muslim owners. Al-Muʿazzam took no offence; indeed he expressed his approval of what Zangi had done.[57]

A report from Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi is relevant to the sultan's attitude to his studies. Al-Muʿazzam ordered scholars to collect Abu Hanifa's personal teaching, which was duly done in ten volumes. These volumes went everywhere with the sultan, who read them continually. He annotated each volume as follows: 'ʿIsa ibn Abi Bakr ibn Ayyub has fully committed this to memory' *(anha-hu hafzan)*. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi pointed out to him that this left him open to criticism. A leading scholar in Syria with leisure for study might well memorise al-Qaduri's [an eminent authority] work, while al-Muʿazzam, despite being busy with governing, claimed to have mastered ten books. The sultan's reply was 'What is important is not the words themselves but the ideas!'[58]

Al-Muʿazzam's interests included secular literature, for which he had a great love. He is himself credited with a collection of verse. However, Ibn Khallikan writes, 'I have heard some verses that are attributed to him but I did not verify them and have recorded none of them.'[59] Again there is some disparagement from Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi, who said that at times the metre of his verse was not correct, despite the fact that al-Muʿazzam was the author of a work on prosody.[60] Al-Muʿazzam attracted a circle of learned men, some of whom are listed by Ibn Wasil.[61] One was Jamal al-Din ibn Shith, who wrote a treatise on the secretarial art[62] and one should also mention the poet and administrator Ibn ʿUnain (died 630/1232-3) who served both al-Muʿazzam and his father.[63] Another writer to whom he gave his patronage was al-Bundari, who dedicated to him his edited version of ʿImad al-Din's history, *al-Barq al-Shami*, which was completed in 622/1225. Previously al-Bundari had produced a translation

of the *Shahnama* for al-Muʿazzam's library.[64] Al-Muʿazzam's encouragement of learning is also shown in his offering substantial sums for all who memorised certain works. Many took advantage of this offer.[65] Ibn Wasil himself came across a copy of Sibawaih's grammar on which in several places al-Muʿazzam had recorded his consultation of the work in Arsuf or Nablus.[66]

In 621/1224, as a token of his Hanafi allegiance, al-Muʿazzam built a *madrasa* for the members of that school beneath Mount Qasyun on the western edge of the Damascus suburb of Salihiyya. Also in Damascus, he completed the construction of a large Shafiʿi *madrasa* which had been begun by Nur al-Din and continued by al-ʿAdil, and which bore the name al-ʿAdiliyya, in itself an ambiguous attribution.[67] Al-Muʿazzam also carried out works on the Damascus city wall and other constructions there, including a caravanserai at the Jabiya Gate. His other *madrasa* for the Hanafi school of law was built at Jerusalem. It was supplied with an endowment in a document dated 606/1209 and was completed in 614/1217-8.[68] He took a particular interest in the pilgrim route to the Hijaz and performed the *hajj* in 611/1215. He built two bath houses at Maʿan and had the whole route from Damascus to Mecca surveyed, improving some of the more difficult parts and creating cisterns, for the maintenance of which he left endowments.[69] This surveying was done in the year 622/1225, which was the year that Abu Shama went on his second pilgrimage and he wrote fulsomely of the benefits the Syrian caravan gained from all these developments.[70]

Apart from the major *madrasa*, Jerusalem benefited from other building works of al-Muʿazzam which are recorded in surviving inscriptions covering the period 601-14/1204-17.[71] Two of these, dated 609 and 610/1212-13, refer to the fortifications of the town, with the construction of two towers.[72] In addition to these works, in 604/1207-8 al-Muʿazzam constructed just south-west of the Dome of the Rock the domed building know as al-Nahawiyya 'for study of the Arabic language'. In the *waqfiyya* he stipulated that only Hanafis were to receive any financial assistance from the endowments. This is the 'dome' where the 'seven readings' of the Qur'an and Qur'anic recitation were also studied, according to Ibn Wasil, and where he himself read a grammatical treatise, the *Idah* of Abu ʿAli al-Farisi (died 377/987-8).[73] An operation with quite a different result was the dismantling of the city

[55] Ms Laud or. 305, fol. 48a.

[56] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 212; al-ʿAsqalani 1948, 276.

[57] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 213-4.

[58] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 647.

[59] Ibn Khallikan 1977 iii, 495.

[60] Quoted in al-ʿAsqalani 1948, 278. See also al-Nuwairi 1923 xxix, 144.

[61] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 214 ff.

[62] *Kitab Maʿalim al-Kitaba* (ed.) Qustantin al-Basha, Beirut 1913.

[63] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 43.

[64] Al-Bundari 1971, 49-51.

[65] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 647. Cf Ibn Khallikan 1977 iii, 495.

[66] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 210-11.

[67] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 219-20; Ibn Shaddad 1956, 220, 240.

[68] RCEA 1931 x, 140-1; MCIA Jerusalem 1922 i, 168-173.

[69] Al-ʿAsqalani 1948, 284.

[70] Abu Shama 1947, 152.

[71] They are discussed by Humphreys 1977, 150-53. See the references there cited.

[72] See Sharon 1977, 179-182.

[73] Mujir al-Din 1973 i, 403; ii, 34; Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 211-12.

walls that had been rebuilt by Saladin and strengthened further by al-Mu'azzam himself. It resulted in the mass desertion of the city by the populace. This step was judged necessary during 616/1219 in the light of the strategic position arising during the Fifth Crusade, and the fear of further Frankish expeditions to the Levant coast. The Citadel, the Tower of David, was allowed to remain standing but later, in 637/1239, it too was demolished after Jerusalem had been recovered by al-Mu'azzam's son, al-Nasir Da'ud.[74]

Certain aspects of the character of al-Mu'azzam are stressed by our sources, namely his lack of concern for formality and the pomp of office, and also his accessibility. He would ride out with a small retinue, sometimes without any bodyguard, and plunge into market places and streets without the way being cleared for him. From al-Dhahabi we have a picture of him 'walking from the Citadel to the house [of one of his teachers, Taj al-Din al-Kindi] in the Alley of the Persians *(darb al-'Ajam)* with his book under his arm.'[75] In 623/1226 Ibn Wasil saw him in the Aqsa Mosque with men, women and children crowding around him without restraint. His lack of ceremony led to the saying 'To do a Mu'azzami'. He seldom rode with the trappings of flags and banners. Abu Shama reports how, typically, as it appears, he ordered his representatives leading the Syrian pilgrim caravan not to take part in the normal disputes over precedence with those of other princes, and not to jostle to plant his banner high on Mt Arafat. 'One could see his banner planted to the side, disregarded, below the mountain.'[76]

It would be rare to find no word of censure. Some is provided by Shaikh Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi who quoted Diya' al-Din (Ibn al-Athir?) as follows: 'He used to drink intoxicating drinks and held it permissible to do so. Often he would give large gifts to people who did not drink (to get them to drink). He institutionalised much injustice in Syria.'[77] However, al-Dhahabi does excuse what he claims to have been his harsh rule and his exactions on the grounds that he was exposed to Frankish operations ('because the Franks were on his back') and that he was obliged to keep spies and agents. This reminds one of the spies at Acre who were said to keep al-Mu'azzam well informed of the strength and direction of raids that the Franks planned by lighting candles in windows according to a pre-arranged code. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi suggested to the sultan that this was a waste of funds but the sultan fully justified the expense.[78]

Another less than favourable assessment was given by Ibn Nazif (died 631/1234). He wrote: 'al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, son of the Sultan al-'Adil, was tyrannical, intrepid and impetuous, careless of the outcome of what he purposed. He was neglectful of his dress and other matters. He inclined towards the Khwarazmian and abandoned his own house and family. He is the one who fostered the ambitions of the Khwarazmian for the lands of Khilat and others.'[79]

Al-Mu'azzam fell ill in Shawwal 624/September 1227 with 'dysentery' and died quite soon after that; he was in his late forties. Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi came before him the evening prior to his death, which occurred early on Friday 1 Dhu'l-Hijja/12 November 1227, and was chided for weeping at the sultan's changed appearance.[80] Al-Mu'azzam 'Isa was buried in the citadel at Damascus where he had died, and then later, on Tuesday 1 Muharram 627/20 November 1229, according to his original instructions, his remains were laid to rest in his *madrasa* at al-Salihiyya, where other members of his family were buried, including his mother, a Turkish *umm walad*. Ibn al-Athir claims to give details from al-Mu'azzam's last testament, namely 'that he should be buried in white, that no gold[-thread] should be put in any of his grave clothes, that he should be buried in a simple grave *(lahd)* with no construction raised above it—indeed that his grave should be in open country beneath the sky.'[81]

Al-Mu'azzam had many children, the first of whom, a son, was born as early as 595/1198-9.[82] Several died during his own lifetime and one died young, a little after his death. He also had about nine daughters, of whom one was married to Jalal al-Din, the son of the Khwarazmshah Muhammad, but who never joined her husband. The oldest of the three sons who survived him was al-Nasir Da'ud, who succeeded to his lands but after an unlucky and turbulent career lost all.[83]

Al-Kamil Muhammad

Saladin had allotted to al-Kamil's father, al-'Adil, the former palace of the Fatimids in Cairo (known as the Lesser Western Palace) as his residence and it was there that al-Kamil was born. Most sources give the year of his birth as 576/1180 and a more precise date, 25 Rabi' I 576/18 August 1180, is recorded by Ibn Khallikan who 'found it in the manuscript of a student of history—but God knows best!'[84] He was the oldest of al-'Adil's

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[74] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 32; v, 246-7.

[75] Ms Laud or. 305, fol. 48a.

[76] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 210 and al-'Asqalani 1948, 282; Abu Shama 1947, 152. Ms Laud or. 305, fol. 48b; ms Selden Arch. A 28, fol. 65a adds what is in brackets.

[77] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 646. Quoted by al-Nuwairi 1923 xxix, 145. Intriguingly, the text says 'most of them were womenfolk of knights' (!?) *(nisa' al-khayyala)*.

[79] According to a quotation by Ibn al-Furat from an unspecified work of Ibn Nazif. See Ibn Nazif 1982, 153, note 6.

[80] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 648.

[81] Ibn al-Athir 1965 xii, 472.

[82] Ibn Nazif 1982, 7.

[83] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 218-9.

[84] Ibn Khallikan 1977 v, 83. As for the variant dates, al-Nuwairi 1923 xxix, 227, gives Dhu'l-Hijja 575/May 1180 but Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 705 and al-'Asqalani 1978, 299, give 573/1177-8.

many sons, discounting Maudud, one of those who died during al-ʿAdil's lifetime; and he served as al-ʿAdil's deputy in Egypt and was his designated successor.

It was at a crucial stage of the Fifth Crusade that al-Kamil succeeded his father. A potentially serious mutiny led by the senior *amir*, Ibn al-Mashtub, caused a panicky reaction from al-Kamil. The arrival of his younger brother, al-Muʿazzam, who decisively removed Ibn al-Mashtub from his command and from the scene, saved the situation. Referring to al-Muʿazzam's role in this, al-Kamil once said to Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi in Egypt, 'Who saved the country and gave me life after death but he?'[85] During the critical period of the Crusade both al-Muʿazzam and al-Ashraf, another of al-ʿAdil's sons who had taken over the lands beyond the Euphrates, and other Ayyubid princes too, co-operated with and gave support to al-Kamil.

After the failure of the Crusade and the recovery of Damietta in 618/1221, differences arose and ambitions clashed. In pursuit of what he saw as his own interest, with the aim of embarrassing al-Muʿazzam in Syria and Palestine, al-Kamil involved himself in diplomatic overtures towards Frederick II of Sicily, who was titular king of Jerusalem and was known to be planning another crusade. Even though the death of al-Muʿazzam removed his immediate threat, internal Ayyubid disputes still festered, and the erratic career of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din in the north was likely to complicate the situation. Al-Kamil therefore decided to continue his search for a negotiated settlement with Frederick. It was one which involved the cession of Jerusalem (in 626/1229), a move that was intensely unpopular and gained him widespread censure.

It is impossible in this context to follow in any detail the subsequent kaleidoscope of political and military developments within the Ayyubid empire. Certain features stand out as significant in the whole. There was an exchange of areas of control between al-Kamil and al-Ashraf, which brought the latter Damascus and gave al-Kamil large territories in the Jazira. These territories were put under the control of his son, al-Salih Ayyub, who was in time to be the new 'great sultan'. This agreement was at the expense of al-Nasir Da'ud, al-Muʿazzam's son, who had initially succeeded him in Damascus. Al-Nasir played a steadily diminishing role in the shifting alliances that followed and often emerged as the loser. Al-Ashraf died in 635/1237 and his position in Ayyubid affairs was taken by a younger and ambitious brother, al-Salih Ismaʿil. He it was from whom al-Kamil took Damascus in Jumada I 635/January 1238. With this act he appeared to have achieved the overwhelming dominance in name and in fact which his father had previously gained. This dominance was not to be consolidated, for within only a short time, after a twenty-day illness, he died.[86]

Like his father before him, al-Kamil was a cautious and deliberate ruler. He involved himself closely in the details of administration, insisting that the clerks of the government bureaux presented and justified their accounts before him in person. At the beginning of his independent reign the man who had been his father's vizier, Ibn Shukr, was recalled during the crisis of the Fifth Crusade. Ibn Shukr died in 622/1225 and from then on al-Kamil left the office of vizier vacant. He did rely much on four brothers, the sons of Sadr al-Din ibn Hamawaih (known as Shaikh al-Shuyukh), who were active in both the civilian and military spheres. The reliance may be explained by the fact that their mother had suckled al-Kamil and they had been reared together, so the important foster-brother relationship existed between them.[87]

It would appear that his intellectual interests were more developed than those of his father. Like many at that time he wrote poetry. His passion for the study of *hadith* is often mentioned and it did have the concrete result that in 622/1225 he founded the Dar al-Hadith, sometimes called the Madrasa al-Kamiliyya, in Cairo on the west side of Bain al-Qasrain. In the same vicinity he also built a tenement, the rents from which provided the endowment income of the college.[88] This centre for the study of *hadith* was founded for one particular person, Majd al-Din ʿUmar ibn Dihya. Later al-Kamil discovered him to have been deceitful in his scholarship, dismissed him and appointed his older brother, Abu ʿAmr ʿUthman.[89] This fits well with what is told of al-Kamil's habit of testing scholars' knowledge with questions on jurisprudence or grammar. Correct answers led to favour and rewards.[90] Al-Kamil was intimate with a group of scholars to the extent that some nights they would have beds beside the sultan's and they would discuss matters of learning and literature into the early hours.[91] Ibn Wasil suggests that perhaps al-Kamil could be excessively demanding. A visiting scholar was asked some medical questions by al-Kamil and was embarrassed when shown to be wrong. Ibn Wasil comments: 'This was not fair of al-Kamil. Error in one or a few questions does not necessarily mean lack of learning. It is not possible to have a grasp of all questions.'[92]

Apart from al-Kamil's Dar al-Hadith, another architectural legacy was his construction of the great domed edifice over the burial place of al-Shafiʿi, the eponymous founder of one of the four Sunni schools of law. A water supply was also laid on from the Birkat al-Habash.[93] Furthermore, al-Kamil was responsible for the completion, at least at this first

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[85] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 650.

[86] The events of al-Kamil's reign may be followed in Humphreys 1977, 155-238.

[87] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 169-70.

[88] Al-Maqrizi 1853 ii, 375. The *waqf* collapsed in the troubles following 806/1403.

[89] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 162, 167.

[90] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 158.

[91] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 164.

[92] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 160-1.

[93] Al-Safadi 1931 i, 194.

stage of its history, of the Citadel in Cairo. While still acting as his father's deputy, he resumed its construction, which had stalled since the death of Saladin. In 604/1207-8 'he concerned himself with its construction and that of its towers, including the Red Tower *(Burj al-Ahmar)* ... and moved into the Citadel from the vizier's residence.' He was the first member of the family to make the Citadel his seat of power.[94]

Ibn Wasil gave short contrasting characterisations of the three sons of al-ʿAdil as follows: 'al-Kamil was the most prudent and politic, al-Muʿazzam the bravest and the most learned and al-Ashraf the most tolerant and most generous.'[95] We have from the historian al-Nuwairi a sketch of al-Kamil's character, which is worth giving at length.

> As a ruler he was prudent, firmly in control of affairs, on the look out for collecting money, so that he would deal in person with the loads that came to him, noting them down in a ledger of his and bringing the officials to account for what they delivered. He collected a great amount of money. It was said that he left 1000 *ardebb*s of gold, an unheard-of amount. I think it is an exaggeration —but God knows best.[96]
>
> He used to hold a private session every Friday eve, at which lawyers, literati, poets and others would assemble. During the remainder of the week he had nights when he would retire privately with his boon companions to drink and listen to singing-girls.
>
> He had a proper belief in the Sunna. His voice was powerful and he was held in great awe in the hearts of his subjects and his intimates. He built a hall in the Citadel of the Mount [at Cairo], where he would sit with the lawyers and the pious during the month of Ramadan. He called it the Ramadan Hall, which today is part of the royal storerooms.[97]

Al-Kamil's firm rule is portrayed in what are conventional terms. Thus, the highways were held to be secure in his reign and people could travel alone in safety. He is said to have prevented any plunder by his troops and on one occasion, to give exemplary punishment, he hanged several soldiers for stealing barley. This is given as an example of 'his justice mixed with harshness'.[98] Since Ibn Wasil stresses how mild and lacking in bloodshed were the quarrels of the Ayyubid family, it is not surprising to find al-Kamil described as forbearing

(for example, he overlooked a poet's satire directed against him) and as loathe to shed blood.[99] Nevertheless there were occasions when he was tempted to give harsh treatment. After the recovery of Edessa and Harran from the Saljuqs of Rum in 633/1236, his treatment of prisoners who were taken to Egypt was deplored. 'Neither he nor any one of his house had normally acted like this. He was only brought to act so because he was full of rage against ʿAlaʾ al-Din.'[100] Again, after the death of al-Ashraf when al-Kamil besieged Damascus, the ruler of Homs, al-Mujahid, sent a detachment of fifty plus to help the besieged. They were captured by al-Kamil, who ordered them all to be hanged in the gardens around the city. 'This was not his custom, but he was simply furious with the lord of Homs.'[101]

Al-Kamil had three sons. The oldest was al-Masʿud Yusuf who was sent away to bring order to the Ayyubid possessions in the Yemen and who died there before his father. Al-Salih Ayyub was the son initially designated as al-Kamil's successor and was given responsibilities in Egypt. He lost his father's favour, possibly because of the machinations of the mother of the third son, al-ʿAdil (II), and was sent to the eastern possessions where he continued to act in a way that disturbed his father. Al-ʿAdil was named as heir and eventually succeeded as a weak minor, soon to be replaced by Ayyub.

There were several daughters, many of whom made diplomatic marriages. ʿAshura Khatun, for example, married her cousin, al-Nasir Daʾud, but a divorce was demanded by al-Kamil when he was displeased with al-Nasir. The two then remarried a few years later.[102] Another daughter was sought as a bride for al-ʿAziz of Aleppo, when the latter was only two years old. Some thirteen years later the contract was made and the bride was fetched from Cairo in 626/1229. The historian Bahaʾ al-Din as an elder statesman took part in the various missions.[103]

Three of the daughters of al-Kamil acquired property adjacent to the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and had a tomb built for their father. It had windows that opened into the mosque and his body was transferred to it after having been in the first instance buried within the Citadel.

Ibn Khallikan was in Damascus at the time of al-Kamil's death. He writes that the populace had an inkling of what had occurred but there was no certainty, as his death was concealed, and only announced by the appropriate prayers for the deceased sultan and blessings on the new, at a Friday service in the Umayyad Mosque. When did al-Kamil die? Although there is some minor disagreement in the sources, one can in the end be quite sure of the date.

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[94] Al-Maqrizi 1853 i, 438; ii, 203-4 (with quotation from Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir).

[95] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 170.

[96] An *ardebb* is a measure of volume. Therefore its weight depends on what is being measured. Hinz 1970, 39, having noted that the sources give contradictory data, gives 1 *ardebb* of wheat as just under 70kg of wheat. In volume 1 *ardebb* is around 90 litres. Can one imagine 90 litres of gold [coins]?

[97] Al-Nuwairi 1923 xxix, 228.

[98] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951 706; al-Safadi 1931 i, 194.

[99] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 156-7.

[100] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 109-10.

[101] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 151.

[102] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 15, 82, 127.

[103] Ibn Wasil 1953 iii, 236-7; iv, 313; v, 254-5.

Ibn Wasil does not name a day and writes there were 'seven days left' of Rajab, that is, the 23 Rajab.[104] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi and al-Nuwairi name the day, Wednesday, but say 21 Rajab.[105] Ibn Khallikan, who was actually present in Damascus, gives the date as late on Wednesday 21 Rajab 635, which is the equivalent of 10 March 1238.[106] He also presents a death scene, as related to him by a retainer of al-Nasir Da'ud. This portrays al-Nasir Da'ud at the door, impatient, no doubt, to be making another bid for power in Damascus, while al-Kamil, lying within, is agitated and saying, 'He is waiting for me to die!'

Al-Salih Ayyub

This last member of the Ayyubid family to achieve a paramount position as ruler of both Egypt and Syria was born the middle son of al-Kamil Muhammad in the year 603/1206-7.[107] His mother was a black concubine called Ward al-Muna.[108] His older brother, al-Mas'ud Yusuf, of whom Ibn Wasil rather cryptically says, 'His father feared for his other sons because of him', died during the lifetime of his father in 626/1228-9 when returning from a period ruling Yemen.[109] Ayyub's younger half-brother, who was given the names of his grandfather, al-'Adil Abu Bakr, was one of three relatives with whom he had long-term rivalry, the other two being his uncle, al-Salih Isma'il, a son of al-'Adil I, and his cousin, al-Nasir Da'ud, a son of al-Mu'azzam Isa.

Ayyub first appears on the scene, aged fifteen, as one of the Muslim hostages during the negotiations at the end of the Damietta Crusade in Rajab 618/August 1221. Several years later, when al-Kamil went on an expedition to Syria, he left Ayyub in charge of Egypt and named him as his successor.[110] His position was undermined by complaints about him which emanated chiefly from the mother of his half-brother, al-'Adil. Al-Kamil was especially fond of her and her son. They reported that Ayyub had seized money from merchants, bought large numbers of *mamluks* and was planning to overthrow his father. As a result Ayyub was replaced by al-'Adil, then only eleven years old.[111] In 629/1232 al-Kamil took Ayyub with him to the eastern parts of the Ayyubid lands and left him as his deputy in Amid and Hisn Kaifa, and his designated successor in the east.

Alongside him, and wielding actual power, was Amir Shams al-Din Sawab, a former officer of al-'Adil I. Sawab died in 632/1234-5 and Ayyub began a successful period of direct rule in Mesopotamia, during which he began his association with the so-called Khwarazmians, the freebooting former soldiers of the Khwarazmshah Jalal al-Din.[112]

After the death of his father al-Kamil in 635/1238, Ayyub's situation worsened. He had trouble with his Khwarazmian allies whose allegiance was always fickle and whose military aid was often as damaging to friend as to foe. Their marauding career in the Jazira and Syria caused much destruction and terror until their definitive defeat and the death of their leader, Barka Khan, in 644/1246. Ayyub, who was responsible for bringing them into Ayyubid politics, escaped explicit blame in the sources.[113] Ayyub's position in the Jazira was also weakened by an alliance of Aleppo with the Saljuqs of Rum and also by the actions of Badr al-Din Lu'lu' of Mosul, all of which led him to make a humiliating submission to Daifa Khatun, the formidable matriarch of Aleppo.[114]

At this juncture it was fortunate for Ayyub that his cousin, al-Jawad Yusuf, felt too weak to hold Damascus against al-'Adil II, now sultan of Egypt, and was willing to exchange it for Sinjar. Ayyub entered Damascus in Jumada II 636/January 1239.[115] This brought him the inveterate enmity of his uncle, al-Salih Isma'il at Baalbek, who, although initially pretending friendship, was plotting to take Damascus for himself. The twists and turns of Ayyubid alliances are too involved to follow in detail. However, while Ayyub, having gathered his forces in Palestine, was debating whether to march on Egypt, where he understood that he would be welcomed, al-Salih Isma'il descended upon, and took, Damascus in Safar 637/September 1239. Ayyub's troops melted away and he was left vulnerable and with no power base. His hostility towards Isma'il, which continued all his life, was strengthened by the strong suspicion that he was responsible for the death of Ayyub's eldest son, al-Mughith 'Umar, who was Isma'il's prisoner in Damascus.[116]

Another prince, whose career was entwined with Ayyub's, was al-Nasir Da'ud of Kerak. His great aim, constantly frustrated, was to regain what he considered to be his birthright from his father, al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, Damascus and its lands. He was ever prepared to co-operate with whoever promised this, or to oppose whoever stood in his way or deceived him. Ayyub sought Da'ud's protection at this low moment in his career and was held 'for his own safety' in Kerak. This imprisonment, although mild, and his sense of having been betrayed by the Kurdish *amirs* and troops, probably affected his character and led him eventually to build up, and rely on, his own *mamluks*.

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[104] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 155.

[105] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 706; al-Nuwairi 1923 xxix, 227.

[106] Ibn Khallikan 1977 v, 83, 92 (followed by al-Maqrizi 1956 i, 258).

[107] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 775; al-Safadi 1931 x, 55. Al-Maqrizi 1956 i, 339 implicitly agrees by saying that Ayyub was aged forty-four at his death. Ibn Wasil says 'about forty' which fits the death date of 608/1211-12 he gives in Paris ms. 1702, fol 359a. However, he also says that Ayyub was fifteen years old in 618, and twenty-two years old in 625 (Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 98, 225-6).

[108] Abu'l-Fida n.d. iii, 180; al-Maqrizi 1956 i, 339.

[109] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 259-60.

[110] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 98, 225-6.

[111] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 277-9.

[112] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 16-7, 28-9, 135.

[113] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 178, 349-59.

[114] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 185-9.

[115] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 200-4.

[116] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 206-34.

There were exceptions. Two of his life-long and trusted servants were the Kurdish *amir*, Husam al-Din ibn Abi ʿAli, and the poet and secretary, Baha' al-Din Zuhair.[117]

The accounts of Ayyub's seven-month imprisonment suggest that it was in the nature of an honourable confinement. When Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi met him in Cairo in 646/1248, he told him of various incidents that suggested unpleasantness and inconvenience, certainly not harsh treatment.[118] Ibn Wasil painted a better picture. He says that Ayyub was provided with whatever food, drink and clothing he wished for, and that al-Nasir Da'ud enjoined his wife, a granddaughter of al-ʿAdil I, and her two sons to wait upon him and keep him company.[119] Nevertheless, the sense of betrayal was clearly very keen.

In Ramadan 637/January 1240, Da'ud freed Ayyub on the promise of future co-operation and on condition that Ayyub would have Egypt and Da'ud Syria. Later Ayyub was to claim that the promise was given under duress. Meanwhile, the two seemed likely to be squeezed on two fronts by al-ʿAdil II and Ismaʿil.[120] Once again Ayyub benefited from a lucky turn of events. The disaffection of the *amirs* in Egypt came to a head and they arrested al-ʿAdil II during Dhu'l-Qaʿda 637/June 1240. Ayyub was invited to take over and he entered the Citadel at Cairo later that month.[121] Within a year or so Ayyub strengthened his position by a purge of certain *amirs* and the *mamluks* of previous regimes, the Kamiliyya and the Ashrafiyya. He also went ahead with the purchase of his own *mamluks*, the Salihiyya, and the special corps, the Bahriyya.[122]

During this period the Khwarazmians continued their erratic depredations, although the forces of Aleppo and Homs did win a victory over them in Ramadan 638/April 1241. One result was that Ayyub lost control of Amid and his son, al-Muʿazzam Turanshah was confined to Hisn Kaifa. Of the Ayyubid princes of Syria, only al-Muzaffar of Hama supported Ayyub, following that city's traditional policy of alliance with Egypt. The Mongol threat made the Saljuqs of Rum eager to bring about a general peace.[123] By 641/1243, all parties were about to come to an agreement in which Ayyub would be recognised as supreme sultan and the only loser would be the unfortunate al-Nasir Da'ud, whose lands were to be divided. However, the talks broke down. In Syria this led to an Ayyubid alliance with the Franks, to whom Jerusalem, including, to Muslim outrage, the Haram al-Sharif, and other towns were ceded.[124] In response, Ayyub called upon the Khwarazmians again who came in large numbers, sacked Jerusalem and drove out the Franks, and, having joined up with Ayyub's troops,

defeated the Ayyubid-Frankish coalition outside Gaza early in 642/1244. After a lengthy siege, Damascus fell to Ayyub's army and Ismaʿil fled to Baalbak. The Khwarazmians, whose demands were too great after their role in the Gaza battle, fell out with Ayyub and attempted to recapture Damascus in concert with Ismaʿil. Yet another grouping of Ayyub, Aleppo and Homs inflicted a decisive victory on the Khwarazmians south of Homs in 644/1246, as has already been mentioned. This successful co-operation led to generally better relations for a while, even though al-Nasir Yusuf in Aleppo refused to surrender Ismaʿil, who had sought refuge with him. Ayyub, meanwhile, extended his control to Baalbak and Kerak.[125]

The next crisis was caused by the new ruler of Homs, al-Ashraf Musa, who ceded a castle to Ayyub. Fearful of this change in the balance of power and of Ayyub's intentions, the Aleppans besieged Homs. Ayyub organised an expedition to Syria in Shawwal 645/February 1248 and, to avoid any conspiracy during his own absence from Egypt, he ordered his half-brother, al-ʿAdil II, to be moved from Cairo to Shaubak. He refused to go and the following day he met his death in the Citadel. It was generally understood that he had been strangled.[126]

Action to relieve and eventually to attempt to recover Homs was not very energetically pursued, as Ayyub was already suffering from an incapacitating illness. After appealing several times for help without any effective response, and having undergone a two months' siege, al-Ashraf Musa surrendered Homs to the Aleppans in return for Tell Bashir. Ayyub, angry that the resistance had not lasted longer, finally came to Homs and besieged it during the winter. Early in the following year, with the help of a caliphal envoy, peace was made, allowing al-Nasir of Aleppo to retain Homs. In fact, Ayyub was eager to return to Egypt, for not only was the state of his health bad but he had heard of the planned crusade of Louis IX of France.[127] Several years later, when Ibn Wasil was sent on an embassy to Sicily by Sultan Baibars, he was told the following by Bernard (?), the *mihmandar* of the Emperor Manfred:

> The emperor [Frederick II] sent me in secret as an envoy to al-Salih Najm al-Din Ayyub to inform him of the King of France's plan to attack Egypt, to warn him of this and to advise him to make preparations, which is what al-Salih did. I returned to the emperor and my journey to and from Egypt was done in a merchant's garb. Nobody knew of my meeting with the sultan, for fear that the Franks might learn of the emperor's conspiring with the Muslims against them.[128]

[117] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 235–41.
[118] Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 727.
[119] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 242; Paris ms. 1702, fol. 358a.
[120] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 257–60, 271.
[121] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 262–6.
[122] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 274–5.
[123] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 279–96, 314.
[124] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 326–32

[125] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 336–63.
[126] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 377–80.
[127] Paris ms. 1702, fols 352b–354b.
[128] Paris ms. 1703, fol. 121b.

Ayyub returned to Egypt, carried in a litter as he was unable to ride, and arrived at his chosen base on 3 Safar 647/11 May 1249, having given orders for the garrisoning and provisioning of Damietta. The Franks disembarked later in Safar/3 June and took Damietta after it had been abandoned in panic. A furious Ayyub executed many auxiliary troops who should have defended the city but he was forced in the circumstances to overlook the failures of the commanders and the regular troops.[129] The finale of the bitter struggle that ensued, the defeat of the Crusaders at the battle of al-Mansura and the capture of Louis IX, occurred after the death of al-Salih Ayyub, which was as untimely as had been the death of his grandfather al-ʿAdil I when faced with the previous Frankish descent upon Damietta.

Ayyub died according to most sources on the eve of Monday 15 Shaʿban 647, which, after adjustment, is the equivalent of Monday 22 November 1249.[130] However, Ibn Wasil, whom we have every right to accept as our best authority, says that Ayyub died on the eve of Sunday 14 Shaʿban, which was, of course, 21 November. Abu'l-Fida' followed Ibn Wasil in this.[131] It is not possible to know for sure the cause of Ayyub's death. There have been two investigations of what the sources say, although only one of them used the important evidence of Ibn Wasil. He is adamant that the sultan suffered most obviously from a fistula in the area of his private parts but also from *sill*, an indeterminate wasting condition, which Ayyub made little of but which eventually killed him. Perhaps it was tuberculosis.[132]

His death was concealed to try to avoid any panic and dismay. Official silence was maintained for three months, although inevitably the word did begin to spread. The clandestine procedure was also followed to allow time for his son, al-Muʿazzam Turanshah, to make his way from Hisn Kaifa to take over the succession. In due course he ruled for a few months before he was murdered by the Bahriyya, an action that ushered in the Mamluk regime. Ayyub's poor opinion of his son and his reported unwillingness to countenance him as his successor are not impossible to reconcile with the existence of the testament he wrote for al-Muʿazzam. This testament, if genuine, is a truly remarkable document, written after the fall of Damietta, between July and November 1249, and full of anxious moral, administrative and political advice. The repeated appeals for Turanshah to listen to Ayyub's words and acknowledge his experience have a desperate air, as though, in fact, the worst outcome was all too clearly foreseen.[133]

Ayyub's corpse was carried to his palace on Roda Island and then, nearly a year later, the new Mamluk ruler gave him a solemn re-burial. On the eve of Friday 25 Rajab 648/21 October 1250, his body was transferred to the tomb chamber that had been constructed alongside his Salihiyya Madrasa on the east side of Cairo's main thoroughfare, the Bain al-Qasrain.[134] This chamber still stands and was renovated in 1998 by the German Archeological Institute in Cairo.

Another of Ayyub's constructions, which for a few years played a significant role for the regimes in Egypt, was the fortified palace that he built for himself and his family on the island of Roda, which was known as the Island Fortress *(Qalʿat al-Jazira)*. It was begun in 638/1240-41 and finished in three years.[135] This fortress has frequently been linked with the creation of the *mamluk* corps called the Bahriyya. Although it has been argued that the name derives from their presence in this fortress on the Nile (for in Egypt *al-bahr*, normally 'the sea', also refers to the Nile), nothing in Ibn Wasil's authoritative text justifies making this connection. Having referred to Ayyub's large-scale purchase of *mamluk*s and his promoting them to be the majority amongst the *amir*s, he simply writes 'he called them al-Bahriyya.' This probably referred to their importation from overseas. It was al-Maqrizi who added, according to his understanding, 'because they lived with him in the Roda Fortress on the Nile *(bahr al-Nil)*'.[136]

It is fortunate that Ibn Wasil has left us a pen-portrait of the sultan whom he served. This character description was much used by later historians and one cannot do better than rely on it here.

The main impression one gathers is of the awe and respect that Ayyub inspired in his subordinates. One might almost say fear. According to the Amir Ibn Abi ʿAli, 'These *mamluk*s, despite their great might and power, were so affected by their great awe for al-Salih Ayyub that, if he appeared and they beheld his face, they would tremble for fear of him and not one of them would dare to speak to another.' However, there was a diffidence about him, which meant that he hardly raised his glance towards anyone he was speaking to. He did not swear or use bad language. When he reprimanded anyone, the most he would say was 'How remiss of you!' He was above reproach in his relations with women and was in fact little interested in sexual activity. His celebrated former concubine was Shajar al-Durr, who was mother of Khalil (he died young before his father) and who was recognised as ruler for a while after the murder of al-Muʿazzam.

Ayyub was, it seems, a morose and cheerless character. Ibn Wasil continues:

[129] Paris ms 1702, fols.355b-357a.

[130] Abu Shama 1947, 183; Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi 1951, 775; al-Maqrizi 1956, i, 339; Safadi 1931, x, 56; Ibn ʿAbd al-Zahir 1976, 47-8.

[131] Paris ms. 1702, fol. 359a; Abu'l-Fida' n.d., iii, 179.

[132] See Klein-Franke 1986 and Richards 2000.

[133] For the text and a French translation, see Cahen 1977. See also al-Nuwairi 1923, xxix, 340-352. Nuwairi says that he saw the text, written in the sultan's own hand, which he reproduced with its grammatical and orthographical errors.

[134] Paris ms. 1703, fol. 97a.

[135] Ibn Wasil 1953, v, 278.

[136] Paris ms. 1702, fol. 359a; al-Maqrizi 1956, i, 340.

When he sat with his companions in the company of singers, there would be none of the lightness and enjoyment that arose with other people. On the contrary, he was silent, showing no liveliness or movement, but being reserved and grave. His companions, seeing his gravity, would maintain a like state and be as though they were transfixed.[137] If he spoke to one of his intimates, he used few words with extreme gravity and these words would be concerned with some great matter, consulting on some business or ordering something important. His conversation in general did not go beyond this sort. In his presence nobody spoke except to answer. When he was not in a social gathering, he would sit separately by himself with no-one close to him. Petitions were brought to him by the attendants, which he would minute and issue his orders to the Chancery clerks about the action to be taken. None of the magnates of state took independent action but referred to him through petitions delivered by the attendants. His creed was sound and he was good at heart. Yet he had no fondness for reading nor study,

unlike his father. He liked men of culture and religion and provided them with salaries and pensions but he socialised little with them or with others because of his love of privacy and solitude.[138]

Ayyub's *mamluks*, particularly members of the Bahriyya, overthrew the Ayyubid dynasty and became the founding core of the next. His influence remained alive and strong. Sultan Baibars, when spoken of in panegyric terms, is said to have benefited from his claimed close service with al-Salih Ayyub. After Baibars came to power, 'he embarked on the upholding of the Salihiyya state according to the norms and practices that it had had.'[139] Also '[Baibars] observed the principles of al-Salih and followed the lines laid down by Najm al-Din [i.e., Ayyub].'[140] In 684/1285-6 Qala'un, as sultan of Egypt, came on foot to the tomb of Ayyub as though he were visiting some sacred place, and on Qala'un's death in 689/1290, his biographer imagined his being welcomed into Paradise by al-Salih Ayyub.[141] During the reigns of the early Mamluk sultans, Ayyub's past practices were upheld as the norm, and the maintenance of his legacy was felt to convey a legitimacy on the new regime.

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cf. Literally: 'as though they had birds on their heads.'

[138] This passage is in Paris ms. 1702, fols 359b-360a, with a few additions from Paris ms. 1703, fol. 66b.
[139] Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir 1976, 46-7.
[140] Baybars 1998, 59.
[141] Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir 1961, 115 and 179.

Chapter 25
IBN WASIL, HISTORIAN OF THE AYYUBIDS

D S Richards

Ibn Wasil or, to give him his full name, Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Salim ibn Nasr Allah ibn Wasil al-Hamawi, outlived by many years the dynasty he served and whose history he recorded in his most important work, the *Mufarrij al-Kurub fi Akhbar Bani Ayyub*. His own active public life is charted by many autobiographical comments in this work. He was born in Hama, as he himself tells, on 2 Shawwal 604/20 April 1208.[1] His father was a person of note, who served as *qadi* of Hama and Ma'arrat al-Nu'man and who, in 622/1225, was appointed by the Sultan al-Mu'azzam 'Isa to be the teaching head of the Salahiyya Madrasa in Jerusalem, where Ibn Wasil also took up residence. When his father went on pilgrimage in 624/end of 1226 and spent the following year in pious retreat in Mecca, Ibn Wasil, at the age of 18, acted as his deputy in the *madrasa*.[2] As a youth he attended the ceremony of the Holy Fire on Easter Saturday in the Holy Sepulchre 'several times as a spectator' and deplored what he saw as its deceitfulness. At this period we hear of his studying grammar in the *qubba* of al-Mu'azzam in the Haram al-Sharif and also the art of Qur'anic recitation *(al-tajwid)*.[3]

During 626/1229 Sultan al-Kamil ceded Jerusalem to Frederick II. Ibn Wasil's father happened to be in Jerusalem after returning from Mecca and reported the distress felt at the time. Ibn Wasil himself had already moved to Damascus, now ruled by al-Nasir Da'ud, where he heard Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi preach against this concession to Frederick II. He was well aware that behind al-Nasir's outrage and the passionate sermonizing of Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi there was a strong political motive connected with the struggle with al-Nasir's uncle, al-Kamil.[4] Then in June of the same year Ibn Wasil witnessed the surrender of Damascus to al-Kamil and al-Ashraf. 'I was at the entrance to the Citadel that day when the Egyptian army entered through all the gates

and filled the city. At my side was a citizen of Damascus. At the sight of this he wept loudly and wailed openly. That day I saw no inhabitant of Damascus who did not look as though he had suffered the death of a son or a father.'[5]

At the end of 627/late 1230, Ibn Wasil moved to Aleppo to continue his studies. He resided in Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad's *madrasa* and spent much time with him. Ibn Wasil also pursued religious studies with the Shaikh Najm al-Din ibn al-Khabbaz, and grammar and lexicography with Shaikh Muwaffaq al-Din ibn Ya'ish. He remained in Aleppo until Sha'ban 628/June 1231.[6]

Both father and son were next summoned to Kerak to the service of al-Nasir Da'ud, son of al-Mu'azzam. This was in 628/1231.[7] After the death of his father in the following year (Dhu'l-Qa'da 629/September 1231), Ibn Wasil succeeded to all the positions held by his father and became closely associated with al-Nasir.[8]

When, in 631/1234, al-Kamil and al-Nasir were planning an expedition against the Saljuqs of Rum, Ibn Wasil came to Damascus and witnessed the impressive preparations but was granted leave to avoid the campaign and remain at Hama. Over the next few years, as he records, al-Nasir 'much preferred that I remain with him but I preferred to live in my home town.'[9]

The year 635/1237-8 found Ibn Wasil in Damascus again, engaged in advanced study and later forming useful friendships: with 'Imad al-Din, one of the influential sons of the Shaikh al-Shuyukh, and, more significantly, with al-Salih Ayyub's *amir*, Husam al-Din ibn Abi 'Ali al-Hadhbani.[10] An unexpected friendship mentioned by Ibn Wasil was one with the head of the Syrian Isma'ilis, a Persian from Alamut, called

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[1] Ibn Wasil 1953 iii, 228

[2] Ibn Wasil 1953 ii, 407; iv, 208.

[3] Ibn Wasil 1953 ii, 231-2; iv, 212.

[4] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 243-246.

[5] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 207, 253, 257.

[6] Ibn Wasil 1953 iii, 9; iv, 311-2; v, 280.

[7] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 330

[8] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 18, 35, 72.

[9] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 74-5, 112.

[10] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 193, 202, 208-9.

Taj al-Din. Perhaps this was the lord of Masyaf who interceded to free a cousin of Ibn Wasil from imprisonment by al-Salih Isma'il.[11] Ibn Wasil was closely associated with Husam al-Din during the political and military rivalries between the Ayyubid princes al-Salih Ayyub and al-Salih Isma'il. In 637/1239 he was with Husam al-Din when the latter hurried to Damascus to attempt to forestall its fall to Isma'il.[12] After Husam al-Din had arrived too late and had withdrawn, Ibn Wasil managed to enter the city and hid there in some danger. When Husam al-Din was imprisoned in Damascus, Ibn Wasil visited him in the Citadel frequently and helped in the negotiations for his release. At first they were unsuccessful, but Husam al-Din's freedom was later secured after a new agreement between al-Salih Ayyub and al-Salih Isma'il was signed in 641/1243.[13]

At the beginning of 641/June 1243, Ibn Wasil was a member of a diplomatic mission from the ruler of Hama, al-Muzaffar, to various Mesopotamian rulers, and to the new caliph, al-Musta'sim. The journey via Aleppo, Harran, Mardin, Nisibis and Mosul was threatened by news of Tatar movements. Two months were spent in Baghdad and on their return the mission held talks with the Khwarazmian chief, Berke Khan, about military aid for al-Salih Ayyub.[14]

Ibn Wasil seems to have left Hama because his high hopes were dashed by problems caused by al-Muzaffar's serious stroke. He had been very close to this prince, discussing mathematical and astronomical matters with him. He helped to make him a globe that displayed the celestial bodies.[15] On his move to Egypt towards the end of 641/spring 1244, he passed through Jerusalem, which had been ceded once again to the Crusaders by the Ayyubid princes as part of the diplomatic moves to form a Muslim–Christian front against al-Salih Ayyub. 'I entered Jerusalem and I saw monks and priests at the Holy Rock, on which were vessels of wine for the communion. I entered the Aqsa Mosque where a bell was suspended. The call to prayer and prayer time had been suppressed in the Haram al-Sharif and unbelief made manifest.'[16]

In Egypt Ibn Wasil re-established his close connection with Husam al-Din ibn Abi 'Ali, who, in early 642/summer 1244, lodged Ibn Wasil in his house in the Dailam quarter of Cairo. Ibn Wasil's name was put forward to al-Salih Ayyub against considerable competition to be teaching head *(mudarris)* of al-Aqmar Mosque, originally a Fatimid foundation, and re-endowed as a Sunni *madrasa* by Saladin. Ibn Wasil's appointment document, which he quotes in his text, was dated 10 Rajab 644/21 November 1246.[17] Under Baibars in the year 658/1260, in addition to a post in al-Aqmar Mosque and also

the judgeship of Giza and Atfihiyya district, which he held by then, he was given a teaching position at a Shafi'i *zawiya*.[18] An important mission carried out by Ibn Wasil, which fell outside the temporal limits of the Ayyubid dynasty, was the embassy on behalf of the Sultan Baibars to the Emperor Manfred, the son of Frederick II. This was in 659/1261.[19]

Ibn Wasil is said to have returned to Hama in about 663/1264-5[20] and continued as, at least, titular *qadi* of the town until his death, aged over ninety. All sources agree on the month and year of his death, Shawwal 697, but beyond that there is some uncertainty. Those that name the day as a Friday specify either 22 or 24 Shawwal, but those dates are the equivalent of Saturday 2 or Monday 4 August 1298.[21] One could, of course, make a suitable adjustment, but Abu'l-Fida', himself an Ayyubid prince of Hama, gave the date of Ibn Wasil's death as 28 Shawwal 697, that is 8 August 1298, which was a Friday. Since Abu'l-Fida' as a young man visited Ibn Wasil 'many times' in Hama and studied with him, his information may well be preferred.[22]

Ibn Wasil's literary output was not restricted to historical writings. Various works are listed. A work on logic (known as *al-Anbuniriyya*) was composed for the Emperor Manfred. He is also credited with a short *hadith* collection, a commentary on a work on Arabic metrics,[23] and another on Ibn al-Baitar's book on simples *(al-adwiya al-mufrida)*. His writings on poets, extracted from Abu'l-Faraj al-Isbahani's famous work and called *Tajrid al-Aghani*, was edited at Cairo in 1955 by Taha Husain and Ibrahim al-Ibyari.

In addition to his work on the Ayyubids, Ibn Wasil wrote at least two general histories. One, covering the period from the Creation till 637/1240, was written for Sultan al-Salih Ayyub and was entitled *al-Ta'rikh al-Salihi*.[24] Ibn Wasil himself refers to this work in an unusual context. He mentions that a grandson of the last Fatimid caliph, incarcerated in the Citadel at Cairo, 'heard that I had composed a history for the Sultan al-Salih in which I told their [the Fatimids'] history and what the genealogists say about them, and that some say they were of Jewish origin.' One day an embarrassing confrontation with this scion of the family at the entrance to the prison obliged Ibn Wasil to explain that he was only repeating what other historians had said.[25] The other work, described as 'a compendium of Islamic history', is entitled *Nazm al-Durar fi'l-Hawadith wa'l-Siyar*. It was dedicated to al-Mu'azzam Turanshah and survives in a Dublin

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[11] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 227, 251.

[12] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 231-2.

[13] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 231-3, 243, 328.

[14] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 323-5

[15] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 344.

[16] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 333.

[17] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 333-4; Paris ms 1703, fols 59b, 69b-70a.

[18] Paris ms 1703, fols 84b, 163b.

[19] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 234, 248.

[20] El-Shayyal, s.v. 'Ibn Wasil', *EI2*, Vol. III, 967.

[21] Bodleian ms Laud or. 279, fol. 234b, and Guo 1998 ii, 28; al-Safadi 1931 iii, 85.

[22] Abu'l-Fida' n.d. iv, 38-9.

[23] Entitled *al-Durr al-Nadid fi Sharh al-Qasid*, it is a commentary on a treatise in verse by Abu 'Amr ibn al-Hajib. See Paris ms no 4451.

[24] Volume 1, reaching AH 41, is in the British Library, ms Or. 6657. See Ellis and Edwards 1912, 33. Other manuscripts are at Gotha, St Petersburg and Istanbul (possibly an autograph).

[25] Ibn Wasil 1953 i, 211.

manuscript, an autograph dated 692/1293.[26] It is not clear whether Ibn Wasil meant either of these two or yet another work of his when he twice referred the reader for further details on certain matters to 'the great history'.[27]

His work on the Ayyubids, the *Mufarrij al-Kurub*, is extant in four manuscripts, which have been well described by their editor, Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal. The Cambridge copy (no. 1079) and the one in Istanbul (Mulla Çelebi no. 119) do not cover beyond 616/1220 and 635/1238 respectively. The two Paris manuscripts (nos 1702 and 1703) complete the work but differ about where Ibn Wasil ended his writing. According to no. 1702, it was his account of the year 661/1263 that was left incomplete, while no. 1703 states that he broke off his narrative in 659/1261.[28] 'Broke off' is the correct expression since, as with Ibn al-Athir's great chronicle, there is no rounded conclusion. In both manuscripts, however, a continuation *(dhail)* is given, ostensibly by the same author, ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Rahim ibn Ahmad, servant of al-Muzaffar II of Hama, which covers the years 661-680/1263-81 in no. 1702 and the years 659-95/1261-95 in no. 1703. The Cairo edition, in the five volumes so far published, covers only to the end of 645/April 1248.

As for the period of composition, al-Shayyal stated that it was begun in 671/1272-3 and finished in 683/1284-5, while Guo says that the work 'was planned to reach AH 680 and was completed in AH 683.'[29] It is true that at one point Ibn Wasil mentions that in 671/1272-3 he was actively engaged in writing, but he could have started earlier. From other internal references it can be seen that his writing continued through 672/1273 (death of the mother of al-Nasir Da'ud), 676/1277 (death of al-Qahir ʿAbd al-Malik, son of al-Muʿazzam), 678/1279 (reference to the sultanate of Qala'un) until 680/1281 (reference to the Mamluk victory over the Mongols at Homs).[30] Although the author's own introduction states that the *Mufarrij* was written for the library of Sultan al-Mansur II of Hama (ruled 642-83/1244-84),[31] the later pages append the formula 'may God have mercy on him' to several mentions of that ruler.[32] If one accepts that the formula comes from the pen of the author and not later from a copyist, this would mean that the writing continued until some unspecified time *after* al-Mansur's death, which took place on 11 Shawwal 683/23 October 1284. On the other hand, it was finished *before* the death of Qala'un in 689/1290 on the basis of a 'living' formula used for that sultan.[33] The evidence for the

claim that the work was intended to reach AH 680 and was completed in AH 683 is unknown to me. There is no connection between the fact that his travels to Sicily and mainland Italy on his diplomatic mission to Manfred took place in 659/1261 and that his narrative ended at about that date. His writing continued, probably only began, well after that mission.

It must be admitted that for much of his history of the Ayyubids and the long background exposition of Atabeg history, which takes up most of vol. 1 of the edition, Ibn Wasil is to be judged by how well he selected and exploited his sources, in other words as a compiler. He was generally careful to name his sources and all the expected names are in evidence. For the career of Saladin he used ʿImad al-Din's *al-Barq al-Shami* and the *Life* written by Baha' al-Din ibn Shaddad *(al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya)*. He naturally quoted from Ibn al-Athir but without always specifying whether his source was the Atabeg's monograph, *al-Ta'rikh al-Bahir*, as opposed to the major chronicle, *al-Kamil*.[34] Not infrequently, Ibn Wasil quoted Ibn al-Athir in the form in which his text was presented by Abu Shama, who in addition was a source for Ibn Wasil in his own right. Ibn Khallikan was used as a source for Irbil and its ruler, al-Muzaffar Gökböri, as 'he is the best informed about his circumstances because he grew up in Irbil and most of what he mentioned he knew as an eye-witness, not by report.'[35]

When the early decades of the 13th century are in question, an important source for the *Mufarrij* was the chronicle of Aleppo written by Ibn al-ʿAdim. Ibn Wasil used him especially, as one would expect, for events in northern Syria and in Mesopotamia in general. He quoted him frequently by name but a good many unattributed passages also derive from the Aleppo chronicle. Passages in Ibn al-ʿAdim where lacunae exist, for example, and where a date has not been given, are reproduced by Ibn Wasil with no attempt to supply the missing information.[36]

As his account of the events of the 13th century progressed, Ibn Wasil relied more and more on his own experience, information from his father and the rich range of direct testimony from influential contacts. His informants ranged from sultans and *amirs* to their officials. At times we hear of him being given immediate sight of official or semi-official letters as they were received. Because of his privileged access to information and his own involvement in affairs, there are elements in his history which make it resemble a memoir more than an impersonal chronicle. During his service in Egypt his intimacy with al-Salih Ayyub's right-hand man, Husam al-Din ibn Abi ʿAli, led to an invitation to go on pilgrimage with him in 648/1251. He recorded details of their journey, including the hire of a ship from ʿAidhab to Jedda for 300 Egyptian *dinars*. They spent three months in Mecca and on their return

[26] Arberry 1964, no. 5264 and pl. 194.

[27] Ibn Wasil 1953 i, 204 refers to information on Fatimid genealogy given in *al-Ta'rikh al-Kabir*, and, as has been noted, such information was in the history written for Sultan al-Salih. For contrary indication, see Ibn Wasil 1953 i, 236 and note 4.

[28] Paris ms 1702, fol. 425a, Paris ms 1703, fol. 172a.

[29] *EI* iii, 967; Guo 1998 i, 63.

[30] Ibn Wasil 1953 ii, 75, 127; iv, 219, 324.

[31] Ibn Wasil 1953 i, 1-2.

[32] E.g., Paris ms 1703, fols 162a, 166b, 168b, and 169a. Fol. 169b has 'May God sanctify his soul'.

[33] Paris ms 1703, fol. 101a.

[34] Ibn Wasil 1953 i, 159-60, 168-70.

[35] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 52 ff.

[36] E.g., compare Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 190, 198, 281-6, 309 with Ibn al-ʿAdim 1968, 243, 244, 262, 249-53.

journey by land they met with difficulties on account of the danger of their party's being intercepted by troops of al-Nasir Yusuf operating from Gaza. They left the pilgrim caravan and later travelled separately with Bedouin guides, sending their baggage by sea from Yanbu'.[37]

Husam al-Din was the source of much information about the personalities and politics of the day. One example may serve for many others. Ibn Wasil learnt from Husam al-Din of Sultan Ayyub's fears for the succession. Sultan Ayyub had ordered, if anything happened to him in Syria in the course of his dispute with al-Salih Isma'il, that his brother al-'Adil, whom he had deposed, should be killed and that the caliph in Baghdad should be declared his successor rather than any member of the Ayyubids.[38] When al-Salih Ayyub died, as the Damietta Crusade was threatening Egypt, Ibn Wasil's awareness of these views and his knowledge that Ayyub had lost confidence in, and had turned against, Fakhr al-Din ibn Shaikh al-Shuyukh made him doubt that the latter, rather than Husam al-Din, could have been left in charge in the sultan's last testament. Ibn Wasil was suspicious of the signed orders that claimed to come from Ayyub and demonstrated to Husam al-Din that the signatures were forgeries, comparing them with earlier genuine examples.[39] He had been made aware from the beginning of the seriousness of al-Salih Ayyub's illness and the falsity of hopes of a cure. This information had come directly from the doctors involved.[40]

Ayyub's son, al-Mu'azzam Turanshah, came to Egypt and was initially accepted as successor, despite the doubts about his competence. Ibn Wasil described him as 'fickle and wild'. However, when he met him at al-Salihiyya on 16 Dhu'l-Qa'da 647/19 February 1250, he established good relations with him and, rather bizarrely in the circumstances, spent many hours discussing literary and scholarly questions.[41] When, after a little over a month, the Muslims won their victory at al-Mansura and Louis IX was taken prisoner, Ibn Wasil was not present with the sultan as he had returned to Cairo in Dhu'l-Hijja/March.[42] He set out again on 28 Muharram 648/2 May 1250, planning to witness the triumphant entry into Damietta and taking with him some of his own writings as a gift for al-Mu'azzam, but en route he heard of the sultan's murder and immediately returned to Cairo.[43] Ibn Wasil's account of the murder, written several decades later, is not therefore an eye-witness account but seems to have been influenced by the 'official' Mamluk historiography, which gives a leading role to the man who was to become sultan, Baibars.[44]

Throughout the *Mufarrij* Ibn Wasil shows a natural partiality for the Hama branch of the Ayyubids. He writes of the inhabitants' affection for the house of Taqi al-Din 'Umar.[45] Although his service under al-Salih Ayyub took Ibn Wasil to Cairo, he clearly maintained close contacts with Hama. When al-Mansur II, who had been a young boy when Ibn Wasil left Hama, came to Egypt in 658/1260, a brother of Ibn Wasil, who was in al-Mansur's service, introduced him to the sultan.[46] The later pages of his chronicle are well-informed on the role of al-Mansur in the complicated events in Syria which involved the invading Mongols, the forces of the regime in Cairo, and the Nasiriyya and the 'Aziziyya; the latter were *mamluk* factions of Ayyubid princes, who were following their own opportunistic policies. This information came from the circle around al-Mansur, such as the *amir* Mubariz al-Din, his *ustadar*, and from the sultan himself, who told Ibn Wasil of the attempt by Shams al-Din al-Burli, the 'Aziziyya leader, to turn him from his policy of alliance with Egypt.[47]

As for Ibn Wasil's manner of presentation, a literary bent is manifest in the copious quotations of verse. His own style is relaxed and readable, and his taste can be inferred from his disapproval of excess mannerism and outlandish language, finding fault with the far-fetched vocabulary of a government clerk and praising the accessibility of Baha' al-Din Zuhair's poetry.[48] Many chroniclers prefaced each year with a checklist of rulers and governors but Ibn Wasil's summaries of the military and political situation, when given, are particularly clear and useful. However, his narrative is somewhat sparsely provided with dates. His historical explanations are based on his understanding of human affairs and the interplay of interests. Very rarely does he fall back on fatalistic explanations, attributing all to divine foreordaining. On the other hand, he does admit the role of luck in human affairs. His example is the career of al-Nasir Da'ud, the son of al-Mu'azzam 'Isa, who, despite his good qualities, suffered misfortune and was disappointed time and time again.[49] Quite often Ibn Wasil allowed himself to speculate in a counter-factual manner about alternative outcomes, if something or other had been done differently. An example is his comment on the folly of al-Jawad Yunus in giving up Damascus to al-Salih Ayyub in return for Sinjar, when he could have continued to rule securely in Damascus between the areas controlled by his cousins, Ayyub and al-'Adil II, each of whom was fearful of the other.[50] In general, however, one is conscious of a practical and common-sense attitude on Ibn Wasil's part, illustrated by his comment on medical treatment given to al-Kamil on the basis of writings of al-Razi; 'This and its like, the sort of thing found in books, ought not to be acted upon in reality.'[51]

[37] Paris ms 1703, fols 109b–111a

[38] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 375–6.

[39] Paris ms 1703, fol. 77a.

[40] Paris ms 1703, fols 60a, 75b, 76b.

[41] Paris ms. 1702, fol 367a.

[42] Paris ms. 1702, fol. 368a–b.

[43] Paris ms. 1702, fol. 372a.

[44] Paris ms. 1702, fol. 371a; Paris ms. 1703, fols 83a–85a, 88a–89a.

[45] Ibn Wasil 1953 iv, 272.

[46] Paris ms 1703, fol. 160a.

[47] Paris ms 1703, fol. 166b–167a, 169b.

[48] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 168; Paris ms 1703, fol. 72a–b.

[49] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 146–7.

[50] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 297.

[51] Ibn Wasil 1953 v, 154.

Chapter 26
AN IMAGE OF WHAT ONCE WAS: THE AYYUBID FORTIFICATIONS OF JERUSALEM

Yasser Tabbaa

The celebrated ramparts of Jerusalem offer a majestic spectacle, unmatched in their apparent uniformity and state of preservation by any other medieval Islamic city. But this appearance is a deception, for what looks like a seamlessly fortified medieval enclosure is not medieval at all, rather a 16th-century reconstruction (pl. 26.1). This reconstruction, done between 1537 and 1541 at the request of the Ottoman sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent, not only follows the traces of the earlier medieval and ancient walls and towers and re-uses some of their remains, but even attempts to look medieval. Notwithstanding its impressive beauty, this *ersatz* medieval wall presents considerable problems to any investigation of the original medieval fortifications of Jerusalem. Specifically, our attempt to reconstruct the Ayyubid fortifications of the city is immediately faced with the problem that most of that phase has been torn down or incorporated within the Ottoman reconstruction and nearly all its inscriptions are no longer in their original location.[1] Furthermore, the peculiar 'faithfulness' of the Ottoman reconstruction makes it difficult to distinguish clearly between the Ayyubid walls and towers and their Ottoman imitations. It must be accepted, therefore, that at our present state of research all the conclusions reached in this essay are quite preliminary in nature.

A review of pre-Ayyubid fortifications seems necessary to explain the Ayyubid accomplishment and to delineate the extent of their works. When the Crusaders took Jerusalem in 1099, the city must have been quite well fortified since its walls in fact had been rebuilt by the Fatimids three times: in the second half of the 10th century, in 1033-35 by Caliph al-Zahir, and in 1063 during the reign of al-Mustansir (1035-1094).[2] In addition to substantially strengthening the entire enclosure, Fatimid restorations, especially the last one, also shortened it by cutting off the southern extension of the wall that had been made in the 5th century.[3] Although under the Ayyubids this extension would once again be reintegrated within the enclosure, the overall shape of walled Jerusalem—an irregular rectangle truncated on the northwest and pinched in on the west—would continue largely unchanged up to Ottoman times.

The Fatimid fortifications have been described by various travellers, including Nasir-i Khusrau and especially William of Tyre, who retold eyewitness accounts of the First Crusade. William speaks of a 'ditch' that the attackers had to fill and a 'forewall' they had to breach and an inner wall before reaching the 'main wall'.[4] This account has been confirmed by recent excavations of the northern and northwestern enclosure, which exposed a Fatimid enclosure consisting of a ditch *(khandaq)*, a forewall *(fasil)*, and an inner wall, an arrangement also seen in the pre-Ayyubid wall of Aleppo.[5] Another portion of this composite wall was uncovered in the southern perimeter of the enclosure, and it is tempting to suggest that it once surrounded the entire city except perhaps for the naturally defended eastern side. The ditch was approximately 14m wide and, in places, up to 5m deep, while the forewall, made of two ashlar faces enclosing a stone conglomerate, was about 4.5m thick, preserved in some parts to a height of 3.5m. Although the Fatimid inner wall has largely disappeared within later building phases, a massive Fatimid postern—called Tancred's Tower by the Crusaders—has been uncovered at the northwestern corner of this Fatimid wall, further emphasising the strength and sophistication of these fortifications (fig. 26.1).[6]

[1] For these inscriptions, see most recently Burgoyne and Abul-Hajj 1979. This group of inscriptions adds to those previously studied by Max van Berchem in the early twentieth century (*MCIA* II 1925-7 and I 1922-23).

[2] The restoration by Caliph al-Zahir is mentioned by Yahya ibn Sa'id al-Antaki 1990, 439.

[3] See most recently, Grabar 1996, 139.

[4] William of Tyre, *History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, cited in Peters 1985, 269; and Wightman 1993, 246-47.

[5] For Aleppo, see Sauvaget 1929/2, 148-49.

[6] Wightman 1993, 248-57.
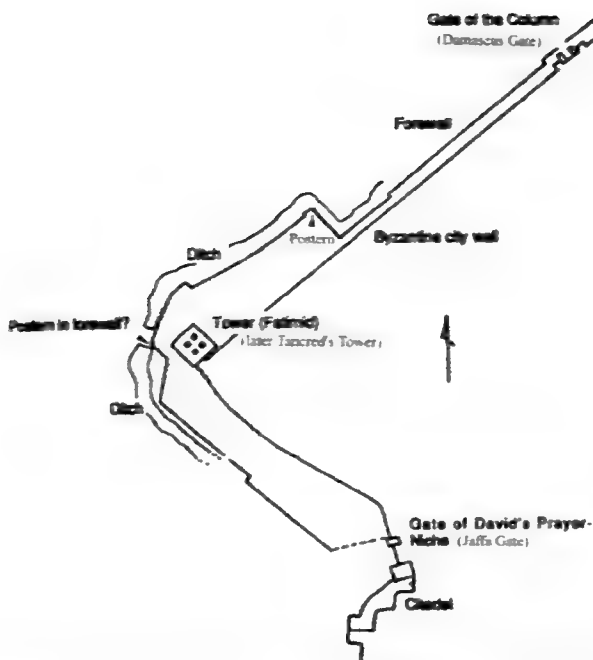
Fig. 26.1 Plan of northwestern enclosure under the Fatimids (redrawn from Wightman 1993, fig. 78).

On 15 July 1099, after four and a half centuries of Muslim rule, Jerusalem fell to the Crusaders, who immediately declared it the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Crusaders maintained and strengthened earlier defences, paying special attention to the northwestern enclosure and the Citadel in the middle of the western wall (fig. 26.2).[7] Proceeding counter clockwise from the Citadel, one would have encountered the following gates, variably known under different Jewish, Christian, and Muslim names. David's Gate, known to Muslims as Bab Mihrab Da'ud and today as Jaffa Gate, dominates the western enclosure and provides, along with the adjacent Citadel, the main line of defence as well as a visual anchor for western Jerusalem. The southern wall was pierced by two main gates—Zion Gate and Iron Gate—and the lesser New Gate, which was opened to facilitate passage to a nearby abbey. Both Zion Gate (today Bab Nabi Da'ud) and Iron Gate (in Arabic, Bab Silwan) led to thoroughfares that met just inside the northern Damascus Gate. Passing around the lesser southern Gate of Jeremiah's Pit (Bab Jubb Armiya)[8] and turning around the holy precinct, one arrives at the Golden Gate (in Arabic, Bab al-Rahma), which provided access to the Haram al-Sharif rather than the city itself. Next, to the north, is Jehoshophat or St Stephen's Gate (in Arabic, Bab Ariha and today Lion's Gate), the main eastern gate of Jerusalem. The northern enclosure was dominated then as now by the Gate of the Column (Bab al-ʿAmud), known today usually as the Damascus Gate.

In addition, Jerusalem's enclosure contained at least four posterns (lesser gates that open either to fortifications or to the city proper), mostly built or rebuilt by the Crusaders. These are the posterns of Mary Magdalene and St Lazare in the northern wall and the posterns of the Tannery and of Zion Gate in the southern wall. Finally, the Crusaders in 1170s seem to have rebuilt the Citadel on a larger scale. Several Frankish historians describe it as having 'towers, wall, and forewalls', 'protected with ditches and outworks', and containing the palace of the Frankish king (the *curia regis*).[9] According to Johns, the Crusader Citadel represented a stronger and more monumental version of its early Islamic predecessors. The northern and western flanks of the Citadel were especially strengthened by the addition of a lower-level bailey between it and the outer walls. Watch-towers and posterns were also added to eastern and southern sides of the Citadel while a strong bastion was built against its southwestern corner.[10]

In 1187 Jerusalem fell to Saladin, thereby temporarily ending the century old Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. Keenly aware of the religious and symbolic significance of Jerusalem, Saladin expended considerable funds and effort in asserting the Islamic character of the city and updating its defences. In summary, the Ayyubid refortification of Jerusalem, which was begun by Saladin around 1195 and continued in the following two decades by his nephew al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, included the southern expansion of the enclosure to include Mount Zion, the rebuilding of the city wall to the north and west of Tancred's Tower, the 'islamisation' of the Citadel, and, under al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, the building of several towers in the inner southern enclosure. Interestingly, it seems that neither the masons nor the workers were local Muslims, for the former are known to have been brought from Mosul, while the latter comprised a large group of Frankish prisoners.[11]

Saladin took to the task of refortification with characteristic zeal and determination, personally allocating the huge project to his sons and his brother, al-ʿAdil, and his commanders.[12] Each prince or commander was apparently responsible for a particular section of the wall or of a tower that would bear his name, a division of labour that is reflected in the epigraphic evidence. Saladin's master plan for Jerusalem entailed the expansion of its southern fortifications to include Mount Zion, and the rebuilding of the entire enclosure and surrounding ditch. According to Abu Shama, 'Saladin turned

[7] Wightman 1993, 259 ff.

[8] Some scholars have placed this gate at the northeastern side of the city, but recent research suggests a southern location. For a summary of the controversy, see Wightman 1993, 238-41.

[9] Wightman 1993, 271 quoting Theodorich, William of Tyre, and Cedric Jones.

[10] See Johns 1950, 121-90; and Wightman 1993, 269-72.

[11] Abu Shama 1997 Vol. 4, 289 and 296-97.

[12] Abu Shama 1997 Vol. 4, 289 even adds that Saladin himself took part in carrying the stone, along with his sons and soldiers. See also Mujir al-Din al-ʿUlaimi 1283/1886, 80, quoted in Peters 1985, 351; and Burgoyne and Abu'l Hajj 1979, 120-21.

Fig. 26.2 Plan of Crusader Jerusalem (redrawn from Wightman 1993, fig. 81).

the city wall over the summit of Zion, which he thus joined to Jerusalem, and he surrounded the whole city with ditches.'[13] The new extension, approximately 1.2km in overall length, was built in a series of short, straight segments reinforced with towers at each bend (fig. 26.3). Excavations conducted by Bliss and Dickie in the late 19th century have revealed the foundations of a possible Ayyubid wall, measuring between three and four metres in width and made of a mixture of small, uncut stones laid in thick lime mortar. Undoubtedly, the superstructure would have been quite massive and probably made of cut stones, just like other Ayyubid walls. The foundations of three towers were also uncovered, one rectangular with an inner chamber, while the other two were simpler structures with an open back facing the city.[14]

Saladin's plan for Jerusalem resembles on a smaller scale his much grander refortification of Cairo, which, in addition to creating the citadel on the Muqattam, included the

building of a wall that surrounded the fortified Fatimid city and the hitherto undefended settlements to its south.[15] The enclosure of Aleppo was also subjected to a similar expansion, when al-Zahir Ghazi (1186-1216) and his son, al-'Aziz Muhammad, considerably extended the eastern fortifications of the city. Such expansions were perhaps less motivated by defence than by demographic factors, and by the ruler's desire to create a larger imperial domain.[16] Interestingly, in both Jerusalem and Aleppo, the creation of a further wall did not lead to the demolition of the inner wall, which continued to be restored and fortified.

In addition, Saladin rebuilt the wall from Bab al-'Amud (Damascus Gate) to Bab al-Khalil (Jaffa Gate), although, archeologically speaking, it is very difficult to distinguish

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[13] Wightman 1993, 272; from Abu Shama 1997 Vol. 4, 332.

[14] Wightman 1993, 274.

[15] The most complete assessment of the Ayyubid fortifications of Cairo is still Creswell 1959, 1-25 passim.

[16] That was certainly the case in Aleppo, whose eastern front was almost never subject to attack except perhaps by nomadic tribes. See Sauvaget 1929; and a recent summary in Tabbaa 1997, Chapter 1.
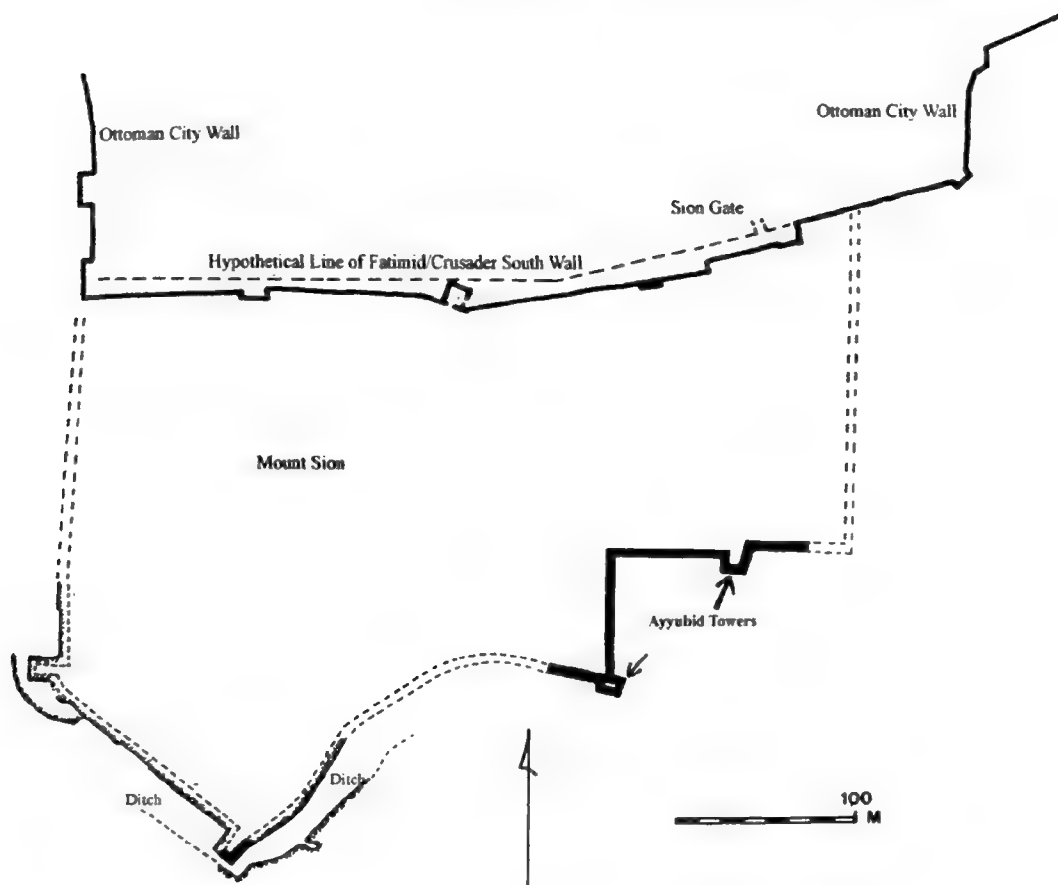
Fig. 26.3 Plan of the Ayyubid wall around Mount Zion (redrawn from Wightman 1993, fig. 85).

Saladin's work from that of his successors or, for that matter, from later Crusader work. The northwestern section of the Ayyubid enclosure has been excavated, revealing a wall about three metres wide, made of a mixture of dressed and unhewn stones set in mortar. Tancred's Tower, at the northwestern corner of the enclosure, was restored and the ditch in front of it was deepened, leaving a narrow rock 'bridge' that led to a postern just south of the Tower. These acts are confirmed, though not directly, by two inscriptions from the time of Saladin (1192-94) that have been discovered re-used in the Ottoman wall.[17]

Saladin also concerned himself with the Citadel, though less with its defences than with its religious and dynastic symbolism. ʿImad al-Din explains that Saladin 'islamised' the Citadel by rebuilding the old mosque on top of the Tower of David, and by converting the Frankish bailey into a serene courtyard for prayer and devotion.[18] As it survives today, the mosque is quite austere on the inside, with bare stone walls and

stone *mihrab* and *minbar*. Mosques, often with tall minarets, had become a common feature of Islamic citadels since about the reign of Nur al-Din (1146-74); these included Qalʿat Jaʿbar and the Citadel of Aleppo.[19] As in Jerusalem, they were placed at the highest point of the citadel, increasing their visibility and enhancing their symbolic significance.

Saladin's work on the Jerusalem enclosure was continued by his nephew, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa, who had been appointed by his father al-ʿAdil in 1202 as viceroy of Syria and Palestine. The epigraphic evidence, consisting of three inscriptions not still *in situ*, suggests that the work began in 1202 and continued at least until 1214, and perhaps beyond.[20] Curiously, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa reversed Saladin's southern extension around Mount Zion, reverting to the Crusader southern wall-line. This wall and its eastern extension to the Haram area contained six regularly spaced towers, at least four of which can be attributed to al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa. These were

[17] Tabbaa 1997, 20.

[18] Wightman 1993, 277, citing ʿImad al-Din al-Isfahani, *al-Fath al-qussi fi'l-fath al-qudsi*. For an English translation of this text, see Gabrieli 1969, 173-74.

[19] See Hillenbrand 1985, 26, 39-41 and fig. 9; and Tabbaa 1997, Chapter 5.

[20] It seems that the Ayyubid inscriptions were collected, perhaps during the Ottoman reconstruction of the city wall in 1537-41, and re-used to decorate later Ottoman constructions
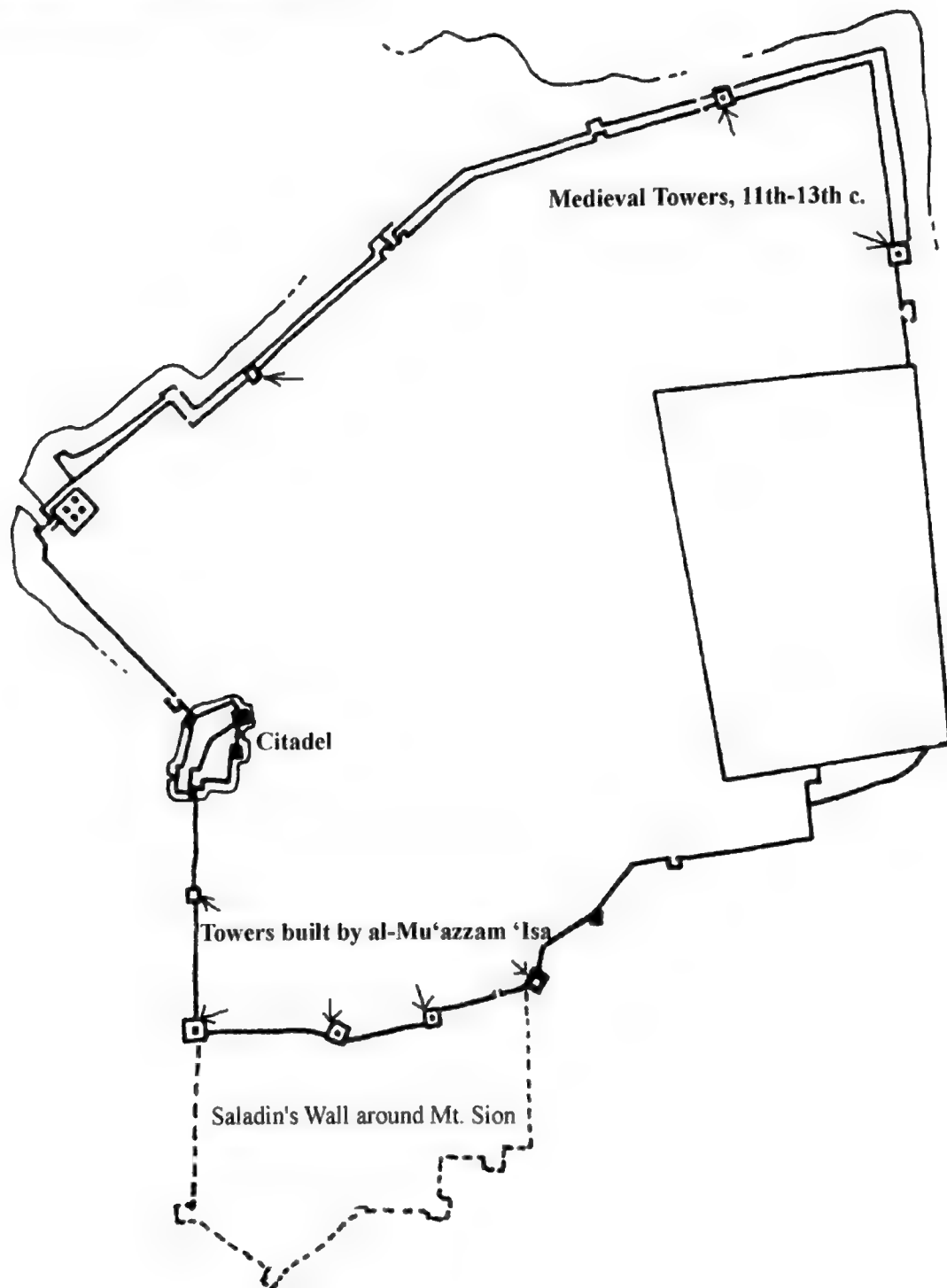
Fig. 26.4 Plan of the walls of Jerusalem *ca* 1219 (redrawn from Wightman 1993, fig. 88).

Pl. 26.1 Jerusalem, Jaffa Gate 1537–41. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. C 4966)

massive towers, the largest of which at the southwestern corner and measures 27m on each side. Only the solid substructure of this and other Ayyubid towers has survived, but their form and especially their masonry—in rough-bossed blocks with lowered margins—are entirely typical of Ayyubid stonework in Damascus and Cairo.[21] Where they have survived in the citadels of both Damascus and Cairo, these towers assume gigantic proportions, some measuring up to 40m per side and containing several levels of rooms that contained numerous embrasures, loopholes and machicolated brattices. It seems likely that such towers were intended both for defence and for the extended stay of a large group of soldiers.

Although no such towers have survived in Jerusalem's enclosure, we can easily imagine their original form by looking at those in the Citadel, which though rebuilt in the early Mamluk period, are entirely Ayyubid in their masonry and overall plan. With their square form, rusticated masonry, and box machicolation, these towers are practically indistinguishable from those at the Damascus citadel, pointing

to a well-established southern Syrian tradition that continued well into the Mamluk period (pl. 26.2).[22]

It seems therefore that by about 1215 Jerusalem possessed impressive and up-to-date fortifications that can be compared to their counterparts in other Ayyubid cities. Four years later, however, in 616/1219, al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa proceeded to dismantle his just-completed works, tearing down wall, towers, and Citadel, in the fear that the Fifth Crusade would take Jerusalem and use it as a base for further expansion. Al-Muʿazzam in fact had been largely preoccupied with the affairs of Egypt following the death of his father al-ʿAdil, and his drastic, perhaps rash, decision to destroy the fortifications of Jerusalem was largely motivated by his inability to defend the city.[23] In May 1227 al-Muʿazzam ʿIsa once again ordered the demolition of the fortifications of Jerusalem, completing the task begun in 1219.[24]

Insecure in their now defenceless city, the population of Jerusalem temporarily sought refuge in the Haram al-Sharif, where they expressed their anguish by tearing their clothes and cutting their hair, 'such that the Rock and the Aqsa were filled with hair'. Most of the population then streamed out of Jerusalem and scattered to places that would offer refuge and security, including Damascus, Karak, and Cairo.[25] Jerusalem, meanwhile, suffered a loss of population from which it would not recover till the 16th century.

Al-Muʿazzam's act was so unusual and unprecedented that contemporary historians, who had had written nothing about his prodigious building activities, could only express shock and incomprehension at such massive destruction.[26] Abu Shama compared this calamity to 'the Day of Judgment', while Ibn Wasil pronounced the city uninhabitable after the destruction of its defences. Whereas such a reaction may appear extreme to our modern sensibilities, it was very much in keeping with the medieval conception of what constituted a civilized habitat, which, by definition, had to be protected by a wall. A century later this idea was formalised by Ibn Khaldun, who posited that fortifications were a necessary and nearly sufficient condition of urban life, for no city can survive without walls and a citadel, and the mere presence of these two components, which embodied the ruling dynasty, ensured the possibility of a city. Even where cities were not directly threatened by a non-Muslim enemy, as Jerusalem was, urban dwellers still had to protect themselves against Bedouins,

For the citadel of Damascus, currently under thorough excavation and restoration by a French team headed by Sophie Berthier, see Rihawi 1979.

22 Included in this group are the citadels of Jerusalem, Damascus, Cairo, Baalbak, and Bosra, all characterised by rusticated masonry and massive towers. This group differs considerably from the northern Syrian so-called truncated cone group of citadels that includes Aleppo, Hama, Harim, Najm, Aintab and others.

23 Humphreys 1977, 161.

24 Wightman 1993, 283.

25 Quotations from Abu Shama, Shihab al-Din ʿAbd al-Rahman 1947, 115–16.

26 Abu Shama 1947, 115–16. See also Ibn Kathir 1983, Vol. 13, 83.

Pl. 26.2 Jerusalem Citadel from the southeast. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. C 4921)

substituting an artificial protective structure for the natural cohesion (*'asabiyya*) of the desert dwellers.[27]

Curiously, neither the late Ayyubids nor the Mamluks rebuilt the walls, leaving Jerusalem largely unprotected for three and a half centuries. How the city survived unprotected for so long has not been adequately explained, although it seems likely, as Wightman suggests, that Jerusalem underwent a process of nucleation so that each quarter, particularly the Christian one, was in time fortified by its own wall, towers, and gates.[28] But the contemporary sources do hint as to why such an anomalous situation was deemed acceptable, proposing that Jerusalem was to remain open, that is its fortifications were not to be rebuilt.[29] Such an act of 'demilitarisation' would seem to

be in keeping with the détente that prevailed between Ayyubids and Crusaders around the middle of the 13th century and, even more, with the increasing marginalisation of Jerusalem from the Ayyubid domain.[30] Overall, it seems that the skills of diplomacy made up for the weakened defences, which, having lost their original purpose, began to crumble and fall.[31]

For their part, the Mamluks concentrated their efforts on the Citadel, which as it stands today is essentially the creation of Sultan al-Nasir Muhammad, who had it completely rebuilt in 1310. A new monumental gateway was inserted between the Tower of David and the East Tower; towers were erected at the northwestern, southeastern, and southwestern corners; the rock-cut ditch was cleaned and deepened; and a wooden drawbridge was constructed (pl. 26.3).[32] With these changes,

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[27] See also the excellent analysis of this idea in Gourdin 1996, 27ff.

[28] Wightman 1993, 284–85. Interestingly, Jerusalem is not the only Mamluk city lacking an enclosure. In a paper given at the International Congress for Turkish Art (Amman, 2003) Stefan Weber demonstrated that both Sidon and Tripoli also lacked an enclosure, making up for this deficiency by a coherent series of towers, one of which was actually the minaret of the Great Mosque of Tripoli. I subsequently visited Dr Weber who showed me some of these towers in Tripoli.

[29] Van Berchem, *MCIA* II, 134, n. 3 for a list of historians who subscribe to this view.

[30] Burgoyne 1987, 49 writes: 'There is no evidence of any construction whatsoever in the city during these forty years of conflict [1220-60], in which Jerusalem was regarded as a bargaining counter rather than a holy city'

[31] Wightman 1993, 297.

[32] Wightman 1993, 288. The wooden drawbridge has entirely vanished, having been replaced by Sulaiman with the existing stone bridge which leads from a gate at the outer edge of the moat to the inner gate. The whole arrangement closely resembles the gate complex of the Aleppo citadel, whose lower gate was added half a century earlier by the last Mamluk sultan, Qansuh al-Ghauri

Pl. 26.3 Jerusalem Citadel from the northeast. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. C 4920)

the Citadel assumed the form of a rectangular enclosure with massive towers at all four corners and a fifth tower at the middle of the east side, resembling a smaller version of the citadel of Damascus (pl. 26.3). Evidently, a strong citadel was all that the Mamluks deemed necessary to protect this increasingly provincial city from Bedouin raids.

The wall, gates, and towers built by Sulaiman in the middle of the 16th century were more symbolic than actually defensive, for by that time gunpowder technology had already rendered such massive fortifications an anachronism (pl. 26.4). More than anything, Sulaiman's costly endeavour should be seen as an act of homage to the glory days of Saladin, much like his restoration of the Dome of the Rock was an homage to the first Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem.[11] Within and underneath these Ottoman walls are fortifications that go back to ancient times and include all preceding epochs of Islamic history.

[11] Wightman 1993, 297. See also Grabar 1996, 162 where the author describes Sulaiman's intervention in terms of 'control, protection, and rights'.

Pl. 26.4 Jerusalem, Damascus Gate. (Creswell Photographic Archive, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. C 4968)

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AA	Arts Asiatiques
AAAS	Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes
AASOR	Annual of the American School of Oriental Research
AB	The Art Bulletin
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
ADAJ	Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan
AE	Acta Encyclopaedica
AI	Ars Islamica
An Is	Annales Islamologiques
ANM	Annals of the Náprstek Museum
ANSMN	American Numismatic Society Museum Notes
AO	Ars Orientalis
AOL	Archives de l'Orient Latin
AOASH	Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiorum Hungaricae
ARAM	Periodical of the Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
Arts of Islam	The Arts of Islam, exhibition catalogue of Arts Council of Great Britain, Hayward Gallery, London 1976
BAIPAA	Bulletin of the American Institute of Persian Art and Archaeology
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BÉO	Bulletin d'études orientales
BIE	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BJRULM	Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
BM	Burlington Magazine
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BMQ	The British Museum Quarterly
BSAC	Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie Copte
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CA	Cahiers Archéologiques
DM	Damaszener Mitteilungen
DOP	Dumbarton Oak Papers
ECQ	Eastern Churches Quarterly
EI²	Encyclopaedia of Islam (eds) H A R Gibb et al., 2nd edition, Leiden and London
ErI	Eretz Israel
GBA	Gazette des Beaux Arts
HBN	Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
HJSS	Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies
IA	Islamic Art
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
INN	International Numismatic Newsletter
INJ	Israel Numismatic Journal
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Art
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JKSW	Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinik
JPK	Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JSAH	Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians

JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JWAG	*Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*
JWI	*Journal of the Warburg Institute*
KdesO	*Kunst des Orients*
MDAI	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
MIFD	*Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas*
MW	*Muslim World*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift*
OC	*Oriens Christianus*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ONSN	*Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*
PEQS	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*
PPTS	*Palestine Pilgrims' Texts Society, London*
PSBF	*Pubblicazione della Studium Biblicum Franciscanum*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RAA	*Revue des Arts Asiatiques*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RCEA	*Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*
RÉA	*Revue des Études Arméniens*
RÉI	*Revue des Études Islamiques*
RHR	*Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*
RN	*Revue Numismatique*
RO	*Res Orientales*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*

Sijill	*Records of Sharī'a Court, Jerusalem*
SM	*Schweizer Münzblätter*
SNR	*Schweizer Numismatische Rundschau*
SSCISAM	*Settimane di Studi del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*
SSNC	*Spink and Sons' Numismatic Circular*
TOCS	*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*
UUÅ	*Upssala Universitets Årsskrifi*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YN	*Yarmouk Numismatics*
ZB	*Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutsch-Palästina Vereins*
ZK	*Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*

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